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THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW

37

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The American Historical Review

CONTINUITIES IN HISTORY

I

CONVINCING arguments are hardly to be looked for in an essay upon the influences and conditions bringing some degree of linkage and expectedness to history; for opinions will depend on temperament and the slant of individual interest in different phases of human life. A writer is likely to win approval only from people more or less like-minded with himself. And with regard to so many-sided a topic, other views may be as valid as the argument contained in the following pages. Even the prospect of the discussion recalls difficulties in the conception of cause, which philosophers since the days of Hume, as well as our recent physicists, have been trying to get around. I hope to avoid them by speaking of "necessary antecedent", "needful preparation", or "enabling or suitable conditions". These terms, when applied to history, carry no implication of strict determinism. They leave place for the action of free and living agencies by reason of whose intervention any historical event appears as a composite and imperfectly predictable result.

Grounded in human nature, the thoughts and acts of men are roused and shaped by their physical and spiritual environment. Men are also moved to think and feel and act by their heritage from the past, which is part of their education and contributes to their knowledge. Save for its discipline and teaching they would not have the thoughts they entertain or a good part of their feelings; nor could they construct or create whatever they are engaged upon. The influence of the past blends with that of the working and insistent environment; but neither one nor the other, nor their combined effect, wholly constrains the emerging present upon which they act. For in every present the energies of living men are apt to fashion to new forms whatever affects them or comes within the circle of their interest.

The growth of dogmatic Christianity illustrates these principles. It

rested on the teachings of Jesus and his Apostles, as understood and accepted by their adherents and those who came after them. Current ways of feeling and thinking in the eastern Mediterranean affected and became a part of the interpretation and manner of acceptance of these teachings. Belonging to a notably reasoning world, the early Christians sought to understand their faith in a manner acceptable to their reason. More specifically the will to rationalize the Faith and the method of its rational formulation came from the later cosmopolitan phases of Greek philosophy.

But antecedents and accompanying conditions did not create the Nicene formulation or wholly determine what it was to be. The creeds were gradually formed by the Greek and Latin Fathers, from Tertullian on through Origen, Athanasius, and Augustine. These men were affected by current thinking and worked in the medium of their own preparation and accepted past, which gave substance and method to their thought. But they were constructive minds and not mere recipients of what they used. Nor did they reproduce the past either piece by piece or in its whole composite nature. Even what they accepted as the divine word they shaped in their understanding.

The same may be said of the cumulative scholastic re-formulation of the patristic achievement. Its apex, the *Summa theologiae* of Thomas Aquinas, was the work of that great schoolman, although he could not have composed it without the aid of all that made up his education and his past, including the substantial philosophy of Aristotle, which the Fathers had not used.

II

Recalling the phrases "needful antecedents" and "enabling conditions", I would now say that "continuities" refer to physical conditions and the persistent human qualities which have shaped the role of mankind upon the earth. The activities of these qualities fluctuate and yet exert influences more or less constant throughout the succession of forms produced or assumed by them. Although our continuities reach back to include whatever has contributed to set *homo sapiens* upon the stage, we shall be occupied mainly with human tendencies and active faculties.

It may be well to start with the primordial fact that the universe remotely and permissively and the sun more directly have produced and still maintain an earth suited to the sustenance of living organisms. Branching from this base, our continuities would consist, first, of the

physical environment of land and air and water existing and operative beneath and within the living garment of plants and animals. Next, the plants and animals afford a ceaselessly active and formative environment for each other. This living system, which embraces the human race, maintains itself through universal and reciprocal consumption, assimilation, and adaptation. Never stable, always undergoing change, it is an immortal living continuity.

The elemental and organic orders of continuity carry ingredients that enter human nature and qualities which men share with other animals. Yet there is place for a third order consisting of the more characteristic qualities of mankind. These act with some volitional freedom and unpredictability. Constantly active, they manifest themselves in a variety of forms that change. And, more than all other animals and plants, men hasten the changes in their threefold environment of elemental nature, plants and animals, and other tribes of men. The whole story of the earth's use and consumption, the action of men upon plants and animals and upon other human groups, the increase of population and growth of nations, the encroachment of cities upon the country, and countless other facts attest the effects of human agencies upon human environments.

Organisms have many ways of conforming means and ends with respect to their environment and within themselves. They are individual systems of assimilation and adaptation. Acts of an organism normally make for its benefit. Each incident of functioning is teleological, has an aim. A functional act may be said to carry on and have a quality of continuity. It is never merely in and of itself, but has linkage through its aim and the aims of its antecedents. This teleological linkage extends to the relations among organisms and reaches backward indefinitely. Much of the functioning of the human organism has a limited physiological aim. In conscious action the aim enlarges and may extend beyond the organism in space and time and consideration of consequences.

If the functioning of organisms is aimful, one is tempted to find a continuing purposiveness running through the whole process and even directing it. Such a purpose cannot be merely antecedent to the incidents of its fulfillment but continues as a factor within the scheme of things. The object need not be an end ultimately to be reached in time. It may lie within the process and its character be inferred from what is observed. The evidence of such a purpose seems to me everywhere, though many minds are closed to it. My own conviction is

built up from my life's experience, a synthetic conclusion doubtless colored by individual temperament.¹ In turn my thinking is unified through this conviction, which nevertheless is partly intuitive since its universality transcends the range of concrete evidence. I go further and call it the divine purpose and am willing to look on my conviction as an act of faith.

I find an analogy in the botanist's or zoologist's acceptance of evolution. His total knowledge and his reason convince him that the succession of organisms from the simpler to the most complex has come about through what he calls evolution. He cannot define the process and is far from knowing the manner of its action or how it has taken place, though he discerns contributing factors. His conviction goes beyond definite evidence and is thus a faith, like my belief in a divine purpose. This kind of faith is not limited to such large matters but enters generally into our knowledge. A partly intuitive conviction ordinarily caps and concludes our acceptances or opinions and points our action. No grasp of fact hangs on a single reason. All sorts of previous cognizance take part and yet may prove inadequate for the novel occasion. The decisive intuition comes from the man's total fashioning experience with all the engendered impulses and prejudices.

But to return: if the aim realizes itself within the process, the process may contain its own fulfillment. We are not obliged to envisage some imagined end beyond the process and its time limits. Yet that it carries aim and value within and for itself does not preclude a further eventual end. The visible process may not be the end-all. Growth of mind or spirit through evolving stages is felt by some to indicate extension or survival beyond the physical ingredients.

III

The aimfulness in the conduct of organisms enters the continuities of human history. The latter, through their larger scope and freedom, further exemplify the causal efficacy of the past and the tendency of every antecedent to enter and become part of what it helps to bring about. Past events are never merely antecedent but carry on as factors of the succeeding present and contribute to its energies, conduct, and achievement. Enabling conditions resulting from many lines of antecedents act together in each present.

¹ Such a conviction may be called a "conceptual scheme", like "evolution". A conceptual scheme tends to unify thinking.

Except through poetic metaphor or in extreme metaphysics, the processes of inorganic nature are not given psychic qualities. But such are part of living organisms. Doubtful in plants, rudimentary in the humbler animals, no one can say just when and where they became operative. Bound up with them, the beginnings of consciousness offer a like baffling question. But consciousness as well as psychic qualities are evident in mammals; and a striking feature of mammalian evolution has been the growth of the organs through which psychic qualities are manifested, and eventually the higher phases of mentality.

Physical and physiological elements load the prehuman past. But mind was there as well. No need to say that the contents of human history have always been spiritual as well as physical and that both enter into historical continuity.² The building up and maintenance of societies are a universal feature, and the qualities that enable men to live advantageously together are largely of the mind. The progress of mankind falls in with the pointings of spiritual growth and cannot but conform to the apparent immanent purpose of the factors working together in the evolution of the race.

In human history (as throughout all antecedent evolution) different strains of continuity interlace and pervade each other. An indefinite number of partial causes or enabling conditions unite in the coming to pass of any event. It is not easy to separate them into independent agencies or appraise their several cogencies, for they move through mutual reactions to a convergent result, which may nevertheless contain disruptive elements temporarily brought together.

A directly causative section of the past, which obviously continues in the present, is the race of men or quasi-men and organisms passing into such. The continuity of the race approaches an apparent stability in the transmission of constant or very slowly changing qualities. But one cannot leave out a single factor. Again, nature's processes carry on the past apparently with lavish waste, throwing out a thousand seeds or eggs for one that germinates. Human history likewise carries on its conserving economy through recessions and catastrophes.

While individuals appear as the units of historical continuity, each has been a continuity since birth and is linked with the ranges of antecedents which have made its life possible.³ They may hand themselves on through their children or the influence of their acts. The

² With me the word "spiritual" is broader than "mental" and includes the feelings and emotions which are not palpably of the body.

³ See my article "Continuity and Survival", *Atlantic Monthly*, Jan., 1937.

latter have aim and value in the doing and continuity in their effect: for instance, a heroic deed, or the making of a work of art, or the composition of a book.

IV

✓ Life holds the aimfulness of creative evolution. It is the trunk that branches and flowers in the activities of men. Each individual presses to fulfill his nature and feel it to the full, as when he satisfies his hunger or sex lust, adorns his body, slays for very rage or to show himself foremost and win his group's acclaim. Fame will extend his life and deeds. The urge to self-fulfillment is in the man of intellect as well, poet, philosopher, scientist, each moving along the path of his faculties and vocation. Nor has such a one lost the desire to show himself the man he is.

The acts of men are instinctive, habitual, passionate, or consciously intended. The urge of life is in them all. Yet by reason of life's unfailing spontaneity, each present moment works a change in whatever comes to it. Because it is alive, a society or an individual acts in its own way upon every proffered influence. Always undergoing change, the physical and spiritual experience which has formed the race and become part of its faculties passes on, together with the material civilization, which is the shell. But since buildings, aqueducts, and cornfields have effective being only in their use, their transmission hangs upon the human factors. All stand and fall together. If monumental structures remain for the admiration of future ages, that hardly renews the life of these substantial ghosts.

Judging by noise and flare, the greater part of what thus passes on has arisen from material needs. Life in the flesh, with its vehemence, greed, and rancor, holds the stage, makes wars, builds houses, overthrows societies. It is partly fashioned by conceptions of the mind. Evolution is always pointing to the last. But mentality never looks big. Human life is so wrapt up in the needs and passions of the animal ✓ that only a warped and driven course seems left to mind. Yet mind leads in survival value and survival power. Its efficiency tends to center in a few. All civilization is an affair of remnants, through whom pass the grains of truth that fit the ways of life imperishably: grains of goodness, of aloofness from the ways of crass destruction.

Human beings differ in strength of volition and the control of their lives: the spontaneous self-directing power of the human personality. Often the press of circumstances seems to hem in a life or, much less

frequently, to favor its freer expansion. Obviously most lives are fashioned by the suggestions or compulsions of environment. A minority reach out beyond. A high degree of conceptual and sometimes actual freedom is his who forms a comprehensive plan of life and is able to pursue it.

Life's energies and fundamental impulses manifest themselves in forms that pass, yet not without effect. Discontinuity in history is an illusion. More real is the overlapping of thought and feeling through the succession of forms, which have effective continuity in their influence upon what follows them. The human faculties expressing themselves in these forms are affected by the experience and discipline, and press on to create what is never a sheer duplicate and may appear quite different from its preparatory antecedents. And the forms themselves, although products of the past, may continue active in the present. Such living forms are the laws and customs of our society and government, and indeed the whole structure and content of our culture. All this is the formative part of our present as well as the material upon which its energies work fruitfully. Thus the passing forms share in the continuity of the faculties of which they are the manifestation.

In this way each phase of any human institution, social, legal, or political, has part in the genesis of its successor, however different that may show itself. The successor may appear as a reaction against a way of living or social adjustment that the society has tired of. But whatever arises is still related to former experience and the abilities thereby acquired. Examples of all kinds strew human history; they obviously make up the story of institutions. The British parliament is an outstanding illustration. Less patently convincing may be the Roman republic in its lessening efficiency from the time of the Gracchi, with the impotent fury of its final period passing through dictatorships to the establishment of an imperial rule where still flitted the ghosts of republican institutions. The empire took form from these as much as from pressing exigencies.

Like principles appear in the figurative arts and indeed in the progression of all products of human ingenuity; even in the humbler utensils of domestic living or machinery where the discarded expedient brings the new improvement. The earlier pattern and the discipline gained by its production affect the nature of its supplanter. A similar combination of enabling influence works more subtly in sheer intellectual activity. The conduct of the rational faculties, expressing themselves in successive modes of thought, makes up the history of philos-

ophy. Or for another example, the tendency to rationalize in apologetic allegories unites with those serpent forms to produce strange children.⁴

All such effects and linkages are strengthened by the force of habit and the drag of custom. Habit, whether mental or manual, gives body to the impulse to think, feel, and behave in well-worn grooves. The accepted fitness of constantly recurring notions and the utility of actions oft repeated, and so made easier, tend to prevent scrutiny. Custom seems to imply the loyalty of conduct to venerated motives. It holds to the old ways, disliking and fearing change. In their very nature, habit and custom are strong conserving continuities.

Imitation is allied with them. It is instinctive in young animals. Fawns follow the cautious doe with riveted attention and imitate her every movement for safety's sake. Imitation is habitual with children and an efficient means of their education. Through it come speech and wiser conduct. It soon discloses a variety of motives. There may be emulation in a child imitating another's play. Youths and maidens are moved to keep in fashion and emulate an admired rival. Vanity and the desire to shine have entered. In the arts and crafts pupils imitate a teacher to gain his skill; from ethical motives disciples imitate a holy man. In such cases, though instinct or habit survive, imitation has become a part of rational conduct.

Imitation is not originaive or progressive in itself. Whether it is a conservative influence depends on what is imitated. To follow innovations either blindly or upon consideration is not conservative. Yet, with these provisos, imitative thought and conduct may be put with habit and custom among the unprogressive continuities in history. Even beyond the range of their influence, through all provinces of desire and endeavor there is connection and causal sequence, sometimes through reaction or repulsion. The earlier phase may be a spring-board to jump from, and the jump reaches that much further. Cur-

⁴ For decency's sake thoughtful Greeks, even in the fifth century B.C., turned the scandalous doings of the Homeric gods into natural myths, a method accepted by the religious conservatism of the Stoics. The Hellenizing Jew Philo used allegory to make Genesis a vehicle of Greek moral philosophy at the opening of the Christian era. Through further and new-found allegories the Fathers made the contents of the Old Testament prefigurative of the truth of Christ and softened its crudities to suit the pagan conscience. In the Middle Ages, when apologetic needs were no longer pressing, allegorical interpretation was taken as a matter of course. It was applied to the Mass as well as to the parts and ornaments of cathedrals; it was used in political argument and pervaded popular mediæval literature (*Roman de la Rose*). Symbolical meanings were accepted as expressing the deepest truth of God's purpose in creation. See *The Mediæval Mind*, chs. xxviii and xxix.

rents of influence are not dependent on the survival of individuals. Rather they keep fresh and vivid because old men and women die, while young minds and bodies carry on with the energy of youth its enterprise and its imagination: "Oh! brave new world", cries Miranda. "Tis new to thee", replies Prospero.

V

The living body is a functional process which feels itself most surely in its pains and strident needs. Its cravings urge on the organism's psychic phase, which is the mind. That also is an activity: in functioning it is itself. Action animates and delights it. In this lies the mind's exhaustless happiness. It is always looking for the interesting and the apt, which when found stings and pricks it on. Its history is the story of a quest as manifold as comprehensive. Each perception, each rational insight, each leap of intuition, every desire with its love of what it feels the need for—all are releases of the energy inherent in the mind. Also they open new vistas of the quest. And when the mind looks within, it may discover that it has itself pointed the search and shaped the sought-for fulfillment to the form of an imagined best. The quest takes many paths, along which the mind is urged by its impulses, its modes, its faculties. The paths are the mind's attributes in action.

The unceasing activities of human minds constitute the spiritual continuity of history. But a society has no common mind any more than a common body. Mental activity is always that of an individual. Yet its manifestations may be drawn forth and shaped by the common need of men to live together and by currents of like thoughts and feelings producing uniformity of concern and temper.

VI

Within the main trunk of life the urge of sex is a vital continuity. Not merely does it propagate mankind, but its repercussions and emotions, and sentiments flowering in love, prompt noble as well as violent conduct and animate all forms of poetry and art. No need to touch this boundless story. We pass to another main continuity of history, the manifold urge to form and maintain societies. Though the basis be the body's needs, there enters the impulse of the human spirit to profit from fellow feeling and intercourse.

Mankind's responding efforts make a large part of history. They have been credited to the "social instinct". Certainly man is or has

become a social animal. But the endeavor for a communal life has had a variety of motives. The behavior of other animals is indicative. Some sort of living together is the rule; the solitary life is difficult and rare. With ants and bees co-operation has resulted in specializing not only their behavior but their structure. With lives reduced to fixed functions, they have become sheer parts of a social organism.⁵ But in the case of birds and mammals the formation of groups seems to depend on the particular need of protection and the manner of getting food. Migratory birds flock when migrating, but not during the mating season. Herbivorous quadrupeds herd together for safety. Birds of prey live and hunt singly or in couples, which is the way with lions, tigers, and leopards. Wild dogs and wolves, but not foxes, hunt in packs. Among the primates, baboons and monkeys may live in troops, but the great apes, who can take care of themselves, appear not to form groups beyond the family and pass part of their lives alone. Thus these apes who are nearest to man show scant communal life, and a survey of other animals hardly points to any universal "social instinct".

To what extent our apelike or manlike ancestors lived in companies is not clear. Different circumstances would breed different habits. But *homo sapiens* at an early stage somehow realized the advantages of groups for hunting and defense and later for a division of labor. Life in communities would foster habits of mutual dependence and promote the growth of social qualities. At all events the trend toward some kind of association has been universal. The particular social forms spring from and again produce the character of the group—the complex of feeling and intelligence. They arise as well from the impacts of environment, natural and human. It would be rash to ascribe preponderant effect to one or the other of these factors since they are interdependent. Changes in the human or natural elements will modify the social structure, and new needs may pattern it anew, but the urge to maintain a society works on within those changing forms.

The qualities promoted through social living look to the satisfaction of the individual as a member of society. They would enhance his life by attracting the favor of his fellows. Then comes the wish to direct or otherwise influence the conduct of the social complex. Vanity and emulation are examples of those qualities which crave appreciation, praise, and sympathy. Upon their gratification the man responds with affectionate esteem and sympathy. Such qualities are part of the

⁵ The caste system of India points in a like direction; but no caste has become incapable of sharing in the propagation of the race.

impulse and desire of every individual to exalt and express himself, a desire which cannot but be social in its fulfillment. A man does not talk merely to make known his thought or feeling or intention. Usually he wishes to show the sort of man he is. There is feeling in the impulse to express oneself, and feeling accompanies every communication. Clearly the urgency of self-expression and the desire to impart one's thoughts and feelings are among the continuities of history.

Perhaps owing to some pervasive similarity both in physical environment and human nature, certain types of social organization constantly recur, especially with respect to the exercise of authority in a society. Conditions of flight compel migrating geese to have a leader and keep to a certain pattern while flying. Somehow the strongest wolf becomes the leader of the hunt. The great apes apparently have no leaders, and leadership is hard to find among primitive men. It emerges with the development of the social structure. Less pronounced in small primitive groups, it reaches a harsh absoluteness in larger aggregates, and not only among savages. Ancient records of civilization disclose the king as a monarch supreme, though his power necessarily finds limitations in military and executive requirements. Moreover assassination lurks, and a revolt may overthrow the tyrant. This fairly universal and absolute kingship includes the office of high priest, who has paramount authority to placate and move the god, for the efficiency of social organization is linked to gods and demons and the means of moving or restraining them. Everywhere ceremonies raise the king above his subjects and guard his royal high-priestly functions.)

Kingships, tyrannies, dictatorships have so prevailed in history as to lead one to regard them as an essential feature of the urge to maintain a social structure, and so as a historical continuity. Yet they have been broken into by repeated attempts to establish other ways of ordering a people through a ruling class or the people themselves. Springing from impulses of self-assertion, this countertendency has not been marked in Asiatic countries, where the insistence of the individual is weak. It sprang to life in the old Greek cities, mightily proved itself in the Roman republic, and has persisted in England. It may foster sentiments of social freedom and equality.

These counterefforts may aim at democracy and representative government, with universal suffrage as their ideal. But history seems to show, for instance in the story of Rome, that the more widely authority is distributed among the people the less effectively it will be exercised. A frequent result is reversion to a personal autocratic leadership, in

practice if not in theory. The only lasting endeavor for a liberal or representative government is found in Great Britain and the nations springing from her. Perhaps Holland, Switzerland, and the Scandinavian countries should be added. We in the United States, nurtured in this liberal tradition, do not realize the limited area of its successful operation. We regard what has taken place in continental Europe since the World War as deplorable occurrences, almost accidents. A clearer view shows how unprepared and unfit for a representative or liberal order were the Germans or the quite dissimilar Italians, not to mention Spain and Russia, whose incapacities for self-government are as different as they are insurmountable.

It seems to be another tendency of societies to gravitate into classes. One may imagine these to have arisen in the obscure past through inequalities of individuals shown in diversities of temper, aptitude, faculty, tending to shake down into class distinctions. Environmental circumstance also have worked their differentiating role. Part of the people may have come from elsewhere, perhaps brought in as slaves. A nation usually is a conglomerate. The growth of special characteristics in each class may be traced, while the origins baffle us. But in view of the almost universal existence of classes one hesitates to ascribe them to any particular diversity of circumstance and situation.

VII

Although human qualities do not always work in harmony, they all contribute to the making and undoing of societies. Religion, an unflinching element in the social effort, likewise draws upon all sides of human nature. The religious impulse and imagination may sound in feeling, yet the religious mind is not indifferent to other modes of understanding fact. A synthesis of thought and feeling takes form from the man's experience and courts the support of any pertinent evidence.

Religion was mentioned with kingship. Properly enough, since the want of a king is related to religious longing. Self-reliance comes tardily to men. While the primitive uses his own strength and quick perceptions, he is beset with fear of things about him. Such baneful motives as he feels within him he imputes to animals and trees or imagines indwelling spirits. All of which, with his felt need of protection, is as natural to him as the cast of a stone. Discrimination slowly brings some order to this crass confusion. But the longing for aid persists. Homer's heroes sense the help or opposition of a god at every step. Hopes and fears regarding superhuman beings pervade all history.

Man's dependent linkage with them
ever features the picture within it may

But there is more to religion. Man's
shadowed in mystery. He is always hat
nificance. This is a religious phase that q
to symbols and devises allegories. Progress lie
eralized conception of what is beyond sense. Am
thoughts of the gods unify. The gods become God. Th
intelligence works its way to an idea of divine order and control,
which is never the naked creature of reason but is clothed and colored
by feeling. Intuition, emotion, reverence, and sometimes love give
wings of faith to the understanding. The sense of God and the divine
control may take shape as belief in a benevolent providence, which in
turn may become intimately personal in its loving care of every man
and woman and prove the salvation of the responsive soul. It was the
historical office of Christianity to bring to pass this revelation of the
divine and human heart.

It is hard to say how much the earliest stages of religion had to do
with the behavior of men toward each other. Yet as tribal life gives
rise to common interests and requires adjustments, religion becomes
tribal and concerns itself with conduct. It has regard for the social
order and sets its sanction on proper social behavior. Only in society
can the individual complete his nature. Likewise through concern for
society and the right conduct of its members, religion wins through to
its noblest forms.

Animal sacrifices have been a common means of propitiating the
gods. More spiritual conceptions of the divine bring other thoughts of
reconciliation, as it is perceived that God desires justice rather than
sacrifice. Divine favor rests with righteous houses. So religion and
ethics advance together. Both lay stress upon motive and intent, and
thought sets itself to distinguish the better and the rational from the
irrational and worse. But discrimination is impressed with desire. The
eager aim presents itself as a good reason for the act—a principle
covering impulsive, thoughtless acts and those of conscious purpose.
The desire and the aim tend to justify the act. There is little inten-
tionally wrong conduct among men, since everyone is apt to think his
action justified. This applies only too obviously to acts of violence in
social excitement. Nor is it far from the opinion of Socrates and Plato
that no one does wrong knowingly, or even from the words of Jesus,
"Father forgive them for they know not what they do."

But I should make another approach to this conclusion. Aim and

is endeavor. Its aim must be at what perhaps mistakenly. Biologically there is endeavor, which is a main continuity of reconciliation to the opposite aims of displacement of endeavor, which is life, was in

moved by impressions of the physical world, turns to be termed religious. Ethical discrimination proceeds. These phases of feeling and mentality, though manifested in forms that change and pass, constitute historical continuities.

VIII

The arts and crafts are part of human conduct. They also are a morality, though their aim at what is fit and excellent may be limited to the object in hand, for the tendency of endeavor is to do its best—bring its aim to full attainment. This is an inherent principle of craftsmanship. In primitive man it produces improvement in his handmade tools. The earliest pots are crude but the tendency to improve them irresistible: bulges are reduced, curves perfected. The pot becomes more useful, more fit, more pleasing to handle and look at. Very soon it will be intentionally beautified with streaks of pigment. An element of beauty exists in all efficiency; to make this element more pointed through decoration seems also an inherent and immortal impulse in mankind.

The desire to make objects beautiful becomes a dominant motive in the higher ranges of things makeable by the human hand and spirit. It is the inspiration and may be the end and goal of the fine arts. Craftsmanship must keep its practical aim: an architect must bear in mind the purpose of the building. But the building may be clothed with ornament, and properly so long as its usefulness is not impaired. If it have a spiritual purpose, this may aptly be carried to explicit expression, as in the sculpture and painted glass of a cathedral.

Sculpture and painting, even when not serving a practical use, hold to the principle of efficiency in the presentation of whatever may be the subject, that is, they keep to the delineation of the subject itself, which shall not be overlaid or obscured or defiled by distracting adornments or accessories. This gives the work of art unity, power, and the final charm of achievement termed beauty. A like principle marks the excellence of poetry. In great poetry, as in great plastic art, unity is equivalent to the ideal. For the ideal is unity attained by omitting

whatever is irrelevant to the event or the feeling or the character to be set forth. The lyric will admit nothing impairing its pattern of tone and feeling; the drama will reject whatever distracts attention from its compact plot; and broad as properly may be the epic, it tends to keep to the current and temper of its narrative. These observations may apply also to the excellence of musical compositions.

The arts are modes of significant endeavor and human self-expression. In their ceaseless pursuit of the fit, the efficient, the beautiful, they belong among the continuities of history. No need to characterize their end as the attainment of the beautiful and good. Each of these time-honored terms is a synthesis, transcending analysis or unsuited to its methods.

IX

The motives and endeavors which more especially carry out man's intellectual nature are still to be spoken of. One may place them under intellectual curiosity and the rationalizing faculty. The latter is more universal. Should it be regarded as the tendency to rationalize or the faculty of rationalization? The two phrases have much the same meaning inasmuch as mind is altogether an activity and should not be divided into faculties except for convenience of speech. It is the nature of mind to use its powers. Among them is reason, which tends to exert itself as part of mind and may be regarded either as a tendency or a faculty.

The rational faculty has no special topic or fund of knowledge, but busies itself with whatever is offered for its consideration. There is always a content of knowledge in the mind, with which the rational faculty may compare what is freshly presented. But if the fund of knowledge is inapplicable, inactive, or forgotten, the rational faculty may lack data for a sound comparison or fondly disregard whatever checks its course. Hence often in the crude and ignorant past, or the crude and ignorant present, the human tendency to formulate, explain, or rationalize has set itself to vindicate and justify rites and practices and hoary acceptances that are ripe for the discard. It has frequently sought to rationalize phantasies rejected by other modes of grasping or constructing fact, and the rationalization may be more absurd than the custom or acceptance itself. The logical process does not guaranty a reasonable result.

But rationalization may be the most valid of all intellectual operations. It is not easy to go beyond the conclusions of rational con-

sideration when it reviews the work of other human faculties or virtues or predilections and criticizes their methods or results. Rational consideration also seeks to bring its thinking to some ultimate conclusion, and though no topic belongs to it especially, it has an object peculiar to itself, even that end or quality of ultimate conclusion which is reason's goal. The entire history of philosophy is an illustration of the endeavor for ultimate conclusions. When the conclusion relates to being, rational consideration may be called metaphysics, or theology when the conclusion relates to God. When the conclusion concerns observation of the natural world or human conduct or social relations, rational consideration in such case might dub itself the philosophy of such matters.

Ultimate rational consideration, which may be called philosophy, follows the changing times. It applies itself to the chief intellectual interest of one age and then turns to some other preoccupation, representing the absorption of a later epoch. This succession of intellectual interests fills out the history of thought. The rationalizing faculty constructs the forms in which the topics are rationally apprehended or understood. Such forms or categories will change or become outmoded with the passing of intellectual emphasis from one topic to another, but rational consideration continues to function on and on. It discloses the overlappings of thought and feeling from one generation to another, demonstrates their sequential or causal lineage, and even makes their succession appear as part and parcel of its own continuous activity. The intellectual impulse to rationalize is as immortal as the bulkier urge to build societies.

Extremely variegated is the panorama of intellectual interest and emphasis to which rational consideration has been drawn from age to age. The early Greek philosophers, for example, set themselves to construct a rational scheme for their perceptive understanding of the external world. After them Socrates began the dialectic scrutiny of words and concepts, a matter previously ignored. Plato, proceeding further, concludes that ultimate reality dwells in the ideas of the mind. The Stoics and Epicureans shift the interest and effort to human values and conduct. Then, with the faltering of human self-reliance, reason seeks reassurance from the religious intuitions of mortal need. Passing through the metaphysics of Neo-Platonism, it absorbs the alluring phases of Greco-Oriental thought. And when the Mediterranean world turns to Christianity, the insistent philosophic mind undertakes the rational formulation of the Faith. This task advances through the

medieval centuries to the final achievement of the *Summa theologiae*. From devotion to theology rational consideration has gained religious feeling, and with this moving aid has built cathedrals, has stamped its thought of God and man on sculpture and painted glass, and expressed itself in the plan and conclusion of Dante's medieval *Commedia* and Milton's protestant epics.

In the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries the physical world knocked more loudly upon minds previously addicted to reasoning on divine salvation. Geographical discoveries roused bolder thoughts, while a renewed if not novel impulse to observe and study nature threatened reliance on authority. As methodical observation fought its way to recognition, rational consideration, that is philosophy, began to shift its view and refashion its categories to a more genial reception of observed phenomena. Thereupon appeared the loose but ambitious systems of the South Italians Telesio and Bruno and the Englishman Bacon. As the decades pass, the results of methodical observation are evinced in the quickened progress of astronomy, physics, and biology. In a century or two natural science becomes a dominant practical as well as intellectual interest. At the present time the problem pressing most urgently upon the considering mind is that of the consistency and certainty of this very body of scientific knowledge which has been gained through systematic observation of the natural world. There are also prickly questions as to the validity of the more promiscuously gathered mass of data concerning human relations in societies. By stoutly setting itself to these matters rational consideration carries on its task and proves again that the will to rationalize and reach ultimate conclusions is an immortal historical continuity.

X

The search for knowledge through observation has been more fitful than the inclination to rationalize whatever presses on the mind. All peoples wish to know how to make things and equip their lives profitably. A respectable accumulation of practical knowledge has more than once resulted. Curiosity passes for a mammalian instinct and is universal among mankind. Nevertheless disinterested and insistent intellectual curiosity is far from common. Occasionally it seems to follow upon the practical effort to know, as an ambient flame of unexpended energy. It sprang to action among those same Ionian philosophers who followed "natural philosophy" in the old-fashioned sense. Its broken story appears ever and anon as the converse of rational

consideration, which in Hellenic and medieval times ever tended to paralyze any effective impulse to observe nature. This impulse did not enter the mentality of Socrates, and while Plato was profoundly interested in the cosmos, his intellectual home was the realm of reason. But Aristotle was an observer of nature and a great zoologist. A like interest touched some of his disciples, although the tendencies of the time were strongly set toward ethics. Yet the following decades brought a marked advance in mathematics and astronomical science, while physiological investigations in Alexandria and other cities added much to the knowledge of the human body. From Alexandrian doctors, as well as from the Hippocratics preceding them, a sound medical tradition carried across the centuries to Galen, himself a remarkable experimenter working in the second century A. D. But soon curiosity as to the actual facts of nature was swamped by theology and its passion for allegory. Observation may be said to have slumbered till Roger Bacon and others awakened it to a false dawn in the thirteenth century. Later, as we have noted, its sun broke through and evoked an ardent and methodical investigation of nature including man, which was destined to produce the cluster of sciences marking our own time.

On the whole, the acute and effective observation of nature has been confined to European peoples and their progeny. It has not flourished in Africa or Asia, not even in India, where rational consideration has always had its home. Only Japan has nimbly adopted the science of the West. One may therefore doubt whether the record warrants our placing intellectual curiosity or its products among the unfailing continuities of history. The scientific examination of human society is more recent and has but the promise of a child still subject to the round of infantile diseases. Let us not forget, however, that life itself is purpose and endeavor, whether its inherent aimfulness be dumb or conscious and articulate. Intellectual curiosity is one of its loftiest manifestations and therefore has its roots in that which is immortal.

XI

The evolutionary processes resulting in a diversity of organisms and the emergence of mental qualities seem to carry purpose. Such purpose, whether or not conceived as an antecedent cause, is a directive influence within the active scheme of things and possibly may look to a growth of mind beyond the range of physical ingredients. Sequential dependence throughout the evolution of the more complex from the simpler organic forms, as well as the interdependence holding among

contemporary organisms, bears a loose analogy to the order of man's physiological and psychic functions, with the animal propensities the earlier. The range of human faculties from the violent to the more rational follows the sequence of evolution and indeed its immanent purpose. All seems to point to the eventual supremacy of those faculties which regard the welfare of the individual as a member of society. To this end the mind may join with its "nobler reason" to restrain its "fury", those animalities which have been so apt to press craft and ingenuity to their service.⁶

Through the past history of man the mind has not been innocent. Yet it has been and still is the home of persuasion and good thought. Its saving function is to bring to dominance the thoughts and feelings which its best consideration may accept. It will thus contribute breadth and balance to the action of its more specific phases. Its total insight and vision will enlighten the faculties working to reform or overthrow societies, enabling them to weigh the respective advantages of custom and innovation; will help to fashion ways of conduct and guide religious need; will participate in craftsmanship and artistic creation, promoting love of the true, the beautiful, and good. And its all-embracing reasonableness will advise the intellectual faculties of rational consideration and scientific curiosity and unify their quest of knowledge. By thus bringing the action of its various phases under the sovereignty of their united wisdom—their "nobler reason" if one will—the mind attains a peace and concord of its own, in harmony with the purpose immanent in the evolutionary process.

HENRY OSBORN TAYLOR.

New York City.

⁶ "Yet with my nobler reason 'gainst my fury do I take part". *The Tempest*.

WHAT IS HISTORIOGRAPHY?

FORTY years ago I was fascinated by the *study* of history—the mechanics of research, of that sort of research at all events (there are other kinds) which has been defined as “taking little bits out of a great many books which no one has ever read, and putting them together in one book which no one ever will read”. Later I became less interested in the study of history than in history itself—that is to say, in the suggestive meanings which could be attributed to certain periods or great events, such as that “the spirit of Rome is an acid which, applied to the sentiment of nationality, dissolves it”, or that “the Renaissance was the double discovery of man and the world”. Now that I am old the most intriguing aspect of history turns out to be neither the study of history nor history itself, in the above noted senses, but rather the study of the history of historical study. The name given to this aspect of history is the unlovely one, as Mr. Barnes says, of Historiography.¹

What precisely is historiography? It may be, and until recently for the most part has been, little more than the notation of historical works since the time of the Greeks, with some indication of the purposes and points of view of the authors, the sources used by them, and the accuracy and readability of the works themselves. The chief object of such enterprises in historiography is to assess, in terms of modern standards, the value of historical works for us. At this level historiography gives us manuals of information about histories and historians, provides us, so to speak, with a neat balance sheet of the “contributions” which each historian has made to the sum total of verified historical knowledge now on hand. Such manuals have a high practical value. To the candidate for the Ph. D. they are indeed indispensable, since they provide him at second hand with the most up-to-date information. From them he learns what were the defects and limitations of his predecessors, even the most illustrious, without the trouble of reading their works—as, for example, that Macaulay, although a brilliant writer, was blinded by Whig prejudice, or that Tacitus’s estimate of Tiberius has been superseded by later researches,

¹ *A History of Historical Writing*. By Harry Elmer Barnes. (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1937. Pp. x, 434. \$3.50.)

or that Thucydides's trenchant account of the Peloponnesian War suffers from the author's unfamiliarity with the doctrine of the economic interpretation of history. Knowing the limitations of our most famous predecessors gives us all confidence in the value of our own researches: we may not be brilliant, but we can be sound. We have the great advantage of living in more enlightened times: our monographs may never rank with *The Decline and Fall* as literary classics, but they will be based upon sources of information not available to Gibbon, and made impeccable by a scientific method not yet discovered in his day.

Mr. Harry Elmer Barnes's *History of Historical Writing* is far more than this—more than an annotated catalogue of historical works. Yet in some sense it is this too, a little too much so, more so perhaps than his purpose called for or than he intended. There are parts of the book which left me with little but an envious admiration for the author's erudition, his easy familiarity with the contents of innumerable books of which I had never heard. My first impression, indeed, upon finishing the book was that I could happily find within its covers the name of every historian since the time of Menetho. Of course no real scholar would get any such impression. Not being a learned person, I am easily astounded by anyone who knows the titles of a thousand and one books. But still, I have looked at bibliographies—for example, the *Bibliographie de l'histoire de Paris pendant la Révolution* by Tourneux, in five large volumes; and recalling this impressive work I realize that even the bare titles of all the books on the French Revolution alone could not be contained in Mr. Barnes's small volume. What a list of all the historical writings since the time of Menetho would run to I know not, nor wish to know—a dreadful thought! And so, not to slander Mr. Barnes, I hasten to say that there must be innumerable writers whom he does not mention, and even, I like to think, many whom he has never heard of. He has after all selected only a few, relatively speaking; and he has selected them, if at times with insufficient restraint, for a definite purpose.

Mr. Barnes states his purpose as follows:—"to characterize the intellectual background of each major period of human advance in western civilization, show how the historical literature of each period has been related to its parent culture, point out the dominant traits of the historical writing in each era, indicate the advance, if any, in historical science, and then make clear the individual contributions of the major historical writers of the age". At this level historiography should be something more than an estimate of the contributions of

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historians to present knowledge. It should be in some sense a phase of intellectual history, that phase of it which records what men have at different times known and believed about the past, the use they have made, in the service of their interests and aspirations, of their knowledge and beliefs, and the underlying presuppositions which have made their knowledge seem to them relevant and their beliefs seem to them true. The historiographer who wishes to succeed at this level should acquire much precise knowledge, but above all he should cultivate a capacity for imaginative understanding. If he wishes to fail, he should cultivate a capacity for being irritated by the ignorance and foolishness of his predecessors.

How well has Mr. Barnes succeeded in accomplishing his purpose? On the whole, well enough. Mr. Barnes has, to be sure, a certain capacity for being irritated. It is a defect of his quality. He is that rare phenomenon, a learned crusader. He is passionately interested in the application of scientific knowledge to the task of creating the good society. He is profoundly convinced that history, rightly understood, throws much needed light on the causes of the plight in which we find ourselves at the present moment; convinced, therefore, that historians, if only they would fully emancipate themselves from antiquarianism and bring their knowledge to bear upon present social problems, could contribute more than they do to the solution of those problems. I suspect that what really irritates Mr. Barnes is after all not the historians but rather the fact that so few people make any effort to appropriate the knowledge available, so many people prefer the *Saturday Evening Post* to the most up-to-date popular works on the social sciences; and this irritation is in part conveniently relieved from time to time by disparaging and opprobrious remarks about "the orthodox historian"—a species supposed to have flourished unashamed before the time of James Harvey Robinson and not yet wholly extinct.

Since the orthodox historian plays a minor role in the present book, a word needs to be said about him. I am not sure that I have ever met the fellow in the flesh. By definition he appears to be a timid, refined professor, a little apprehensive about holding his job, who is interested in political, military, and diplomatic events, is unaware of the importance of economic, social, and cultural influences, and greatly exaggerates the role of individuals as causal factors in the historic process. What puzzles me a little is that on this showing Mr. Barnes himself, although rarely accounted timid and never known to be restrained by the fear of losing his job, can be otherwise orthodox when

the occasion calls for it. In his book, *The Genesis of the World War*, I seem to remember, he dealt exclusively with political and diplomatic events and ended by naming four individuals whose nefarious activities were largely responsible for bringing on the war. What puzzles me still more is the fact that, although from Mr. Barnes's general discussion of the "new history" I should expect virtually all historians prior to the twentieth century to be orthodox, I find in his pages singularly few historians who adhere strictly to the orthodox line. On the contrary, in the chapters on "Social and Cultural History" and "Kulturgeschichte", I find evidence leading me to suppose that the new history is at least as old as Voltaire, and that a great many of the most distinguished historians of the last two centuries have by no means confined their interests to political history or notably exaggerated the role of individuals as causal factors.

It was Freeman who said that "history is past politics", and in his day interest in political and constitutional history was, it is true, very strong. But Mr. Barnes might have found an explanation, very satisfactory to the new historians I should have thought, of that fact. It was a time when the major problems of society were political and constitutional, a time when revolutions were primarily concerned with the form of government and the construction of the right kind of constitution for guaranteeing the political privileges and imprescriptible natural rights of individuals; and what, then, were these political historians doing if they were not bringing history "to bear on the present", if they were not "exploiting the past in the interest of advance", which, according to James Harvey Robinson, is what the new historian does and all historians should do? Can it be that even Freeman was, in his own day, a newer historian? But Freeman was still alive when the economic interpretation began to make headway, and today I would find it difficult to name a historian of ability who could, according to Mr. Barnes's definition, be rightly classed with the strictly orthodox. I am grateful to Mr. Barnes for not classing me with the orthodox, partly because I dislike the term on principle, whatever it means, chiefly because I do not like to be outrageously conspicuous. But still I do not mind being thought a little eccentric, and so I will risk the following observation: when the devotion of my colleagues to social history becomes such that a *History of American Life* can be written with only a perfunctory mention of politics, it is well to remember that politics has after all had something to do, as much at least as sport, with making American life what it is.

But I am making too much of Mr. Barnes's irritations and disgusts. They obtrude only late in the book and are at most only a minor defect. Taking the book as a whole, Mr. Barnes has done well what he set out to do. He has "characterized the intellectual background of each major period", if with no special insight or freshness, at least well enough to enable the reader to understand "the dominant traits of historical writing" in each period—to understand, for example, why historical writing in the Middle Ages necessarily differed from historical writing in classical times, why the Humanists fashioned their histories on Roman models, why the religious disputes of the Reformation turned theologians to the study of church history, and so following. Particularly good in this connection is his notation of the relation between the discovery of new countries and the growing interest in the history of social institutions and his indication of the conditions in the early nineteenth century which stimulated an interest in the philosophy of history.

Nevertheless, the characterization of the "intellectual background" and the explanation of the "dominant traits of historical writing" in terms of that background, although for the most part adequate to the author's purpose, is brief and it must be said somewhat perfunctory; it does not make the substance of the book. The greater part of the book is devoted to what interests Mr. Barnes far more—that is to say, to the "contributions of the major historical writers" and to "the advance, if any, in historical science". To estimate the value of histories and historians from the point of view of modern standards and technique is after all the principal object of the book, and this is after all what Mr. Barnes does best. Perhaps too many historical writers are mentioned, so that at times the book degenerates into a catalogue of names. "W. R. Shepherd, H. E. Bolton, W. S. Robertson, J. F. Rippy, Bernard Moses, C. W. Hackett . . . H. I. Priestley, E. C. Barker and others"—there is, particularly in the later chapters, far too much of this sort of thing. Mr. Barnes knows too much, and when the names begin to swarm in memory he allows his judgment to retire behind the cloud. He is better in those earlier, happier times when historians, not being so numerous, do not venture to gang up on him. He then finds space to tell us who they were and what they wrote with sufficient detail to make them and their writings intelligible to us. Learned scholars, not being so easily put down by Mr. Barnes's erudition as I was, will find errors here and there and some mistaken or questionable judgments. But so far as I know, Mr. Barnes's knowledge is adequate,

and his estimates, if mostly conventional, are on the whole, perhaps for that reason, essentially sound. No doubt it is beside the point to deplore the fact that "Thucydides neglected the magnificent opportunity to portray the glories of Athenian civilization". No doubt less than justice is done to Flacius Illyricus and his collaborators by stressing their "gullibility" and not sufficiently emphasizing the fact that in substituting tradition for formal logic as a test of religious doctrine and practice they were giving an immense impetus to the development of historical studies. But these are small points. On the whole Mr. Barnes has made an important addition to the literature of historiography. He has written, not an "epoch-making" book, not a profoundly original book (few books can be rightly so described), but a sound and useful book—for those not too familiar with the history of historical writing, the most informative and stimulating book, I should think, now available in English.

An author should be conceded his intention and judged by the success he attains in realizing it. For this reason I do not say of Mr. Barnes, as he says of Thucydides, that he has missed a magnificent opportunity. Nevertheless, the opportunity, whether magnificent or not, is there for those who wish to embrace it. It would be worth while, I should think, to regard historiography more simply, more resolutely, as a phase of intellectual history; to forget entirely about the contributions of historians to present knowledge and to concentrate wholly upon their role in the cultural pattern of their own time. From this point of view the historiographer would be primarily concerned with what Professor Shotwell happily calls mankind's gradual "discovery of Time" or, more broadly, with the gradual expansion of the time and space frame of reference which in some fashion conditions the range and quality of human thought.

When we think of anything, we think of it in relation to other things located in space and occurring in time, that is to say, in a time and space world, a time and space frame of reference. The development of intelligence, in the individual and the race, is in some sense a matter of pushing back the limits of the time and space world and filling it with things that really exist and events that actually happened. The time and space world of the new-born child, for example, is confined to the room in which he lies and to the present moment: everything that he observes is seen as a close-up, unrelated to anything else. The earliest men were like new-born children, knowing nothing of any country beyond the region in which they lived, nothing, or very

little and that little mostly wrong, about any past events in which they had not taken part. They too saw things as close-ups, in short perspective, unrelated to any verifiable objects in distant places or past times. The ancient Sumerians were in many ways a highly civilized people, but their social thinking was hampered by the fact that they lived in a very narrow time and space world: in their space world the human race could be destroyed by a flood sweeping the valley of the Two Rivers; in their time world the outstanding event was the Great Flood, before which stretched an unknown period, empty of content save for the eight kings believed to have reigned during 241,000 years. From the time of the Sumerians to our own day the human race has slowly and painfully extended the time and space world in which it could live, the time and space frame of reference in which it could think. The spaciousness and content of the time and space frame of reference, far more than sheer brain power, have determined the range and direction of intelligence and the underlying presuppositions that so largely shape the ideas of men about their relations to the universe and to each other.

Regarded strictly as a phase of intellectual history and not as a balance sheet of verifiable historical knowledge, historiography would have as its main theme the gradual expansion of this time and space world (particularly the time world perhaps, although the two are inseparably connected), the items, whether true or false, which acquired knowledge and accepted beliefs enabled men (and not historians only) to find within it, and the influence of this pattern of true or imagined events upon the development of human thought and conduct. So regarded, historiography would become a history of history rather than a history of historians, a history of history subjectively understood (the "fable agreed upon", the "pack of tricks played on the dead") rather than a history of the gradual emergence of historical truth objectively considered. The historiographer would of course be interested in histories—they would be a main source of information; but he would not confine his researches to them—would not, indeed, be interested in histories as such but only as one of the literary forms in which current ideas about the past find expression. Nor would he be more interested in true than in false ideas about the past: his aim would be to know what ideas, true or false, were at any time accepted and what pressure they exerted upon those who entertained them. He would not then dismiss the *Epic of Gilgamesh* or Homer's *Iliad* as irrelevant for history because they are a collection of myths or be content to say of Livy that he is a good story teller but a bad historian. Not being

primarily concerned with what the Romans actually knew about the past but with what they had in mind when they thought about it, he would seize upon the *fact* that Livy wrote his history, the *fact* that the myths it relates were current and widely accepted as true. He would realize that while a myth may not be true, that it exists is true, and that people believe it, is true and may be of the highest importance. In short, the "facts" that would concern the historiographer, the "what actually happened" that he would look for and find relevant to his purpose, would be, not the truth, but the existence and pressure of the ideas about the past which men have entertained and acted upon. His object would be to reconstruct, and by imaginative insight and aesthetic understanding make live again, that pattern of events occurring in distant places and times past which, in successive periods, men have been able to form a picture of when contemplating themselves and their activities in relation to the world in which they live. Whether the events composing the pattern are true or false, objectively considered, need not concern him.

Taken in this sense, historiography should no doubt begin with "pre-historic times"—an absurd term, as Mr. Barnes says, if we are to regard history externally, as the record of what men have done, since it implies that by far the longest span of human history occurred before there was any history. But not so absurd after all if we are to think of history from the inside, as a possession of the mind, as the developing apprehension of the past and of distant places, since the earliest men could have had very little history in that sense. Yet even the earliest men (the Cro-Magnons, for example) must have been able to form some picture, however limited in design and blurred in detail, of what had occurred and was occurring in the world. What this picture was we can only guess, although some ingenious and even illuminating guesses could no doubt be brought to birth by the anthropologists. The historiographer could at all events begin with the oldest epic stories—the Babylonian *Creation Epic*, Homer's *Iliad*, and the like. For the early Greeks the *Iliad*, as someone has said (Matthew Arnold perhaps?), was history, story, and scripture all in one. Such differentiating terms are of course misleading, since we may be fairly sure that the early Greeks made no such distinctions. The story as told—the siege of Troy, the doings of men and gods—was all real, history simply, the record of what actually happened. And so of all people whose civilization developed directly out of primitive conditions.

Not until written records had been long in use could men become effectively conscious of the fact that the event as recorded differs from

the event as remembered. Then only could they properly distinguish between story and history—between the account of events imaginatively invented and the account of events that actually happened; then only could histories be thought of as a “branch of literature”. But the differentiation of history and literature does not at once make the gods indispensable. Inscrutable in their purposes, implacable in their judgments, rulers of men and things, the gods are still necessary: necessary for literature because they are so intimately involved in the current affairs of men; necessary for history because the creation of the world has to be accounted for, and men, even the ancient heroes and godlike kings, are incapable of so great a task. History therefore long remains entangled with religion, the gods serving as causal agencies operating behind men and events. But as the time and space world is expanded, providing an ever greater variety of novel items for comparison and appraisal, philosophy intrudes with its abstractions; and the gods, withdrawing from the immediate affairs of men to the place where absolute being dwells, fade away into pale replicas of their former selves—into the Law of Nature, the Transcendent Idea, the dynamic principle of Dialectic, or whatever it may be. Philosophy in turn becomes Natural Philosophy, then Natural Science, then Science: and science, dispensing altogether with the assistance of the gods and their numerous philosophic progeny, presents for contemplation the bare record of how as a matter of fact the outer world behaves, of what as a matter of fact has occurred in past times, leaving man alone in an indifferent universe without attempting to justify its ways to his deeds and aspirations.

This theme, or something like it, has been played, with appropriate variations, more than once—by the Greeks, by the Romans, by the Europeans in modern times. What is the relation between the development of an industrial-commercial society, the decline of traditional religious and political convictions, and the growth of skepticism and scientific knowledge? How can these related phenomena be correlated with the time and space world in which men live, the time and space frame of reference in which they think? What place has history, regarded as the *sense of the past*, as the apprehension of events, true or false, that are thought to have occurred or to be occurring in distant places and times past, in this correlation both as cause and effect? Within the range of these questions are to be found, I venture to think, many fruitful fields for the historiographer to cultivate.

CARL BECKER.

Cornell University.

THE PROBLEM OF THE PRESBYTERIAN INDEPENDENTS

PATTERNS sanctified by great historiographic traditions tend to become fixed. Frequently these patterns are neither logical nor coherent, but the sanction of use and wont behind them is so powerful that researchers tend to force new materials into the time-honored molds. In this way the Germanist tradition imposed itself on Bishop Stubbs,¹ and the Whig interpretation of eighteenth century politics was not completely overthrown until Mr. Namier finally destroyed it through his patient work on the Newcastle papers.² An even more famous case, perhaps, is that of Cromwell, rescued only after two centuries of nearly unanimous obloquy and set on a pedestal by the hero-worshipping Carlyle.³

The school of historians that followed Carlyle in the rehabilitation of Cromwell riveted an already venerable theory of Civil War politics onto the history of the Interregnum. That theory is somewhat as follows: In the beginning of the war the parliamentary party was united in its opposition to the autocratic pretensions of Charles I and the popish tendencies of the High Anglican faction in the church. As long as the royalists remained a threat, the factions in parliament held together. When royalist pressure slackened, parliament and its adherents split along religious lines. On one side, the Presbyterians tried to impose on England a tyrannical church uniformity on the Scottish pattern. On the other side, the Independents, a majority in the New Model army but a minority in parliament, set the doctrine of religious toleration against the persecuting aims of the Presbyterians. When in 1647 the army leaders realized that the parliamentary majority was ready to sacrifice the gains of the Civil War in order to establish Presbyterianism, they impeached eleven Presbyterian commoners and marched on London to save the revolution from intolerant reaction. In 1648 the Scots invaded England, pledged to restore Charles I to his throne. While the

¹ William Stubbs, *Select Charters and other Illustrations of English Constitutional History* (Oxford, 1870), Introductory Sketch.

² Lewis B. Namier, *The Structure of Politics at the Accession of George III* (2 vols., London, 1929) and *England in the Age of the American Revolution* (London, 1930).

³ Thomas Carlyle, *Oliver Cromwell's Letters and Speeches with Elucidations*, S. C. Lomas, ed. (3 vols., London, 1904); Wilbur C. Abbott, "The Fame of Cromwell" in *Conflicts with Oblivion* (New Haven, 1924).

army was⁴ fighting off this invasion, the Presbyterians in parliament again opened negotiations with the king. By this time the Independents had decided that there could be no peace while Charles lived. In Pride's Purge they used the army to lop off the Presbyterian majority in parliament. They also lopped off the house of lords⁴ and the head of the king. For the next four years the Independent Rump Parliament ruled England. Then it quarreled with the Independent army to its own detriment. Its dissolution by Cromwell in 1653 paved the way for the Protectorate. The death of Protector Oliver in 1658 brought on an anarchy that ended only with the restoration of the Stuart dynasty in 1660.⁵

The traditional picture of the early years of the Interregnum relies a great deal on a sharp distinction between the Presbyterians and the Independents and resolves the parliamentary history of those years into a struggle between these two as mutually exclusive groups. The material of fact at our disposal on which we can test the "mutual exclusion" theory, or any other theory of parties in the Long Parliament, is scanty. Division lists there are none, and lists of members indicating a political preference on a specific issue are few. One period of crisis, however, has left us with fragments of information from which we can construct the rough equivalent of a division list. On December 6, 1648, Colonel Pride's troop purged the house of commons of those so-called Presbyterian members who wished to continue peace negotiations with the king. Seven weeks later a packed high court of justice declared Charles Stuart, king of England, guilty of treason. On January 30 he was beheaded. During the next few months the "Independent" remainder of parliament cleaned away the debris of the monarchy, and

⁴ *Acts and Ordinances of the Interregnum, 1642-1660*, Charles H. Firth and Robert S. Rait, eds. (3 vols., London, 1911), II, 24. Cited hereafter as *A.O.I.*

⁵ Gardiner and Shaw do not draw the line of religious cleavage so sharply as it is drawn in the foregoing sketch; Samuel R. Gardiner, *History of the Great Civil War, 1642-1649* (4 vols., London, 1893), II, 66-67. William A. Shaw, *A History of the English Church during the Civil War and under the Commonwealth* (2 vols., London, 1900), I, 206-319. The contemporaries and successors of Gardiner and Shaw overlooked their distinctions, which were indeed neither completely nor clearly drawn. The above sketch is a fair summary of the opinions of Carlyle, Firth, Trevelyan, Montague, and Buchan. Carlyle, I, 225; Charles H. Firth, *Oliver Cromwell and the Rule of the Puritans in England* (New York, 1923), pp. 144-63; George M. Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts* (London, 1914), pp. 225-91; Francis C. Montague, *The History of England, 1603-1660* (London, 1907), pp. 322-45; John Buchan, *Oliver Cromwell* (London, 1934), pp. 229-47.

England was declared a kingless commonwealth by legislative fiat of the Rump.

From three sources it is possible to compile a reasonably complete list of the men who actively participated in the destruction of the monarchy and the governing of the Commonwealth: (1) The warrant for the execution of Charles I contains the signatures of those who inflicted the death penalty on him.⁶ (2) William Prynne set down in a pamphlet the names of those members of the house of commons who took the engagement to support the Commonwealth.⁷ (3) Scattered through the journal of the house of commons from mid-December, 1648, to April, 1653, are the names of the members who helped to rule the new republic.⁸ These three lists contain in all about two hundred names.

Here we have the two hundred staunch Independent commoners, the sheep who are separated from the goats. Some Presbyterians, perhaps, supported the New Model Army while the war lasted; some, perhaps, drew off to that army in 1647 and engaged to live and die with it.⁹ But in the era of the Rump waverers must needs have recoiled in face of the burning question, "Will you pay the price for religious toleration; will you by word or deed countenance the execution of the king?" The men who signed the death warrant of Charles Stuart, who repudiated his legitimate successor, swore allegiance to the Commonwealth, and acted in the supreme legislature of the new government, these regicides and rumpers could not be Presbyterians; they were the gold tried in the fire, the ultimate and essential Independents.

It is so obvious that the two hundred regicides and rumpers must have been Independents that it is disconcerting to discover among them at least thirty-nine men who allowed their names to be enrolled among the elders of the parliamentary Presbyterian Church.¹⁰ Distressing to

⁶ Gardiner, *Civil War*, IV, 309, n. 1.

⁷ *A Remonstrance and Declaration of Several Counties, Cities, and Burroughs* (London, 1648), pp. 4-5.

⁸ *Journal of the House of Commons*, VI, 96 *ad fin.*, VII, 1-272; hereafter cited as *C.J.*

⁹ For a list of the Engagers see *An Engagement of the Lords and Commons that went to the Army, 4 Aug., with their Names thereunto Subscribed* (London, 1647).

¹⁰ These thirty-nine Independents in presbyteries, given in Volume II of Shaw, are: Francis Allen, p. 403; John Ash, p. 415; Nathaniel Bacon, p. 426; William Ball, p. 403; Sir John Barrington, p. 382; Robert Blake, p. 421; Sir William Brereton, p. 435; Peter Brook, p. 395; Robert Brewster, p. 425; John Corbett, p. 407; William Ellis, p. 404; Thomas Fell, p. 390; John Goodwyn, p. 434; Robert Goodwyn, p. 434; Brampton Gurdon, p. 429; John Gurdon, p. 423; John Harrington, p. 415; Edmund Harvey, p.

the lover of symmetry as is the presence of all these "Independents" in a place where they "do not belong", it is easier to believe that they were members of presbyteries than to explain their inclusion in the lists as accidental. The early ordinances on ecclesiastical affairs, antedating the official erection of any presbyteries, provided for a Presbyterian hierarchy of church courts from congregational elderships through classes and provincial synods to the national assembly.¹¹ So the "Independents" who allowed their names to appear on eldership lists must have done so with full knowledge that the national church was to be Presbyterian in form. They were not obliged to offer their services. No penalty in law lay against a man for refusing to act as an elder. On the contrary, one qualification for the eldership, prescribed by the first ecclesiastical ordinance which parliament passed, was willingness to "undergo the . . . office".¹² Nor can the presence of so many "Independent" names be attributed to a superfluity of zeal on the part of local Presbyterian ministers anxious to make a brave show on their lists. In the compiling of the lists the local clergy and the local gentry acted only as advisers to the county committees,¹³ who certified the

426; William Heveningham, p. 425; Roger Hill, p. 421; Lislibone Long, p. 417; Sir William Masham, p. 380; William Masham, p. 380; Sir Henry Mildmay, p. 375; John More, p. 415; Sir Roger North, p. 426; John Palmer, p. 420; Alexander Popham, p. 415; Edward Popham, p. 415; Edmund Prideaux, p. 404; John Pyne, p. 421; Robert Reynolds, p. 428; Alexander Rigby, p. 397; George Searle, p. 420; George Snelling, p. 403; George Thompson, p. 403; Benjamin Weston, p. 435; Henry Weston, p. 434; Sir Thomas Wrothe, p. 421. It is possible, of course, that the names in the presbytery lists in some cases coincide with those of the members of parliament by mere accident. For instance, John More who sits in parliament is not necessarily the John More whose name appears on the presbytery list. To reduce the chance of error to a minimum I have included in the above list only those members whose names occur in the lists of elders for the particular county for which they sat in parliament (twenty-four in number) and those who can be shown to have had some other special connection with the county where their names appear on the list of elders. Fifteen members in the above list did not sit in parliament for the counties where they were elders. Twelve of these fifteen, however, were active on the committees for those counties, as can be seen in *A.O.I.*, Volume I: Francis Allen, p. 746; John Ash, p. 68; Nathaniel Bacon, p. 639; William Ball, p. 970; Sir John Barrington, p. 91; Sir William Brereton, p. 44; Robert Goodwyn, p. 116; Edmund Harvey, p. 537; Roger Hill, p. 235; John Pyne, p. 170; Robert Reynolds, p. 235; Benjamin Weston, p. 624. William Heveningham of the Dunwich classis was a landowner in Suffolk (Alfred Suckling, *History and Antiquities of Suffolk*, 2 vols., London, 1847, pp. 384-90). The two "Independent" tryers of elders at the inns of court, Prideaux and Ellis, were important Interregnum lawyers.

¹¹ *A.O.I.*, I, 749-54.

¹² *Ibid.*, p. 749.

¹³ Shaw, II, 6.

final drafts to the houses of parliament.¹⁴ The "Independents" on the eldership lists were members of the very county committees that drew them up and of the house that ratified them. If they had any scruple about serving in a church organized along Presbyterian lines, they could easily keep their names off the lists either by refusing to allow the county committees to include them or by demanding in the house or in the Committee on Scandalous Sins, which finally approved the county lists, that their names be struck from the roster of elders.¹⁵ Both law and circumstance militated against the enrollment in presbyteries of members of the houses who did not care to belong. We can only conclude that the thirty-nine "Independents" enrolled in presbyteries were there because they wanted to be there, or at least had no objection to being there.¹⁶

At first glance this conclusion seems to leave us in a curious dilemma, and as we look further the dilemma grows "curiouser and curiouser". Our thirty-nine "Independents" serving in elderships are about one fifth of the two hundred regicides and rumpers in the house of commons. If we stop there, if only one fifth of our true-blue Independents turn out to be Presbyterians, our problem is puzzling enough. But the more rigorously we examine our data on the English Church during the Interregnum the more suspicious we grow. It would seem that far more than one fifth of the "Independents" were Presbyterians.

All of the thirty-nine Presbyterian "Independents" are listed as elders in one or another of seven counties. These seven counties are the only ones whose complete classis lists are extant.¹⁷ We have positive evidence, however, of the existence of more or less complete Presbyterian

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, II, 392, 421.

¹⁵ A particularly flagrant example of an "Independent" who failed to do anything of the sort is Sir William Masham. He was a member of the county committee for Essex (*A.O.J.*, I, 91), the committee which drafted the eldership list for the shire, and he was one of the ten members of the joint Committee on Scandalous Sins who signed the order approving the Essex eldership lists *on which his own name appeared* (Shaw, II, 380, 392).

¹⁶ Against this statement the fact that on most of the eldership lists the elders are certified merely as "fit to serve" cannot be urged. It is true that they were so certified, but the fact is of no significance. As pointed out above, fitness to serve depended in part on willingness to serve. The form of certification simply meant that the men listed were fit and willing to serve subject to the approval and ratification of the houses or of the joint Committee on Scandalous Sins (*ibid.*, pp. 374, 392, 412).

¹⁷ See Shaw, Vol. II, for them: Essex, pp. 374-92; Lancashire, pp. 393-98; London, pp. 399-404; Shropshire, pp. 406-12; Somerset, pp. 413-21; Suffolk, pp. 423-31; Surrey, pp. 431-35.

organizations in twelve other counties.¹⁸ And although positive proof is lacking, it is probable that some counties had presbyteries which disappeared, leaving no trace behind them. Otherwise, how are we to account for the fact that in the eastern tier of Puritan counties the only ones that have left no evidence of a Presbyterian establishment are Norfolk, not the least in zeal among them, and Cambridgeshire, the seat of the university which the Presbyterians regarded as peculiarly their own? Why should we assume that in the center of western Puritanism and surrounded by counties with presbyteries, Dorset had none and that, while Warwickshire had a full classical ordinance, neighboring Northamptonshire, a focal point of early English Presbyterianism, had none? ¹⁹ Far from assuming that our thirty-nine members include all the "Independents" who co-operated or connived in the establishment of Presbyterianism, we must admit that they are probably only that fraction of the whole group of equivocal "Independents" who happened to live in or be associated with the seven "list" counties.

Although returns for some counties are lacking and for others are useless because of their fragmentary character, we are singularly fortunate in the distribution of these seven "list" counties that did make full and complete returns. We have Essex and Suffolk in East Anglia, Surrey in the southeast, Somerset in the southwest, Shropshire in the western midlands, and Lancashire in the north.²⁰ Only the central and eastern midlands are not represented. Moreover, among the members for the "list" counties at the time of Pride's Purge a little less than three eighths became regicides or rumpers, and a little more than three eighths of the total membership of the house followed the same course.²¹

¹⁸ Shaw, Vol. II: Cheshire and Derbyshire, p. 373; Devonshire and Durham, p. 374; Hampshire, p. 393; Lincolnshire, p. 399; Northumberland, p. 405; Sussex and Warwickshire, p. 436; Wiltshire, pp. 437-38; Yorkshire, pp. 438-40; Westmorland, p. 369.

¹⁹ Shaw, II, 236; Roland G. Usher, *The Reconstruction of the English Church* (2 vols., New York, 1910), I, 252, 256.

²⁰ London cannot be said to be typical of any area in England but its own. As metropolitan capital its situation was unique.

²¹ Although thirty-nine regicides and rumpers belonged to presbyteries in the "list" counties, altogether only thirty-two rumpers and regicides sat for those counties. A considerable number of the "Presbyterian" Independents did not represent in parliament the counties where they served as elders (see note 10). Of the eighty-eight members who sat for the "list" counties the thirty-two rumpers and regicides comprise 36%. At the beginning of the Long Parliament there were altogether 513 members of the house of commons. The number was greatly reduced by the defection of the royalists and by

The proportion of regicides and rumpers among the representatives of the seven counties was thus almost the same as their proportion in the house at large. And since there was a modicum of sectional homogeneity in seventeenth century England, we may study the seven shires for which our data are adequate, if not as perfectly typical of the whole kingdom, at least as acute cases of a chronic and pandemic condition.

So we shall seek to arrive at a significant estimate of the amount of Presbyterianism among the "Independents" by studying its prevalence among the members of parliament representing the seven "list" counties. Altogether these seven counties returned eighty-eight members to the house of commons—Essex 8, Lancashire 14, Middlesex (including the borough of Southwark) 10, Shropshire 12, Somersetshire 16, Suffolk 16, Surrey 12. From the eighty-eight we may, however, strike out four who apparently had no connection with the local politics or the social and economic life of the counties where their parliamentary constituencies were located.²² The remaining eighty-four members do have such connections.²³ Most of them, sixty-one in all, were listed in their county elderships. The other twenty-three owned land or were active in politics in the shires where they had their parliamentary seats.²⁴

death. In 1645, however, the house began to issue writs for new elections to refill the vacant seats. By the time of Pride's Purge the membership was nearly back to its original size. About two hundred of the commoners sitting at that time became regicides or rumpers—that is, 40%. In our later consideration of the religious situation in the "list" counties we shall eliminate from consideration one of the thirty-two rumpers and regicides and three of the other members for reasons cited in note 22.

²² I have been unable to find any evidence of the association of Sir Charles Legrosse, a Norfolk man, with Suffolk (*Norfolk Archeology*, III, 90), of Walter Strickland, a northerner, with Somerset, of Sir Edward Spencer with Middlesex, or of Sir Richard Wynne with Lancashire. In 1647 there was a movement to expel Legrosse from parliament on grounds of malignancy. Strickland spent most of his time in Holland as parliamentary agent. Spencer was returned from Middlesex some time after the first eldership list for the county was published. Wynne, an old courtier from Wales (G. E. C. [Cockayne], *Complete Baronetage*, 5 vols., Exeter, 1900, I, 64-65), was seated for Liverpool on the Molyneux-Stanley interest (J. A. Picton, *Memorials of Liverpool*, 2 vols., London, 1875, I, 83). It is perhaps best therefore to eliminate all four from our present consideration.

²³ On a strict interpretation eighty-two might be a more accurate number; but although Sir John Clotworthy (member for Maldon, Essex) and William Masham (member for Shrewsbury, Shropshire) had no connection with the places which returned them as members, nevertheless they resided in "list" counties, Clotworthy in Middlesex (*Accounts and Papers*, 1876, LXII, pt. 1, 488, "Members of Parliament") and Masham in Essex (*A.O.J.*, I, 91). Since they were thus just as available as the other eighty-two for service in "list" county elderships, we may include them in our study.

²⁴ William Langton was of an old Lancashire family (Edward Baine, *History of the*

Of these eighty-four commoners, twenty-four were regicides or rumpers in their county presbyteries, thirty-seven others, not regicides or rumpers, were also in their county presbyteries, but the remaining twenty-three had no connection with the parliamentary Presbyterian Church.²⁵ Now the very best we could hope for would be that these twenty-three non-Presbyterians should turn out to be regicides and rumpers. Were this the case, the regicides and rumpers, that is to say, the "Independents", would still be a bastard breed, nearly half Presbyterian. Such a mongrel Independency would do violence to our old conception of party divisions in the Long Parliament. The actual situation, however, does considerably more violence to that conception. For as a matter of fact only seven of these twenty-three commoners not included in the presbyteries were regicides and rumpers.²⁶ This gives a total of thirty-one "Independent" members for the seven "list" counties, and over 75

County . . . of Lancaster, 4 vols., London, 1836, IV, p. 409). Anthony Bedingsfield's family had land in Suffolk where he was returned from Dunwich (John Burke, . . . *History of the Commoners of England*, 4 vols., London, 1836, IV, p. 409). For Sir John Clotworthy see the above note. For the other members not connected with the county presbyteries see *A.O.I.*, Volume I: James Ash, p. 974; William Bell, p. 114; Sir Robert Bindlose, p. 707; William Carent, p. 1243; Humphrey Edwards, p. 447; Sir Gilbert Gerard, and John Glynn, p. 536; Thomas Grove, p. 974; Thomas Hodges, p. 1091; John Holcroft, p. 1239; Capel Luckyn, p. 1237; Thomas Mackworth, p. 1091; William Lord Monson, p. 1093; Sir Poynings More, p. 1094; Sir Robert Parkhurst, p. 1095; Isaac Pennington, p. 1087; Thomas Sandys, p. 976; Sir Thomas Soame, p. 1087; Samuel Vassal and John Venn, p. 1087.

²⁵ The number twenty-four is used here instead of thirty-nine because, although thirty-nine regicide and rumpers members of parliament had elderships in the seven "list" counties, fifteen of the thirty-nine did not sit in parliament from these counties. See note 10 above.

For the thirty-seven members of parliament from the seven "list" counties who were not regicides or rumpers but who belonged to the presbyteries of their respective counties, see Shaw, Volume II: Sir Ralph Ashton and Ralph Ashton, p. 394; William Ashurst, p. 395; Francis Bacon, p. 426; Sir Nathaniel Barnardiston, p. 429; Sir Thomas Barnardiston, p. 429; Maurice Barrow, p. 428 (there spelled Batrow); Alexander Bence and Squire Bence, p. 425; Edward Bishe, p. 434; Sir Humphrey Briggs, p. 409; Sir Ambrose Brown, p. 433; Sir Robert Charlton, p. 411; Sir Thomas Cheke, p. 375; Robert Clive and Sir John Corbett, p. 410; Sir Simond Dewes, p. 428; George Evelyn, p. 433; Sir John Evelyn, p. 434; Harbottle Grimston, p. 391; George Horner, p. 417; Sir Richard Houghton, p. 396; Thomas Hunt, p. 407; Sir Martin Lumley, p. 384; Thomas More, p. 412; Sir Richard Onslow and William Owfield, p. 434; Sir Philip Parker, p. 423; William Pierpont, p. 409; Sir William Playters, p. 426; John Sayer, p. 388; Richard Shuttleworth, sr., and Richard Shuttleworth, jr., p. 394; Sir William Spring, p. 428; William Strode, p. 417; Esay Thomas, p. 412; Clement Walker, p. 415.

²⁶ James Ash, Humphrey Edwards, Thomas Hodges, Thomas Mackworth, William Lord Monson, Isaac Pennington, John Venn.

per cent of them were Presbyterians. The remaining fifty-three members, who were neither regicides nor rumpers, did not, politically speaking, survive Pride's Purge. They were the "Presbyterians". But of these "Presbyterians" only 70 per cent belonged to their county presbyteries. Our study moves toward a most curious conclusion. As we naturally should expect, a rather high percentage of "Presbyterians" were Presbyterians; but as we most assuredly should not expect, an even higher percentage of "Independents" were Presbyterians.

This analysis may encounter an objection. It may be said that it is unfair to jumble all the members who were not regicides or rumpers together and label them Presbyterians, that those only should be called Presbyterian who were excluded or arrested in Pride's Purge. Instead of objecting to this distinction, although on the theory that Presbyterians and Independents were mutually exclusive groups it is a very dubious one, let us make the distinction and study the results. Twenty-five arrested or excluded members sat for the seven counties and had local interests in those counties besides representing them in parliament. Only about five eighths of these twenty-five "Presbyterians", *i. e.*, sixteen, were enrolled as elders in their several counties. More than six eighths of the "Independents" who sat for these counties were so enrolled.²⁷ However we interpret our data we reach the same stultifying result: Among the members who sat for these seven counties the proportion of "Independents" who were Presbyterian was greater than the proportion of "Presbyterians" who were Presbyterian. And since we may consider these counties as roughly typical of the rest,²⁸ the same proposition is true for parliament as a whole. That is to say, *there was a larger proportion of Presbyterian "Independents" than of Presbyterian "Presbyterians" in the Long Parliament.* The use of quotation marks in our discussion of the "Presbyterians" and "Independents" as

²⁷ That is, twenty-four of the thirty-one "Independents". See the tables in note 29 below. The twenty-five members from the seven counties, purged by Pride and not returning to the house, were distributed as follows: in presbyteries—Sir Ralph Ashton, Maurice Barrow, Sir Ambrose Brown, Sir John Corbett, Sir Simond Dewes, Harbottle Grimston, George Horner, Sir Martin Lumley, Sir Richard Onslow, William Owfield, Sir Philip Parker, Sir William Playters, Sir William Spring, William Strode, Esay Thomas, Clement Walker; not in presbyteries—Sir Robert Bindlose, Sir John Clotworthy, Sir Gilbert Gerrard, John Glynn, Thomas Grove, John Holcroft, Thomas Sandys, Sir Thomas Soame, Samuel Vassal. For lists of excluded and arrested members see William Prynne, *The True and Full Relation* (London, 1648), p. 11; *The Second Part of the Narrative* (London, 1648), pp. 3-8; *The Parliamentary History of England to 1803* (36 vols., London, 1806-20), III, pp. 248-49.

²⁸ See page 35.

political parties stands as a barrier between us and sheer nonsense.²⁹

If the bulk of the parliamentary "Presbyterian" party lagged behind the "Independents" in enthusiasm for joining presbyteries, it might be thought that the former party acquired its label through the superior orthodoxy of its leaders. The leaders of the "Presbyterian" party, at least according to the idea of the Independent army, which had good cause to know, were the eleven members impeached by that army in 1647. By the time of the Restoration three of them were dead,³⁰ and two received no honors from the returned Stuart.³¹ But among the rest were distributed three knighthoods and a knighthood of the Bath, a baronetcy, a barony, and a viscounty.³² One of the eleven, who became a knight and also a king's sergeant, had been lord chief justice under Oliver Cromwell, and the viscount had served on one of the Protectorate commissions for the settlement of Ireland. Another of the impeached members sat in all of the Protectorate parliaments.³³ Of

²⁹ The statistical results of our study may be represented county by county in this tabular form:

	Independents in presbyteries	Presbyterians in presbyteries	Independents not in presbyteries	Presbyterians not in presbyteries	Not connected with the place from which they sit	TOTALS
Essex	2*	—	0	2	0	8
Lancashire	4	—	0	3	1	14
Middlesex	2	—	2	5*	1	10
Shropshire	2	—	2	1	0	12
Somerset	8	—	2	2	1	16
Suffolk	4	1C	0	1	1	16
Surrey	2	—	1	2	0	12
TOTALS	24	37	7	16	4	88

	No. in presbyteries	% in presbyteries	No. not in presbyteries	% not in presbyteries
Independents	24	77	7	23
Presbyterians	37	70	16	30
Members secluded or arrested 1648	16	64	9	36

*For the inclusion of William Ma ham and John Clotworthy in the numbers indicated see above, note 23.

³⁰ Sir Philip Stapleton, Sir John Maynard, Anthony Nicholas.

³¹ Sir William Lewis, Sir William Waller.

³² Edward Massey and John Glynn, knights; Edward Harley, knight and K.B.; Walter Long, baronet; Denzil Holles, Baron Holles; John Clotworthy, Viscount Massareene.

³³ In the same order, Glynn, Clotworthy, Nicholas.

course, the peculiar adaptability of so many of the eleven members to the shifting of the political wind cannot be taken to prove absolutely that they were not staunch Presbyterians. It should, however, make us think twice before we assume that they were models of orthodox zeal.

What we are able to discover of the religious opinions of individuals among the eleven serves to confirm our suspicion of their Presbyterian ardor. Specific evidence as to the theological preferences of four of them is lacking, while a fifth is a doubtful case.³⁴ Of the remaining six Sir John Maynard seems to have been a "real" Presbyterian.³⁵ Massey, on the other hand, was ready to betray Gloucester to the king at the very time that negotiations were under way for an alliance between parliament and the champions of the godly discipline from Scotland.³⁶ Waller dreamed of a latitudinarian Puritanism altogether incompatible with the divine right of presbyteries,³⁷ and Edward Harley at the Restoration became a regular communicant of the Church of England.³⁸ John Glynn, whose feline talent for landing on his feet brought him unscathed through one political crisis after another, conducted one of the earliest recorded filibusters in the house of commons. A "Presbyterian" leader, he filibustered against a bill that would have freed presbyteries from political regulation.³⁹ His is not the most startling case. In March, 1646, the commons passed a church bill which Baillie, the Scottish commissioner, attributed to the joint machinations of the Erastians and Independents and considered so entirely evil that he doubted whether the Presbyterian ministers would consent to perform their offices under it.⁴⁰ By way of contrast the commoner who carried the bill to the lords celebrated the date of its passage as

³⁴ Stapleton, Nicholas, Lewis, Long. Clotworthy may or may not have been a zealous Presbyterian; see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*

³⁵ Siranniho [John Harris], *The Royal Quarrel* (London, 1647). Harris's distinction between "real" and "royal" Presbyterians is illuminating.

³⁶ Gardiner, *Civil War*, I, 198, and n. 2. Clarendon says of Massey that he was "not intoxicated with any of those fumes which made men rave and frantic in the cause" (*History of the Rebellion and Civil Wars in England*, re-edited by W. Dunn Macray, 6 vols., Oxford, 1888, bk. VII, sec. 158).

³⁷ "There may be different characters of parties in the church . . . Episcopalians . . . Presbyterians and . . . Independents; and yet all be Israelites indeed." Sir William Waller, *Vindication of the Character and Conduct of Sir William Waller* (London, 1793), p. 228.

³⁸ *Letters of the Lady Brilliana Harley*, T. T. Lewis, ed. (Camden Society, London, 1853), p. 241.

³⁹ Bulstrode Whitelocke, *Memorials of the English Affairs* (London, 1732), pp. 110-11.

⁴⁰ Baillie, II, 360-61.

"the dawning of a glorious day which our ancestors hoped to have seen but could not".⁴¹ This enthusiast for a measure hated by true Presbyterians was certainly not an Independent; he may have been an Erastian, and he was indisputably the acknowledged leader of the "Presbyterian" party in the house. His name was Denzil Holles. To the question, "How Presbyterian was the 'Presbyterian' party?" the true answer seems to be, "Not very".

Dr. William A. Shaw has shown that the Presbyterianism of the parliamentary Presbyterian Church was as equivocal an affair as the Independency of the "Independents".⁴² To complete the record let us review briefly the history of the establishment of the parliamentary church during the Civil War.⁴³ Presbyterianism is rather difficult to define. It is not simply Calvinism. Archbishop Whitgift and John Cotton were both orthodox Calvinists without being Presbyterians. Presbyterianism is Calvinism operating under a specific form and substance of church government. The form of Presbyterian church government is a hierarchy of ecclesiastical tribunals beginning with the congregation and ending in the national synod. That hierarchy existed in law in England during the late forties of the seventeenth century.⁴⁴ The substance of Presbyterianism is the jurisdiction, independent of the state, exercised by the ecclesiastical courts over the whole nation in all questions of morals. This is the "godly discipline" of Geneva and Scotland, abhorred by Charles I.⁴⁵ Without it the Presbyterian tribunals are courts without jurisdiction, empty and impotent.

For a year and a half, from January, 1645, to June, 1646, the Long Parliament labored at the ecclesiastical settlement. The Grand Committee on Religion of the house of commons debated the problems of the settlement, often three times a week, for a year after the battle of Naseby.⁴⁶ There is no question here of unconsidered emergency legislation hastily adopted because of the exigencies of war. Throughout

⁴¹ *Journal of the House of Lords*, VIII, 202; see Clarendon's statement (bk. VIII, sec. 248) that Holles confessed that he was merely using the Presbyterians to oppose the Independents.

⁴² Shaw, Vol. I.

⁴³ For the most important ecclesiastical ordinances see *A.O.I.*, Volume I: regulating the election of elders, Aug. 19, 1645, pp. 749-54; concerning church government and suspension from the sacraments, Oct. 20, 1645, pp. 789-93; amending previous ordinances, June 5, 1646, pp. 852-55.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 749-54.

⁴⁵ *Charles I in 1646*, J. Bruce, ed. (Camden Soc., 1856), pp. 22-23.

⁴⁶ *E.g.*, *C. J.*, IV, 266-72.

eighteen months the pressure on parliament to establish the godly discipline never relaxed. The Scots commissioners, the assembly of divines, the city of London, the clergy of London—four of the most powerful of parliament's allies—united to force the houses to grant the substance of jurisdiction to the presbyteries.⁴⁷ At one point the assembly threatened a clerical sit-down strike unless they had their way. The unrelenting hammering to which the commons were subjected finally brought out a statement of their position so explicit as to leave no possible doubt as to their intentions. "We cannot", they declared flatly, "consent to the granting of so arbitrary and unlimited jurisdiction to near ten thousand judicatories to be erected within this kingdom . . . by necessary consequence excluding the power of the Parliament in the exercise of that jurisdiction."⁴⁸ When the time for action came the commons proved that they had meant precisely what they said; they had no intention of turning England over to the tender mercies of the elderships. The scheme of ecclesiastical discipline ultimately adopted by parliament was anything but the answer to a Presbyterian's prayer. Instead of granting "arbitrary and unlimited jurisdiction" to the presbyteries, it gave them a regulated jurisdiction over a limited group of scandalous sins. In all cases not enumerated in the ordinance appeal lay not through the hierarchy of church courts but directly from the congregational eldership to a committee of both houses of parliament.⁴⁹ The final determination of the power of the presbyteries lay not between them and God, as the Presbyterians would have had it, but with a parliament that had already manifested its sympathy with John Selden's war cry, "Chain up the clergy on both sides."⁵⁰ Several months after parliament had passed the basic ordinance on church discipline, King Charles I contrasted the true Presbyterian system of Scotland, where "the clergie will depend on none", with the pseudo-Presbyterianism of England, where the clergy depended on the two houses without the king.⁵¹ Charles knew whereof he spoke. As Baillie, the Scottish Kirk commissioner, bitterly observed, the English ordinance set up merely "a lame Erastian presbyterie". With full consciousness of what it was doing, parliament established the outer shell of Presbyterian church government in England; but,

⁴⁷ *L.J.*, VII, 558-59, VIII, 105, 232, 258.

⁴⁸ *C. J.*, IV, 513.

⁴⁹ *A.O.I.*, I, 852-55.

⁵⁰ John Selden, *Table Talk* (London, 1906), p. 30.

⁵¹ *State Papers collected by Edward, Earl of Clarendon*, Richard Scrope and Thomas Monkhouse, eds. (3 vols., Oxford, 1767-86), II, 260.

still fully conscious of the implication of its act, parliament refused to breathe into that shell what alone could give it real life and power—"arbitrary and unlimited jurisdiction", the substance of Presbyterian discipline.⁵²

We thus emerge from our investigation with "Independents" who were not Independents adhering in a larger proportion than "Presbyterians" who were not Presbyterian to a "Presbyterian Church" that was not really Presbyterian. Such a conclusion has a certain destructive value. If in the Long Parliament many "Independents" were members of presbyteries and many "Presbyterians" were not members of presbyteries, if the leadership of the "Presbyterian party" was hardly Presbyterian at all, and if the Presbyterian Church was to some degree Erastian, then the Long Parliament could not have been simply the arena for a titanic struggle between real Presbyterians and real Independents. This statement is painfully negative and has no constructive value. It explains nothing; the anomaly of the Presbyterian Independents remains an anomalous as before. It is possible either to leave the whole problem in the air or to suggest an explanation for which evidence cannot be given within the limits of this article. Accepting the latter alternative and hoping at a future time to present the supporting proofs, we offer some generalizations.⁵³

John Pym dominated the house of commons in the first year of the Civil War. During the time of his hegemony no religious issues of any consequence emerged in parliament, and in many instances party divisions in the houses cut clean across sectarian lines. In the twelve-month that followed Pym's death it was the intensity of a man's religious ardor rather than the nature of his favorite brand of church government that determined his party allegiance. All the fiery and militant Puritans, regardless of their sectarian preference, were united in a single alliance—the *soi-disant* "godly party". It was not for an ultimate common end that the militant Puritans worked together. For the time being they all despised the same things and the same people with such intense fervor that they did not need a constructive program to bind them together. Hostile to all members of parliament more moderate and more peace-loving than themselves, distrustful of the military skill and the devotion to the "cause" of the lord general, the

⁵² The Presbyterianism described above is of course Reformation Presbyterianism, not the twentieth century variety.

⁵³ The writer expects to publish soon a monographic survey of Civil War politics in the period of John Pym's leadership.

Earl of Essex, the "godly party" set out to harass the moderates and discredit the earl. They attained their latter objective when Essex's army surrendered to the royalists at Lostwithiel. Immediately thereafter, toward the end of 1644, the "godly party" was torn asunder. Since its internal cohesion was destroyed by the emergence of the religious issue in an acute form, we must briefly analyze the religious situation in the Civil War parliament.

Shrewd John Selden once remarked: "The House of Commons is called the Lower House in twenty acts of Parliament; but what are twenty acts of Parliament among friends?"⁵⁴ The commons were the tail that wagged the dog, and since the outbreak of hostilities the commons had been overwhelmingly Puritan. They could be satisfied by no mere half-hearted changes in the church. In contrast to the moderate Anglicans and the out-and-out Erastians, who wanted only a readjustment or diminution of ecclesiastical power, the Puritan mass in the lower house insisted on the need for a fundamental spiritual reform of the church. The minimum of reform acceptable to all the Puritans involved the abolition of ritualism and drastic revision of the prayer book, the reaffirmation of pure Calvinist doctrine, an increased emphasis on the preaching of the Word, radical alterations in the existing church government, and the embodiment of these reforms in a unified national church. Probably the aspirations of the bulk of Puritan commoners were no more specific than this. Differences lay in the intensity rather than in the form of aspiration. There were in the house, however, men with clear and distinct ideas as to the best or the only form of church government suitable to carry out the reforms commonly desired. Unfortunately their ideas were not identical; they were divided into three separate groups. All three groups either antedated the Long Parliament or could point to ideological predecessors earlier in the seventeenth century. The Erastian Puritans felt that the desired reforms could best be achieved through a sharp reduction of clerical power in general and of the power of the bishops in particular and through the transfer of part of the king's ecclesiastical prerogative to parliament. The Presbyterians, on the other hand, would have no truck with the bishops. They wanted to displace episcopacy altogether for the only form of church government plainly set forth in Holy Scripture—Genevan-Scottish Presbyterianism. The Independents also wanted to abolish episcopacy for the only form of church government plainly set forth

⁵⁴ Selden, p. 31.

in Scripture—the congregational form on New England models. Now the very soul of the “godly party” had been its Presbyterian and Independent leaders, and in 1645 the question of church government divided these leaders and thereby destroyed the spiritual unity of the “godly party”. As a consequence of this split the Puritan religious settlement was the result of a series of bewilderingly shifting coalitions among the three doctrinaire religious groups. By 1645 episcopacy was a dead issue. It had been destroyed by the Covenant, the work of Presbyterians, Independents, and nonsectarian Puritans, two years before. Now, *faute de mieux*, the Erastians⁵⁵ and the mass of Puritans united with the Presbyterians to set up the form of Presbyterian government and then, quickly putting about, united with the Independents to prevent the establishment of a real Presbyterian discipline. The resulting ecclesiastical settlement, recorded in legislation between 1645 and 1648, may not have been perfect in the eyes of most Puritans, but it probably represented a rough approximation to what they wanted. If it had not, we would not find nearly three quarters of them “joining up” in our seven “list” counties.

While the members were settling the church a curious and complicated set of crosscurrents developed in parliament. In 1644 young Henry Vane and Oliver St. John, the leaders of the Independents, foresaw the imminent breakdown of the “godly party”, and they worked out a clever scheme to prevent the balance of power from falling into the hands of the Presbyterians. The conduct of the military campaign of 1644 had profoundly disappointed the high hopes of the militant Puritans, and consequently the Independents had no trouble in swinging them in favor of a general army reform. The Independent leaders so manipulated the reform as to displace a high command actually or potentially hostile to them with an officer group friendly to them. At the same time the reforms gave the new force a unified command and reasonable assurance of regular supply and pay. The result was the great New Model army, of which Gardiner somewhere says that it was not the army of a party but the army of the nation. But really the unique fact about the New Model was that it was both the one and the other and something else besides. In the pay of parliament, it represented the nation insofar as the will of the nation and the will of the majority in parliament coincided. Moreover, its commanders were closely united to the parliamentary Independents by bonds of sympathy,

⁵⁵ I. e., Puritan Erastians like Maynard and Whitlocke and non-Puritan Erastians like Selden (if there was anybody else like Selden).

friendship, and obligation. Soon, however, it developed an *esprit de corps* and aims and purposes of its own, not always congruent with the aims of the parliamentary Independents or the will of the nation. As long as it kept busy beating the royalist enemy and insuring the departure of the Scots army from England, it enjoyed a broad general support among the Puritans. When, however, it deviated from its national ends and began to develop distinct political and religious tendencies of its own, and when its military work was accomplished, most of the Puritans thought that the time had come to get rid of it. The minority that sympathized with some of the army's political or religious objectives stood by it, and the parliamentary Independents, unable to muster a majority in either house under any circumstances without the threat of force, naturally followed the course set by the army that they could no longer control.

Meanwhile the split in the "godly party" had had a further influence on the development of parliamentary politics. Throughout 1644 the Independent chiefs, young Vane and Oliver St. John, had acted in closest conjunction with the real leaders of the parliamentary Presbyterians, the Scottish commissioners in London. When, because of the religious schism in the "godly party", they could no longer use them, the Independent leaders were ready to throw the Scots to the wolves. They turned on them as before they had turned on Essex and, playing on the old English distrust of a traditional enemy, tried to destroy them. This policy of the Independents and the obvious hostility of the New Model to Presbyterianism drove the Scots and their English followers into the waiting arms of the Earl of Essex and the moderate, pacific members of parliament. Many of the moderates were Erastians with no special affection for Presbyterianism and no special antipathy to reformed Episcopacy. To retain the support of these men for the parliamentary Presbyterian Church the Scots and their friends accepted the conservative political program of the moderates and in so doing subordinated their former zeal for radical political reform to the quest for peace. Most of the real Presbyterians and many of the less radical Puritans joined with the old "peace party" in an effort to get rid of the army, while on the other side the friends of the New Model rallied to its defense. The conflict reached its climax in 1647, when the army saved itself from being disbanded by overawing the hostile majority in parliament. Thenceforth the men at Westminster had to face the problem of the relation of the military force to the civil government. In December, 1648, the army itself effected an arbitrary solution of this

and many other problems by forcing out of parliament all members who would not implicitly sanction its violent method of dealing with a recalcitrant king.

The general situation just outlined is undeniably complex, but it is nonetheless a drastic simplification of the actual development of political groups in the Long Parliament. In the complexity of this development lies our key to "the problem of the Presbyterian Independents". The average Puritan commoner who, more or less willingly, joined the parliamentary Presbyterian Church never had a chance to choose between Presbyterianism and Independency, between persecution and toleration, between war and peace. Instead of having his choice between an ideal black and an ideal white he had to pick his way among an infinite variety of grays—shifting, unstable, uncertain. He could not choose between real Presbyterianism and real Independency because those alternatives were never offered him.⁵⁶ He had to choose, rather, between the flaccid, trussed-up Presbyterianism that parliament had established and the continually fluctuating program of the Independents, who shifted from Presbyterianism with toleration of dissent to Episcopacy with toleration of dissent to an undefined form of church government with toleration of dissent. Moreover at various times the Puritan member would find questions not immediately germane to the religious question influencing his attitude on church government. Might the establishment of Presbyterianism by parliament involve moral obligations to the Scottish foreigner? Was Presbyterianism worth the sacrifices of political principle that the moderates expected as the price of their co-operation? Could one conscientiously submit to the surrender of some of parliament's political demands in order to induce the king to accept Presbyterianism? How far could one trust the king to fulfill any promise he might make with regard to the settlement of the church? How good was the king's word? And if his word was worthless, what securities had parliament and the Puritans against his treachery? Might it not be better to cast him off altogether and remodel both church and state nearer to the heart's desire? But how would such a violent act consort with the Covenant that parliament had made with the Scots, before God, "to protect the

⁵⁶ In the early months of 1646, during the excommunication controversy, parliament did have a choice between real Presbyterianism and something else, but that something else was not real Independency or any other kind of Independency. Indeed as a part of their campaign to prevent the establishment of real Presbyterianism men like St. John accepted the form of a Presbyterian church government.

King's person"? So a member might start to examine his belief on the proper organization of the church and end by examining his belief on the proper organization of the state. Or he might start with the state and end with the church. Or he might start with either one and end with the question of the limits of religious toleration or of the danger of military dictatorship or democracy. On any issue that came to vote in parliament a member had to give his yea or his nay; but on a single issue twelve men might give their yeas for twelve different reasons. Their overt act would be identical, their underlying motives diverse.

To this rule the question of allegiance to the Commonwealth was no exception. Every member, Puritan or non-Puritan, had to decide whether to give his allegiance; but each man had his own reasons for his decision, and the number of permutations and combinations of possible reasons is enormous. The desire for religious toleration doubtless impelled many Independents to support the Commonwealth; but to argue that because many Independents were Commonwealthmen, therefore all Commonwealthmen were Independents is to indulge in a *non sequitur*. One could as well reason that because many grafters and profiteers were Commonwealthmen, therefore all Commonwealthmen were grafters and profiteers. In fact there were republicans in the Rump who cared little for Independency or toleration and Independents who cared little for republicanism. There were also officers playing the old army game of follow-the-leader and radical Puritans who felt that the Stuart dynasty was hopeless although they had no prepossessions in favor of Independency or republicanism or toleration. As in every other considerable political group, so in the Rump there were men who had taken the path of least resistance and men too cowardly to defy superior force, men who, having no principles, always turned up on the winning side and men whose principles bore a regular functional relation to their profits.⁵⁷ Most of the rumpers were, of course, Puritans. They believed in a national church, Puritan in doctrine and spirit. The church established by parliament in 1645-48 met these specifications. It

⁵⁷ Professor M. M. Knappen has brought to my attention a passage from Mrs. Hutchinson's biography of her husband which seems to bear out my hypothesis of the complex structure of the Rump parliament. She says: "Most of the Presbyterian faction, disgusted at this insolence [Pride's Purge], would no more come to their seats in the House; but the gentlemen who were of the other faction or of none at all, but looked upon themselves as called out to manage a public trust for their country, forsook not their seats while they were permitted to sit in the House". Lucy Hutchinson, *Life of Colonel John Hutchinson* (London, 1899), p. 331.

might be a little too Presbyterian for some and not quite Presbyterian enough for others, but still it would do; only papists, prelatists, and fanatics could find no place in it. Accordingly, many members who later sat in the Rump served as elders in the parliamentary Presbyterian Church. There was no reason why they should feel guilty of inconsistency because, in fact, they were not so.

Having suggested why, in our opinion, so many Commonwealthmen were members of the Presbyterian Church, we may attempt briefly to explain how the polymorphous group of regicides and rumpers came to be called Independents. To a generation that has observed the multiple and indiscriminate uses of the words "fascist", "communist", and "liberal" this explanation should present no serious difficulties. As soon as the Civil War got properly under way gentlemen on all sides started calling their opponents ugly names and themselves pretty ones. To hurl opprobrious epithets at the enemy was as integral a part of the combat as to slit the enemy's throat or pillage his wine-cellar, stable, and pig-pen. Indeed the fabrication of epithet is the only technique of warfare in which the Industrial Revolution has wrought no perceptible improvement. Among the labels, honorific and comminatory, which the factions pasted on themselves and each other during the Interregnum were Cavalier, Malignant, Delinquent, Papist, Loyalist, Royalist, Puritan, Roundhead, Brownist, Rebel, Commonwealthman, Republican, Cromwellian, Presbyterian, Independent, Anabaptist, and Neuter. Some of these labels had meaning only with reference to the contemporary conflict. A "Rebel" was anybody fighting on the side opposite to you. "Neuter" was the name which, whatever side you were on, you would apply to anybody who did not share your enthusiasm for disemboweling the kingdom for the greater glory of God and the king, or God and the parliament. Other epithets, however, had besides their objurgatory value a permanent meaning. If you were a parliamentarian, a "Papist" would mean to you one on the king's side with a strenuous distrust for Puritanism, but a papist was at the same time and specifically a communicant of the Roman Catholic Church. As a parliamentarian you would have had no scruple about labeling Walter Montague and the Duke of Newcastle as "Papists"; but in fact while Montague was really a papist, Newcastle in a vague sort of way was a good Anglican.⁵⁸ What is true of the word "Papist" is equally true of the words "Presbyterian" and "Independent". In theological discussion a Presbyterian was a Calvinist be-

⁵⁸ For Walter Montague see *Dict. Nat. Biog.*; for Newcastle, Margaret, Duchess of Newcastle, *Memoirs of William Cavendish, Duke of Newcastle* (London, 1886), p. 185.

lieving in a specific form of church government and a specific method of ecclesiastical discipline. An Independent was a Calvinist who supported another specific form of church government and another specific method of ecclesiastical discipline. But if you were a member of the house or a pamphleteer during the Long Parliament and wanted to call somebody a bad name, you probably would not let fine-spun theological distinctions hamper you. If, for example, the somebody to be vilified had opposed the disbanding of the New Model army, got a job for his uncle through the good offices of Sir Henry Vane the younger, and voted to sequester the estates of your royalist brother-in-law, like as not you called that man "Independent" without examining too closely his religious position. Such an examination might have revealed that doctrinally the man was a reasonably orthodox Presbyterian. By calling him an "Independent" you would have made a small contribution to the general confusion about the nature of parties in the Long Parliament.

For the pamphleteer the supposititious division of the Long Parliament into two distinct parties may have served a useful purpose. One who has already divided the world into the forces of good and the forces of evil always finds it convenient to paste the same black label on all men and all things he dislikes, to see God on one side and the Devil on the other and in between a great gulf. The purposes of the historian are not—or should not be—identical with those of the pamphleteer. He should be less concerned to fix guilt than to understand the complex of forces that creates the form, the substance, and the texture of what he is examining. A historian studying the Civil War parliament, free from the prepossessions inflicted on him by the pamphleteer, is not likely to see it as the arena for a clean-cut struggle between two opposed parties. He will see, rather, an almost anarchic hurly-burly of men, in which all but the most doctrinaire are pulled in many different directions by many forces varying in their intensity as the circumstances vary. He will see these fluctuations in aspiration, belief, interest, and prejudice actualized in the forming, disintegrating, reforming, and shifting majorities in the house of commons. Eventually he may reach some conclusion as to the significance and relative importance of the various forces. But whether he reaches a conclusion or not, he will readily agree to the old but too often forgotten axiom of scholarship, that the purposes of knowledge and understanding are but poorly served by the arbitrary simplification of a really complex pattern.

J. H. HEXTER.

Massachusetts Institute of Technology.

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE TARIFF ISSUE ON THE EVE OF THE CIVIL WAR

ONE of the outstanding features of Dr. and Mrs. Charles A. Beard's interpretation of the Civil War is its emphasis upon the tariff as a causal factor. In *The Rise of American Civilization* they stress the enthusiasm shown for the tariff platform at the Republican convention in Chicago and the crucial role that the tariff played in the Pennsylvania and New Jersey elections.¹ There can be little doubt that the condition of the iron and coal industries, always a great power in Pennsylvania politics, influenced the Republican platform on the tariff. That platform carried the state for Lincoln, and the presence of Pennsylvania in the Republican column was necessary to his election. This raises the question whether Pennsylvania and its industries represented an attitude prevailing in the North.

The tariff of 1857 was the lowest tariff enacted by Congress since 1816. The attitude of manufacturers toward that bill should serve as an index of the vitality of the tariff issue in the North. The record reveals that outside of Pennsylvania Northern industry offered no serious opposition to reduction. On the contrary, the reductions were welcomed. This was not because manufacturers were reductionists in principle, but because political exigencies led them to seek lowered duties on raw materials as a substitute for direct protection. Thus we find Senator Wilson of Massachusetts declaring during the debates that in his state the "merchants, manufacturers, mechanics and business men in all the departments of a various industry . . . are for the reduction of the revenues to the actual wants of an economical administration of the government". He said that he had received a note from Samuel Lawrence, in which the latter declared that "a reduction of the revenue alone would save the country from a commercial crisis . . . and that the manufacturers of Massachusetts were prepared to share with other interests in the reduction which the exigencies of the country now impose upon the American people".² Sherman of Ohio later spoke of the tariff of 1857 as "the manufacturers' bill", a characterization which was also

¹ C. A. and M. R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York, 1933), II, 12, 31-40.

² *Congressional Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., app., p. 344.

expressed at the time of its passage by Stanton of Ohio and Letcher of Virginia.³

Certainly the majority of votes from the manufacturing states (other than Pennsylvania) was not cast against the reductions in the Hunter amendment of 1857. The roll call in the Senate shows every vote from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island cast for the bill; New York split its vote, Fish standing for and Seward against; the only vote cast from New Hampshire was favorable. In the House the votes from Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Rhode Island were fourteen to one in favor of the measure. While Pennsylvania voted quite solidly against it, New York stood sixteen to eleven and New Jersey two to one in favor.⁴

Although the Hunter amendment, providing for a general reduction in all schedules, brought forth a sectional vote and a sectional controversy, the sections involved were not the North and the South. Nor was there a quarrel between manufactures and cotton. In the House all but three votes from the South, including Maryland, were in favor of reduction, but with this solid Southern front were allied the Northern states of Massachusetts, Connecticut, and Maine, and three fifths of New York. Outside of Pennsylvania the bulk of the opposition was drawn not from the manufacturing areas but from the agricultural and sheep-raising states of Vermont, Illinois, Ohio, Indiana, and Michigan. It was this alignment which led one Ohio representative to speak of "the coalition of extreme sections of the country against the Northwest".⁵

The real conflict in 1857 was between the woolen manufacturers and the wool growers, both of whom had been in bad straits since the tariff of 1846. During the decade following 1850 the domestic wool producer had steadily lost ground in the face of foreign competition; by 1860 two thirds of all the wool consumed in the country were foreign.⁶ The House ways and means committee in 1856 had ascribed the depression in wool growing and woolen manufactures to the tariff of 1846, which had raised the duties on raw wools to thirty per cent ad valorem and reduced that on flannels and blankets to twenty per

³ *Ibid.*, p. 589; 36 Cong., 1 sess., p. 2053; see also J. L. Bishop, *A History of American Manufactures* (Philadelphia, 1864), II, 427.

⁴ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., p. 971, and app., p. 358. No votes were cast from New Jersey. The absence of a reference to a pertinent state in the text indicates either the absence of votes or votes too small in number to serve as an index of its attitude.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 749.

⁶ W. C. Wright, *Wool Growers and the Tariff* (Boston, 1914), Harvard Economic Studies, V, 107-108.

cent.⁷ Previously all wool priced at seven cents a pound or under had been taxed five per cent, and wools over seven cents had been taxed three cents a pound and thirty per cent. This increase in the cost of his raw material, as well as other factors unrelated to the tariff, had so handicapped the manufacturer that his extensive business in blankets and broadcloth had been destroyed. "The business was prostrated", the report declared, "by the premium which that act in effect offered to the foreign manufacturer, and the nominal protection of the wool grower resulted in the ruin of his business, as in that of the clothmaker. The home market was destroyed for the farmer; in the foreign he could not compete, and the flocks were sent to the slaughter because the woolen factories had been sold at auction or converted to other services." The wool growers would be crushed if raw wools were admitted free of duty, it was held, and seriously harmed as consumers if manufacturers were protected and increased their prices. On the other hand, if woolen goods were not protected, domestic manufactures would be ruined and the growers deprived of their only market. To meet this dilemma the committee advocated the exemption of all foreign wools costing less than fifteen and more than fifty cents a pound, the retention of duties on intermediate grades such as were produced at home, and the raising of duties on manufactures to adequate protection. The effect of this would be to lower the manufacturers' costs in those wools which did not compete with domestic production, protect their finished product from foreign competition, and compensate the wool growers by retaining the existing thirty per cent duties on competing foreign wools.⁸

A less satisfactory solution was set before the Senate in 1857 by Senator Hunter of Virginia in his amendment to the House revenue bill. The proposal to scale down duties on woolens from thirty to twenty-three per cent and on raw wool from thirty to eight per cent was strenuously resisted by Senator Pugh of Ohio, then the leading wool-growing state, and by Collamer of Vermont. It was charged that the disproportionate reduction was a scheme of woolen manufacturers in New England and New York to sacrifice the wool growers for their own aggrandizement. Wilson attempted to answer them by showing how seriously the tariff of 1846 had affected the woolen manufacturers; the making of finer woolens had all but ceased, he said, and thousands

⁷ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, IX, 42-49.

⁸ *House Report* no. 342, 34 Cong., 1 sess., pp. 21-24; Wright, pp. 110-12, 114; Edward Stanwood, *American Tariff Controversies in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge, 1923), II, 92-93.

of dollars had been invested and lost in the manufacture of coarser cloth. The only remedy was general reduction; in this the manufacturers were willing to share.⁹

Hunter's argument had been that if the wool growers needed protection that was a sure sign that they could not sell abroad. Therefore they needed the domestic market and were dependent upon the prosperity of home manufacturers; whatever would help the manufacturer would be to the interest of the wool grower in the long run.¹⁰ The opposition, however, could not be convinced of the practicability of what they regarded as a plan to enable the sellers of wool to sell dear and the buyers to buy cheap. Collamer's amendment to strike out the provision including wool in the eight per cent schedule was passed by the Senate by a 26-23 vote. In order that this measure might be passed it was necessary to swing the votes of some of the reductionists in the Senate. It is interesting to note that this willingness to compromise came largely from the South, while the representatives of manufacturing constituencies were generally adamant. Of eighteen Southern senators who were to vote for the Hunter amendment, seven stood for the Collamer proposal, while only one of nine northeastern senators made the same concession. It was finally agreed to admit free of duty cheap wools costing twenty cents a pound or less, and to levy a tariff of twenty-four per cent on better wools, which were likely to compete with domestic produce.¹¹

It is obvious why the manufacturers urged a general reduction. It was impossible to get direct protection because of the hostility of the South and the indifference of many interests in the North. They chose, therefore, to obtain a reduction in costs as a substitute for protection by scaling down the duties on their raw materials. This policy applied not only to wools but also to Manila hemp, flax, raw silk, lead, tin, brass, hides, linseed, and other articles. So eager were the woolen manufacturers to get the reductions that one concern in Lowell, Massachusetts, spent \$87,000 in promoting the passage of the bill.¹²

This explains the fact that manufacturers were not deeply averse to the raising of schedules after the South seceded. What is most significant with respect to the causation of the Civil War is the fact that there was no open hostility on this issue at the time between these manufacturers and the South that might have been exploited for a partisan purpose. Whatever latent hostility may have existed was kept from active expression by the admission of cheap raw wool free of

⁹ *Cong. Globe*, 34 Cong., 3 sess., app., pp. 337-42.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 330.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 357; *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XI, 192-95.

¹² Stanwood, II, 109-10.

duty. Unsatisfactory as this was to the wool growers, it had the desired effect upon manufacturers. The industry revived, and Senator Hunter was later able to point triumphantly to the absence of a strong demand by manufacturers for a change in schedules.¹³

It was not such a demand which prompted the upward revision proposed by Morrill in 1860 and passed in 1861 after the first bloc of Southern states had seceded. The most important direct changes in the act, the increased duties on iron and wool, were plainly written with an eye on the coming elections, "to attach to the Republican party Pennsylvania and some of the western states".¹⁴ In Pennsylvania the tariff issue did its work, but elsewhere manufacturers were aloof. Rice of Massachusetts declared that they asked for no additional protection; Sherman said that they had "asked over and over again to be let alone"; and Morrill himself admitted in later years that his tariff "was not asked for and but coldly welcomed by the manufacturers".¹⁵

In February, 1861, the Senate was petitioned by the Chamber of Commerce of New York not to pass the Morrill Bill. It was argued that it would seriously affect commerce and the revenue, and that the growing sentiment for its repeal would deter manufacturers from erecting new mills and buying new machinery. An equally important objection was that the passage of the bill would widen the existing breach between the North and the South.¹⁶

It is well known that commercial and financial capital in the North was, on the whole, strongly opposed to Lincoln's election.¹⁷ Merchants were apprehensive that it might result in cancellation of orders from the South, and bankers expected the repudiation of Southern debts amounting to over \$200,000,000, if the South should secede.¹⁸ The opposition press made a concerted effort to frighten business and financial interests. Merchants contributed so lavishly to the Fusion ticket in New York that Lincoln was disturbed.¹⁹ When panic broke out in Wall Street during the latter days of October, the Republican press claimed that it had been fostered by heavy stock sales on the part

¹³ *Cong. Globe*, 36 Cong., 1 sess., p. 3010.

¹⁴ F. W. Taussig, *Tariff History of the United States* (New York, 1931), p. 169. See also W. B. Parker, *The Life and Public Services of J. S. Morrill* (Boston, 1924), p. 85.

¹⁵ Taussig, p. 160, n. ¹⁶ *Senate Misc. Doc.* no. 18, 36 Cong., 2 sess.

¹⁷ A. C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict* (New York, 1934), pp. 279-84. H. Greeley, *The American Conflict* (Hartford, 1864), I, 326-27.

¹⁸ A. C. Cole, "Lincoln's Election an Immediate Menace to Slavery in the States?" *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVI (1931), 758-59.

¹⁹ T. W. Barnes, *Memoir of Thurlow Weed* (Boston, 1884), II, 297-300.

of Fusionists and Southern bankers and stockjobbers. The *New York Daily Tribune* charged Secretary of the Treasury Cobb with complicity in the scheme on the ground that he withheld the sale of government loans.²⁰ After the election Horace Greeley complained of the intensity and unanimity of the "commercial furor" against the Republican party and compared it to that aroused by the bank controversy of 1832-38.²¹

The fears of the mercantile interests were shared by many manufacturers, whose concern for Southern markets was much greater than their interest in tariffs. Early in 1860 a group of Connecticut manufacturers had censured the spirit of sectionalism associated with the Republican party.²² Manufacturers in Newark and New York City attempted to induce their workers to vote the Fusion ticket.²³ On the eve of the election the *New York Herald* reported that eleven hundred mill workers in one Connecticut town had been discharged because of a dearth of orders from the South.²⁴ When the election returns were in, one Newark paper, disappointed at the fact that New Jersey was the only free state which failed to cast its entire electoral vote for Lincoln, attributed this defection to the manufacturers, who "simply desire to know what would be gratifying to those Southern traders who seek to buy their principles with their goods".²⁵

While Pennsylvania capital provided the dynamic element in the movement for a higher tariff, manufacturers elsewhere were divided. If the votes and statements of congressional representatives of manufacturing constituencies are conceived to have any close relation to their interests, the majority of the manufacturers appear to have desired reduction in 1857. The example of the woolen manufacturers offers a clue to the strategy of this group. Adversely affected by the tariff of 1846, they had the alternative of working for greater protection or lowering costs through reduced duties on their raw materials. In choosing the latter course, they chose to do parliamentary battle with the Western wool growers rather than the Southern planters. Their satisfaction with the effect of the tariff of 1857 left them indifferent, or actually hostile, to any further changes in 1860.

RICHARD HOFSTADTER.

New York City.

²⁰ Oct. 26, 1860; see also *Newark Daily Mercury*, Oct. 31, Nov. 3.

²¹ *New York Daily Tribune*, Nov. 8. ²² Cole, *Irrepressible Conflict*, p. 280.

²³ *New York Daily Tribune*, Oct. 29; *New York Herald*, Oct. 31; *Newark Daily Mercury*, Nov. 1.

²⁴ Nov. 6. ²⁵ *Newark Daily Mercury*, Nov. 9.

DOCUMENTS

ENGLAND AND THE CONFEDERACY A LETTER OF SIR WILLIAM HENRY GREGORY

THE discovery of new sources on Anglo-Confederate relations and the re-examination of old material have shed new light on the question of the recognition of the Confederacy by Great Britain. An unsigned letter of Sir William Henry Gregory, found among the papers of John Rutherfoord, now owned by Duke University, may contribute further to the elucidation of this subject. It is now published for the first time.

Gregory, a member of the Irish landlord class and representative of Galway in the house of commons, achieved distinction as a statesman and in other fields as well. During the latter part of 1859 he traveled in the United States, where he formed friendships and made observations that influenced him to champion the Confederacy. In New York he found the merchants ardent in their vindication of slavery, and in Washington he fell under the influence of the Southern members of Congress. Actuated by motives of imperialism, Gregory reasoned, from previous opposition of the South to the Northern protective system, that an independent Confederacy would provide England with a reliable source of raw materials as well as a market for manufactured goods. Moreover, he felt that a republic in the South would counteract the power of the United States, thereby preventing raids and filibustering expeditions into Canada and the British West Indies. Finally, influenced by national pride, he felt a contempt for the North, whose politicians frequently made insulting remarks about Great Britain in order to obtain the Irish immigrant vote.¹

John Rutherfoord, the recipient of Gregory's letter, was a Virginian of distinction. Migrating from Scotland, Rutherfoord's father had settled in Richmond a few years after the Revolutionary War. In 1863 John Rutherfoord still had rather close connections in the British Isles, the nearest being a cousin, Alexander Hawksley Rutherfoord of Carlingford, Ireland. In 1851 Rutherfoord's son, John Coles Ruther-

¹ *Dictionary of National Biography*, Supplement, II, 355-57; Lady Augusta Gregory, ed., *Sir William Gregory, K. C. M. G.: An Autobiography* (London, 1894), pp. 214-16; Frank Lawrence Owsley, *King Cotton Diplomacy* (Chicago, 1931), pp. 205-206.

foord, traveled in England, where he was introduced to Gregory by an English friend, Philip Reade. In addition to these indirect connections, Gregory, when on his tour of the United States, met Rutherford at Richmond.²

Among the Confederate lobbyists in parliament, who included such men as A. J. B. Beresford-Hope and W. S. Lindsay, Gregory was conspicuous for his energy. In 1861 he introduced a bill for recognition of the Confederate government. At about the same time he arranged for the Confederate commissioners to meet Lord John Russell, wrote letters to the *Times* in behalf of the South, and was generally active in support of the Confederate cause.³ Gregory's early efforts in behalf of Southern independence were followed early in 1862 by an attack on the blockade, and in July of the same year he aided Lindsay in an unsuccessful endeavor to obtain mediation.⁴ In the early spring of 1863, however, Gregory and other Confederate sympathizers purposely postponed for the time being the question of recognition since it seemed that such action would be of no profit to the South and might embroil Great Britain with the North.⁵ It was at this point that Gregory wrote the letter printed below. Though it may seem to savor of rationalization designed to appease the South for the failure of parliament to recognize the Confederacy, its content cannot be dismissed as specious reasoning. England, Gregory was convinced, believed in the final success of the South but, not wishing to become involved in war with the United States, should bide her time until the advent of decisive Confederate military success. It is not surprising, therefore, that with news of the Southern victory at Chancellorsville, the Confederate lobby at once began an intensive campaign for recognition of the Confederacy.⁶

This campaign was under way by the beginning of June, 1863. Mass meetings in northern and western England were addressed by James Spence, a native propagandist, and by J. A. Roebuck, a member of parliament. Confederate agents began to give the question pub-

² *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, V, 355-56; John Rutherford to Alexander Hawksley Rutherford, April 2, 1860, in John Rutherford's letter book, which is included in his papers now in the library of Duke University.

³ Donaldson Jordan and Edwin J. Pratt, *Europe and the American Civil War* (Boston, 1931), pp. 89, 99; Owsley, pp. 57, 63, 186, 193, 303; E. D. Adams, *Great Britain and the American Civil War* (New York, 1925), I, 90-91, 267.

⁴ Owsley, pp. 244-46, 338; Adams, pp. 267-72. ⁵ Owsley, p. 463.

⁶ Jordan and Pratt, p. 184; Owsley, pp. 464-65.

licity in London, and the lobby planned to attack the blockade in parliament.⁷ But these early moves were merely preliminary steps designed to pave the way for the Roebuck motion to reconsider the question of recognition. The Confederates and their British friends turned to France for co-operation. Not only did John Slidell secure the active interest of Napoleon III in a friendly interview, but two members of parliament, Roebuck and Lindsay, were also granted an interview by Napoleon on the same subject. The Roebuck motion was before parliament by June 30, 1863, but because of injudicious strategy and distrust on the part of both Napoleon and Russell, the move was a failure.⁸ Even, however, after the failure of the Roebuck motion, which was the most energetic move for recognition, activities were continued by the English-Confederate lobby, in the form of petitions, monetary contributions, and synthetic mass meetings, until late in 1864.⁹

NANNIE M. TILLEY.

Duke University.

SIR WILLIAM GREGORY TO JOHN RUTHERFOORD

London.

March 5, 1863.

My dear Sir,

I send you a letter, I believe from your son,¹⁰ which I trust will reach you safely — Mr. Philip Reade¹¹ wrote to me some time since to ask me if I had any safe means of conveyance of letters to the Confederate States and I told him in reply that it would be my greatest pleasure to endeavor to open safe communication between your son¹² and his family. Mr. Reade was under the impression that that if Mr. Seward¹³ was made aware that the letters were purely of a domestic character having no reference to public affairs, he would allow them to pass — I told him in reply that he little knew the animus of that gentleman and his colleagues if he thought

⁷ Owsley, pp. 191-92, 466; Jordan and Pratt, pp. 184-85.

⁸ J. M. Callahan, "Diplomatic Relations of the Confederate States with England (1861-1865)", *Annual Report*, American Historical Association, 1898, p. 182; Owsley, pp. 466-79; Jordan and Pratt, pp. 185-86.

⁹ Owsley, pp. 192-95.

¹⁰ A mistake on Gregory's part; it was from Rutherford's nephew, James Rutherford, who had been attending the University of Heidelberg since the fall of 1859. See an undated fragment in the Rutherford collection.

¹¹ An Englishman who was a friend of John Coles Rutherford.

¹² James Rutherford, the nephew.

¹³ William H. Seward, Secretary of State under Lincoln.

them Capable of taking one step Calculated to diminish the asperities of war.¹⁴

We are in Europe Somewhat distracted from the intense interest, which has hitherto been undivided, with which we have been watching the progress of the great struggle in which you are engaged — The horrible barbarities exercised by Russia in Poland, and the threatening anarchy in Greece, are being regarded with great anxiety — The possibilities of the Emperor of the French [Napoleon III] being Engaged in a war with Prussia diminishes the impression which not long ago prevailed among many persons, that the French answer to Mr. Seward's insolent dispatch would be recognition of the Southern Republic —

We, as far as I can gather, will still maintain the so called attitude of neutrality for which we have received such wholesale and unmeasured abuse from all parties in the North, though I Entirely agree with President Davis that the North is the belligerent that has really derived Strength from this neutrality — a neutrality which has recognized fictitious blockade, contrary to the clear understanding on which the Richmond Government accepted at our proposal the 4th Declaration of the Congress of Paris in 1856. Although I firmly believe that in both Houses of Parliament, consisting of over 1000 persons, there are not thirty who do not heart & Soul sympathize with the South, who do not welcome with joy and pride Each Successive detail of the glorious achievements of your countrymen, yet on the whole the feeling of both political parties Whigs & Tories, is against recognition. The impression is that the independence of the South is a "fait accompli"; that recognition cannot promote but may retard it & reuniting against what would be termed British "insolence," "interference" "domination" &c &c both republicans and Democrats. We do not think that disgust for the war is yet Sufficiently strong that the action of Europe would be welcomed — We think the time will come ere long, after the failure of the present campaign, when it will be welcomed. In the mean while any step taken by us would be treated with insolence and possibly hostility, which would only inflame resentments and possibly protract the war.

I strongly advocated recognition on the occasion of the Secession before a shot had been fired — I did so because I believe in the rights of Secession & State Sovereignty — I subsequently took the Same Course because I believed that Southern Independence was of such importance to England that to Secure it, I would not have hesitated to risk a war. Now I see no great object to be obtained by recognition. We all look on the South as having gained its End, and as I have said before we may retard peace but not accelerate it by taking any step — I believe, although your countrymen are sorely irritated against our Government that they will remember how we have resisted all the strong appeals to the anti slavery feeling of England, and that the English press has with one accord almost been thoroughly with you. Hence my hopes are that our relations with

¹⁴ For communicating with his friends in the Confederacy, Gregory had a regular channel which, in Richmond, was under the direction of Lawrence Q. Washington. This letter was enclosed in a package from Alexander Hawksley Rutherford to John Rutherford, evidently smuggled in through Gregory's influence.

the Southern States will be of the happiest character — I look forward to visiting the "Old Dominion" again, but I fear I shall find many gaps among the kind friends whom I met there in 1859 — I do not sign my name for various reasons, but should you ever wish to let me [hear] from you, pray direct under cover to A. Bate Esqre 5 Upper Sackville St. Dublin — Believe me yours very sincerely — Porcher Miles¹⁵ or Lawley¹⁶ will tell you whose handwriting this is.

¹⁵ William Porcher Miles, a prominent politician, scholar, and planter, served in the United States Congress as a member from South Carolina from 1857 to 1860 and in the Confederate Congress. *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 616-17.

¹⁶ Francis Charles Lawley, a member of parliament for a short time, was a sportsman and journalist who served as the special correspondent of the London *Times* with the Confederate army during the Civil War. He was in close contact with Generals Stonewall Jackson, Longstreet, and Stuart. Sir William Henry Gregory and Lawley were intimate friends. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, ser. II, vol. V, p. 197; *Dict. Nat. Biog.*, Suppl., II, 355-57, Second suppl., II, 426-27.

and ethics. Probably they doubted that these arts were arrived at by reason, so they attributed them to race. Yet few of the writers quoted seem to have thought it necessary to define what they meant by the symbols "race and blood". Noting that the quotations are from men and women living at different times, the reader is justified in doubting that they all used these symbols to mean the same thing. The author believes that they did.

Again, race is claimed as an important motivating factor in the nationalistic wars of 1870-1914. When the author says that race, army, and nation explain Germany since the rise of Prussia, he excites our interest, but the succeeding pages leave us in doubt as to whether these same factors do not operate in France, Italy, Japan, etc. as they did among the Iroquois Indians, the Aztecs, and the Incas. Perhaps the method is historical in that it searches through documentary materials to collect remarks which seem to explain or justify current events in terms of race. What the reader asks to be shown is that such remarks about race were the primary motivating factors making war inevitable rather than explanations and justifications after the hostile act. We cannot see that the author faces this question. Nor does he look beyond Europe for examples of race thinking. When an American Indian regards himself as fortunate in being neither a White, a Chinese, nor a Negro, is he not engaged in "race mania"? The author would probably say that the Indians were nationalistic and not race-minded, but the Indian tried to exterminate the White man as the source of White culture. We doubt if the phenomenon is any more frequent in Europe than elsewhere or if "race-thinking" is something so modern as to originate with Gobineau. If the author's purpose is to prove that the logic of "race-thinking" is faulty, his historical perspective should be of some help, but the problem is to prove that there is no such thing as race in the world. What can perhaps be proved by his method is that most people assume that races exist and seek to survive by destroying each other. That "race mania" explains all this remains to be seen.

This book is a vigorous attack upon "race-thinking", the opposite extreme to those which defend the concepts of race purity. Taken together, such books may give perspective.

The American Museum of Natural History. CLARK WISSLER.

Race Attitudes in South Africa: Historical, Experimental, and Psychological Studies. By I. D. MACCRONE, Professor of Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. (New York: Oxford University Press, on behalf of the University of the Witwatersrand. 1937. Pp. xiii, 328. \$4.25.)

THE thesis of this valuable historical and psychological study is that in any total situation of racial antagonism the social and psychological attitudes of the dominant group are of paramount importance and that no improvement in the situation is possible until these social attitudes are under-

stood and appreciated. This is as true of the Southern Whites in the United States and of the British in India as it is of the Europeans in South Africa. This study, therefore, has much more than South African importance and deserves to be studied carefully by all concerned with what is called the race problem. Unfortunately, Dr. MacCrone does not deal with the equally important but much more difficult question of the social and psychological attitudes of the dependent group, for without an appreciation of these psychological phenomena also no solution of the race problem is possible.

In seeking to determine the social attitudes of the Whites, Professor MacCrone follows three different approaches, the historical, the experimental, and the psychological, so that in this volume we have three separate but equally important studies.

On the historical side the author goes back to the history of South Africa from the settlement of the Cape in 1652 to the beginning of the nineteenth century and, making a new use of the rich archives of South Africa, shows how the social attitudes of the Whites changed from the antagonism of the Christian for the heathen to the antagonism of the White for the Black. Contributing factors were slavery, cultural differences, isolation, the numerical strength of the Blacks, and the psychology of a frontier society. It is to be regretted that the author did not carry his historical studies further, for the Kafir wars during and after the Great Trek, the increasing economic competition of the present century, and the disturbing expression on the part of the natives of their inferiority complex are equally important elements in the total perplexing situation today.

In the second part of his study Professor MacCrone explains the development and use of his scientifically prepared scale for the quantitative measurement of race attitudes. Making use of English-speaking, Afrikaans-speaking, Jewish, and Native university students as subjects, he arrives at some interesting conclusions, not only with regard to the varying attitude of the White towards the Native but with regard to the attitude of the Whites towards their own group and towards other national groups in the country. Thus among the English-speaking students there is a much more favorable attitude towards the Natives than among the Afrikaans-speaking students, and of the English-speaking students, the women are more favorable than the men. A similar test in this country among Northern and Southern students would probably produce a similar result, though in South Africa the English-speaking students have as much contact with the Natives as do the Afrikaans-speaking students. Again, Jewish students are more favorably inclined towards Natives than are any other groups, a fact that could also be paralleled in this country.

The fact that both English-speaking and Afrikaans-speaking students are more tolerant of Natives than they are of the "colored" (mulatto) and East Indian groups raises interesting speculations. Just as the typical

Southerner prefers the so-called "pure" Negro to the mulatto, so the white man in South Africa prefers the man most different from himself to the one who is nearer to him in color and social habits. Generally speaking, the Afrikaans-speaking students are less tolerant of themselves, of the Natives, and of all other groups than are the English-speaking students.

It is facts like these that lead Professor MacCrone to the conclusion in Part III of his book that the basis of racial antipathy must be sought for not so much in gregariousness or in conditioning as in psychoanalysis and the working of motives hidden in the unconscious mind. If he is correct, and his argument is most reasonable, it will be necessary to regard race prejudice, if not as something "instinctive", at least as something deep in the human mind, and the task of producing race harmony becomes more difficult than ever.

Yale University.

CHARLES T. LORAM.

✓ *A History of the Business Man.* By MIRIAM BEARD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. vi, 779. \$5.00.)

THERE is no thesis expressed in this challenging book. Rather do we find the business man set forth in a very general way from ancient times to the present. There is least space devoted to the business man of the earliest and most recent periods. Although a large part of the world is included, even China and Japan, most attention is given to European peoples. Ancient Greeks and medieval Hanseatics deserve more attention than they receive. The surprising omission, however, is the Jewish business man. No other group has been so influential in all recorded history and in so many parts of the world.

The author has relied chiefly upon secondary sources, such as Sombart, Brentano, Ehrenberg, and Strieder. She has made frequent use of dramas, histories, and treatises of the various periods considered. Wide as is her literary sweep, we find serious omissions of monographs such as George Unwin's *Industrial Organization in England in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries*. A study of this suggestive work might have given the author a greater insight into business activities and relationships.

The business man is treated as a type. He is not analyzed or studied from within. He is looked upon as a figure that struts across the stage of history, generally fat and silent. The author herself shines through the pages at times, at other times she peeks through, but she is never far away. There is a literary flavor that is attractive. Now and again there is a touch of economic interpretation, often a streak of art, and always a dash of the intellectual. The author has an incorrigible habit of scourging the people she introduces. In this book there is lightness and brightness but no sweetness.

In no sense could this intriguing work be called a business history.

Business policy and management are touched upon only remotely and sparingly. The functions of the business man are assumed. The distinctions between the different classes of business men are not understood or carefully examined (see p. 538). Changes in business are not dealt with. The quite erroneous statement is made that at the time of Napoleon the English "had just then begun to be a nation of industrialists, and their shop-keeping era was drawing to its close" (p. 442). There is so little business history in the book that it is not fair to judge the work from that standpoint. In truth, it is a movie history of business men, somewhat miscellaneous but very valuable as a first introduction to much scattered material.

So many readers will be disappointed! The business historian sees no understanding of the work of the business man. The Marxian sees no evidence for the business man's doom. The capitalist sees no appreciation of the services performed. Only the intellectual will really enjoy the reading of this book—or parts of it, for he will tire of continuous effort. He will find here a kind of historical Pujo Committee Report—an *ex parte* statement that will provide for a decade evidence of crass materialism or worse in the business man or in his family.

The following passage is representative of the worst of the book:

Over the heads of their weary titans, the social queens fought their battles for precedence, during the six or seven weeks of the season, spending up to \$300,000 per week or per ball, according to the resources behind them. One of the fiercest tussles was waged between Mamie Fish and Mary Harriman, wives of railroad magnates, who severed their husbands' business friendship. They gave one another no quarter, these powerful women whose rubicund faces, with bold chins and big eyes, stare at one from many an old tintype. Their strife went on until, with a flounce and a flashing triumph, one of them would deseat another on the red cushions of Mrs. Astor's divan, known as "The Throne." Thus, with their merciless campaigns, conducted regardless of expense, they formed a competitive social life mirroring the economic warfare of their lockjawed menfolk.

The book has merits that justify its use by historians. It is a contribution to socio-cultural history. Lengthwise, into the pattern of our civilization has been woven the figure of the business man, not placed opposite to the workman but to the landed aristocrat (and the intellectual). To the author a wholly respectable funeral of an aristocrat is more acceptable than the clamor of the busy market place. But, apart from this, the subject at hand receives broad historical notice. Everywhere there is insight into the age being dealt with. And always there is welcome evidence of a flair for literary and artistic values. Viewed as a literary whole, however, the work suffers from the lack of a unifying thesis. The business hero proves to be no hero at all, accomplishes little, and grasps political power only to lose it.

He is a good target, however, for you can always see his ornate and ample figure. It is difficult to make a hero out of a caricature.

Errors of fact in a book so ample as this one are to be expected. The Rossetti stone should, of course, be the Rosetta stone. Usselinx was not Dutch but an Antwerper. Josiah Wedgwood was never knighted.

The historian will be most bothered by frequent unscholarly use of sources. Time and time again, contemporary diatribes and satires are quoted or referred to as though they should be accepted at their face value. The historian will also be concerned about unscholarly judgments made without reference to the practices and ideals prevailing at the time. Such judgments have no historic value whatsoever. Where the author is describing a civilization as set forth in scholarly monographs she does well; but when making her own way among contemporary sources dealing with the business man she is less successful.

Harvard University.

N. S. B. GRAS.

Les invasions barbares et le peuplement de l'Europe: Introduction à l'intelligence des derniers traités de paix. Par FERDINAND LOT, professeur honoraire à la Sorbonne, membre de l'Institut. Tome I, *Arabes et Maures, Scandinaves, Slaves du Sud, Slaves du Centre.* [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1937. Pp. 349. 40 fr.)

Les barbares des grandes invasions aux conquêtes turques du XI^e siècle. Par LOUIS HALPHEN, membre de l'Institut. Troisième édition, revue et augmentée. [Peuples et civilisations.] (Paris: Félix Alcan. 1936. Pp. 446. 50 fr.)

PROFESSOR Lot's publication is the first of two volumes designed to form the sequel to his *Les invasions germaniques*, 1935 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 97-99). It brings into high relief the differences in consequence for Europe between the Saracen, the Scandinavian, and the Slavonic expansion movements of the early Middle Ages. In none of the European lands which the Saracens invaded—if the Mediterranean island of Pantelleria be left out of account—were they destined to root themselves permanently, except to a slight extent in southern Spain and in Sicily, whose present-day populations show some traces of Moorish and Arabic admixture respectively. Considerable numbers of Danes and Norwegians settled in Normandy, Britain, and Ireland, but their descendants in these several countries have become so thoroughly assimilated as to be indistinguishable from the rest of the population. It is evident, then, that neither the Saracen nor the Scandinavian expansion effected any transformation of the antecedent racial stocks in Western Europe. M. Lot freely recognizes the services of the Saracen rulers in Spain as preservers and promoters of urban civilization and as patrons of culture but emphasizes the point that Spanish Moslem culture was only in small part a product of Arabic or of Moorish genius. As for

Saracen influence upon the development of European medieval culture, he contends, apparently with good reason, that it has been for the most part greatly overrated. The stagnation of the economic life of Western and Central Europe in the ninth and tenth centuries he would not ascribe, as did the late Henri Pirenne, to the occupation of the Mediterranean by the Moslems but rather to the piracy and the all-destroying forays of the Vikings. In Normandy, England, Scotland, and Ireland (not to mention the western islands) the Scandinavians did, it is true, leave legacies of other kinds—linguistic, onomastic, institutional, literary, psychological, as well as ethnic. Yet the fact of capital importance is that they gave no new turn to the evolution of French, English, Scotch, or Irish national traits.

Wholly different was the outcome of Slavonic expansion. For the Slavs as they spread into alien regions displaced or absorbed the indigenous populations, with the result that the ethnical aspect of central and eastern Europe was completely changed, and new nations arose in this part of the continent. M. Lot recounts succinctly the respective fortunes of southern Slavs, western Slavs, and Balts, and of the several national or quasi-national groups into which they have divided, his *terminus ad quem* being approximately the eve of the World War. The question is raised whether the new nations have preserved through the centuries a veritable national sentiment, despite intermittent subjection to foreign domination. This problem, the author submits, ought to be investigated, because virtual nationality lies at the base of the constitution of Europe as determined by the peace treaties of 1919-1923. The racial characteristics that markedly distinguish the southern branch of Slavdom from the western and eastern branches can be accounted for, in his judgment, only on the hypothesis of a fusion of its members with antecedent Illyrian and Pannonian peoples in the region between the Drave and the Adriatic. His inquiry into the origin of the Rumanians leads, in sum, to the following conclusion: there can be little doubt that they are descendants of the ancient Dacians, all of whom were removed (*ca.* 271 A.D.) to Illyricum, where their Romanization was completed; from Illyricum they trekked in the ninth and tenth centuries to Transylvania, spreading subsequently into Walachia and Moldavia.

As a whole this volume is a brilliant study in comparative history, marked by ripe erudition and skillful utilization of pertinent findings of research in related fields, such as anthropology, philology, and place-names.

The third edition of Professor Halphen's book does not differ essentially, as far as text and notes are concerned, from the first edition, 1926 (*Amer. His. Rev.*, XXXII, 573-74), the pagination of which required but few changes (pp. 322-23, 376-79). Of a total of about seventy emendations in the second (1930) and third editions together, the latter has less than twenty that are new. A conclusion, a bibliographical supplement, a very good index, and two folding maps in black and white were added to the

second edition and have, of course, been retained in the third. The bibliographical data as now revised yield an excellent up-to-date and annotated list of essential secondary works pertaining to the early Middle Ages. In the conclusion and also in the body of the text (especially pp. 307-309) M. Halphen expresses opinions concerning the significance of the "Barbarian" expansion movements which it will be found profitable and suggestive to compare with the ideas of M. Lot on the same subject.

The University of Chicago.

EINAR JORANSON.

Bevölkerungsgeschichte Italiens. Band I, *Grundlagen; die Bevölkerung Siziliens und des Königreichs Neapel.* VON KARL JULIUS BELOCH. (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter. 1937. Pp. viii, 284. 14 M.)

IN this first volume of a proposed history of the population of Italy are included three of the twelve sections projected for the entire work. The succeeding nine sections were to apply the norms of the *Grundlagen*, which treat of lines of approach and sources, to the remaining provinces of the peninsula. As the author died before this volume went to press and no statement is made regarding the missing sections, the reader is left with the impression that the enterprise is not likely to be brought to a conclusion.

Since sections two and three contain all kinds of population data which bear on Sicily and Naples since the fourteenth century but which are incapable of being checked except by reference to the archival sources whence they are drawn, the American reviewer is not in a position to pronounce on the accuracy with which the work has been done. He must needs content himself with an examination of the *Grundlagen*, which serve as an introduction to the enterprise and reveal the author's scope and method.

Resolved to treat of Italian population from the Middle Ages to the present day, Professor Beloch employs for the earliest period all pertinent matter he can glean from the source material on the youthful communes. Among these data are the lists of citizens capable of bearing arms, the enumeration of the hearths made for the purpose of laying the hearth tax, the lists of property holders carried on the *estimi* and *catasti*, and the numbers of *bocche* (mouths) more or less speculatively arrived at in the interest of a regulated bread supply. The author is never done with telling us that these imperfectly ascertained and always unreliable tallies must be taken with the greatest caution. As we do not get very far without an analysis of population figures, he embraces in his investigation as many matters of interest to population students as his evidence permits. Among them are the ratio of male to female births, the distribution of population in a given town or region by age classes as well as by professions and occupations, and the life expectancy of the individual, noting the sudden leap in longevity setting in with the nineteenth century. A very important

item is the frequency and mortality of epidemics. The figures for the Black Death given by panicky contemporaries are considered to have been wild exaggerations. This vicious pestilence remained endemic for three centuries, to vanish with the seventeenth century for no reason that the author is able to assign. The figures for the last two appearances (1630, 1665) are fairly accurate and are so frightfully high that, even if the mortality reported for the scourge of 1348 was grossly exaggerated, the visitation must nonetheless have had all the terrors of a massacre. The more reliable figures for the two seventeenth century epidemics are due to the fact that from the fifteenth century on the Italian governments began gradually to see the advantage of a regularly conducted civil census and hesitantly introduced it as a means toward a more intelligent public policy. It was not, however, till the eighteenth century that interest in population statistics became lively enough to impose a fairly regular and complete census. Not till the nineteenth century, as everyone knows, did the census in Italy, or anywhere else for that matter, acquire the scientific character which furnishes us a solid underpinning in place of the earlier statistical quicksands.

The University of Chicago.

FERDINAND SCHEVILL.

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Sussex. Volume IX.

Edited by L. F. SALZMAN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 279. \$25.00.)

The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Northamptonshire. Volume IV. Edited by L. F. SALZMAN. (*Ibid.* Pp. xv, 300. \$25.00.)

THIS ninth volume of the Victoria History of the County of Sussex is the hundredth volume in the entire series, the fourth to appear for Sussex, and the first devoted to one of the five rapes into which the county is divided vertically. It contains the topographical history of the rape of the Hastings, which lies at the extreme eastern end of the shire. These rapes, each of which was at the time of *Domesday Book* under the lordship of an important tenant in chief, were probably arranged by William the Conqueror in order to safeguard his line of communication with Normandy in case trouble developed in England. No doubt in one of the volumes still to be published there will be a definitive study of the whole problem of the rapes and perhaps new light on their origins.

The volume opens with accounts of the rape and honor of Hastings and of the three Cinque Ports, Hastings, Rye, and Winchelsea, which lie within the geographical boundaries of the rape. Then follow accounts of the hundreds with detailed descriptions of the parishes in each, the descent of the manors from Domesday to the present or as far as they can be traced, and historical and architectural discussions of the interesting buildings, ecclesiastical and secular. There are plans of churches and castles and many

excellent illustrations of churches, castles, and domestic buildings, among which is included a number of eighteenth century drawings from the collection of the Sussex antiquary, Sir William Burrell.

The fourth volume of the Victoria History of the County of Northampton, like the ninth volume for Sussex, is devoted to a topographical account of a portion of the county, in this case to the five hundreds lying on the southeastern border surrounding the town of Northampton and to the south and west of Rockingham Forest. While portions of Salcey Forest lie within the parishes included in this volume, there is no account of the forest. The mass of detail about the parishes, the descent of manors and the local families, the historical and architectural descriptions of churches, and the illustrations and plans of ecclesiastical and domestic buildings maintain the high standards set in previous volumes.

The usefulness of both volumes is marred by the fact that neither contains a map of the whole county. Although a complete map of Sussex appears in an earlier volume, in view of the difficulty of handling volumes as large as these a map in each one would be helpful. The small diagrammatic maps in the Northampton volume, showing the parishes in each hundred, are useful.

The preparation of both these volumes was begun under the direction of the late Dr. Page, former editor of the series, and completed under the supervision of Mr. Salzman, the present editor. The use of a lighter paper has made the volumes less bulky and correspondingly easier to handle than many of the earlier ones.

Mount Holyoke College.

ELISABETH G. KIMBALL.

W *Complaint and Reform in England, 1436-1714: Fifty Writings of the Time on Politics, Religion, Society, Economics, Architecture, Science, and Education.* Arranged with Introductions by WILLIAM HUSE DUNHAM, JR., and STANLEY PARGELLIS. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xxxv, 925. \$4.00.)

THIS compilation represents a historical new deal in the interest of forgotten men, in some cases anonymous men, who gave expression to important currents of thought in the England of their own days. "The works of the great thinkers", to quote the editors, "have already been reprinted. But another approach to the common thought of England is through the vulgar writings of pamphleteers, popularizers, and propagandists who prepared common beliefs for dissemination among the rank and file of literate Englishmen." Not all the writers, or writings, selected could successfully meet a strict test of obscurity—Sir John Fortescue's *Governance of England*, Sir Thomas Smith's *De Republica Anglorum*, and Richard Hakluyt's *Western Planting*, for example—but stars of the first magnitude in the history of English thought, at any rate, have been omitted,

though their ideas, as the editors point out, repeatedly occur in these selections.

The editorial apparatus consists of a general introduction, a brief introductory note to each selection, a chronology of English history from 1399 to 1714, in which are incorporated the titles of the writings assembled in the body of the book with the names of the authors where these are known, and a chronology of the lives of the authors. As regards the texts, every reader must be his own editor, for there are no explanatory notes. The labor involved in supplying them would have been very considerable, but for lack of them many points of interest are likely to escape notice. There is nothing to indicate, for instance, that the use of the term "middle age" (p. 510) in Sir Henry Wotton's *Elements of Architecture* (1624) is in any way remarkable, yet this is almost the earliest known use of the term in English (see George Gordon, *Medium Aevum and the Middle Age*, S.P.E. Tract No. XIX, 1925). Again, in *A Treatise of the Office of a Councillor*, probably written in 1592 by Robert Beale, a brother-in-law of Walsingham and clerk of the privy council, there occurs this sentence (*Complaint and Reform*, p. 384): "Favour not secret or cabinet councils which do but cause jealousy and envy." The earliest positive evidence of the mention of a "cabinet council" in England by an Englishman which that untiring investigator, the late Edward Raymond Turner, was able to find was in 1622 (*The Cabinet Council of England in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries*, I, 222), and he used this date as the *terminus a quo* of his book. As far as practicable, complete writings have been reprinted, but in some cases extracts have been given. The editors have done well to modernize spelling, punctuation, and capitalization. To adhere to the original in these respects would have been to sacrifice the spirit of history to the letter of the record. It would have diverted the reader's attention from the thought expressed to the symbols of expression. Often enough that thought was alien to ours, though not for that reason the less influential and important in its own day, and outmoded orthography would have made it harder to enter into with understanding. The historical interest of the collection is enhanced by a number of illustrations, many of them reproduced from title pages and frontispieces of pamphlets.

Seldom can there have been brought together in a single volume such an array of discontents and schemes of reform as that here assembled. It recalls the scene at the Cave of Adullam, as described in I Samuel 22:2: "And every one that was in distress, and every one that was in debt, and every one that was discontented, gathered themselves unto him; and he became a captain over them; and there were with him about four hundred men." The recruits mobilized by Professors Dunham and Pargellis are fewer in number than David's, to be sure—only fifty—and in spite of the

banner under which they march not quite all of them complain, and not all qualify as reformers, but they speak for large constituencies, and they bear testimony to the dissatisfactions and aspirations of nearly three hundred years of English history.

It is impossible to do justice here to the scope and variety, the suggestiveness, or the illustrative value of these tracts and treatises, speeches and acts of parliament. No Marxist could wish for a better example of the economic basis of class distinctions than is afforded by the extracts given from statutes for the reformation of excess in apparel, ranging from Edward III to Henry VIII, and in Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667) an informed student of the history of science could find texts for a dozen discourses. The persistence of elements of thought that we call medieval in times that we call modern will impress itself on the reader's mind. The absence of any conception of progress in the new learning of the Humanists is neatly illustrated in Thomas Lupset's *Exhortation to Young Men* (1529): "I would you meddled not greatly with any other books, than with these that I shall name unto you . . . if these new writers speak any thing well, it is picked out of these ancient books" (pp. 103, 124). The sentiment expressed by Queen Elizabeth in her speech to parliament in 1585 would have been congenial to any medieval pope—"if I were not persuaded that mine were the true way of God's will, God forbid that I should live to prescribe it to you" (p. 342); and the argument for religious persecution given by the devout Calvinist, Ephraim Pagitt, in the dedicatory epistles of his *Heresiography* (1645), was Torquemada's.

Abundant illustration is given of what may be called the historic of reform—of all reform, at any rate, prior to the advent of the idea of progress, and that idea scarcely appears in these writings. Even today men who seek to mold the world nearer to their hearts' desire find inspiration and a sense of security in the belief that their ideal was once a reality. The mirage of a golden age has haunted all mankind—and it has been one of the major factors in distorting history. To the author of *The Libel of English Policy* (1436), who lamented the decay of English sea power, the golden age was the reign of Edgar. "I may not suffice to tell aright the magnanimity that King Edgar had upon the sea" (p. 25). The good old days are much in evidence in *A Supplication for the Beggars* (1528) by Simon Fish, who attributed all the woes of England to the clergy and the monks and saw in King John, the "noble predecessor" of Henry VIII, a champion of righteousness against those "idle, holy thieves" (p. 89). To the Puritans, as to Protestants generally, the golden age was that of the apostolic church, as is exemplified in *An Admonition to the Parliament* (1572). According to the historical scheme of Gerrard Winstanley (*A Letter to the Lord Fairfax, and his Council of War*, 1649), he and his

fellow Diggers were restoring to the commonalty their rights in the village commons of which William the Conqueror and his fellow robbers had despoiled them. Nay more; "The Reformation that England now is to endeavour, is not to remove the Norman yoke only . . . the reformation is according to the word of God, and that is the pure law of righteousness before the fall, which made "all things, unto which all things are to be restored" (p. 678). It was all so simple when reform was merely restoration.

Columbia University.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

Modern Politics and Administration: A Study of the Creative State. By MARSHALL E. DIMOCK, Associate Professor of Public Administration, University of Chicago. [American Political Science Series, Lindsay Rogers, General Editor.] (New York: American Book Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 440. \$3.00.)

Constitutional Government and Politics: Nature and Development. By CARL JOACHIM FRIEDRICH, Associate Professor of Government, Harvard University. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xvi, 591. \$3.50.)

NOTWITHSTANDING similarity in their titles, these books differ greatly in content. The first, while referring occasionally to practice in other countries and to universal norms, deals with American institutions; the second is a treatise on comparative government. There is, however, one distinct point of resemblance: departure from the pattern of conventional textbooks, originality of design.

Adopting Goodnow's twofold division of power (policy making and policy enforcing), Professor Dimock allots approximately equal space to politics and administration. In discussing both subjects he makes it plain that government, once regarded merely as a means of restraint and control, now occupies itself with problems of social welfare and provides services in satisfaction of new and insistent popular demands. He tries to show how these demands arise, how they force their way to recognition, and how they are satisfied. There is merit, as well as novelty, in this point of view. It blazes a trail that may well supplant the old familiar route and take us some distance away from the old destination. After all, our interest seems to have shifted. We are less eager, nowadays, to hear about pocket vetoes or senatorial courtesy than about public services—what the government is doing for us, and why.

Professor Dimock's pioneering work, although suggestive, falls short, however, of achieving its purpose. The doctrine is not sufficiently elaborated. If a social transformation has precipitated new wants—especially wants that cannot be satisfied without national regulation—and if, in consequence, the basis of our federal arrangements has fallen into ruin, the facts should

be set before us. We get no more than a two-page account of the centralizing process in the United States and of its effect upon local areas. Nor is the theme further developed where an understanding of the constitutional system and of social reform would seem to require it. Indeed, successive topics are handled with a sustained sketchiness that often fails to distinguish between questions of greater and lesser importance. The doctrine is sound, but the treatment is a little too elementary.

Professor Friedrich maintains that modern political science is concerned with objectives and techniques, not with the forms of government. Like Professor Dimock he says very little about the organization of executive, legislature, and judiciary—less, in fact, than one might reasonably expect. It is surprising to find a long chapter devoted to proportional representation and another to the initiative and referendum when eighteen pages suffice for a discussion of cabinet systems. Curiously enough, the social activities of government, which assume such importance in Professor Dimock's eyes, are altogether ignored. Some other omissions will seem puzzling. In view of the emphatic assertion that bureaucracy is the core of modern government, why should the civil service receive only the barest casual mention? How can a student be supposed to understand the dubious criticism of Lord Hewart's thesis as "a bit of 'learned' tilting at windmills", when he has been told nothing about the civil service or the tendencies that aroused the chief justice's anxiety? Now and then obscure allusion or commentary without context impairs the clarity of a discussion, too much being taken for granted. The author does not always adhere to a middle course between two dispositions, one a trifle ponderous and esoteric, the other marked by informal sprightliness. We are confronted at the outset by a technical apparatus somewhat reminiscent of Euclid; by three axioms and three hypotheses concerning power; by diagrams that make the axioms seem still more recondite; and by the six elementary constituents of bureaucracy. Should these be mastered once for all as an indispensable key to the scientific mysteries of constitutional government? We soon discover that, like the author, we can dismiss them from our minds as superfluous embellishments.

The range of Professor Friedrich's reading becomes manifest from the richness and variety of illustrations and is further attested by a seventy-page annotated bibliography. He could not move so freely among the masters of political thought and the chief political figures of the past 2500 years unless he had more than a mere nodding acquaintance with them. This he has acquired from historical studies, which also must have contributed to his sense of perspective and sanity of judgment. He is quite aware that history provides politics with its most nourishing roots.

Pomona College.

EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT.

ANCIENT HISTORY

The Foundations of Roman Italy. By JOSHUA WHATMOUGH, Professor of Comparative Philology in Harvard University. [Methuen's Handbooks of Archaeology.] (London: Methuen and Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 420. 25s.)

IN this book, intended for both the student and the general reader, a well-known philologist has assumed the difficult task of describing the early inhabitants of Italy and their cultures. Basing his reconstruction upon the combined evidence of the ancient literary (written historical), archaeological, and linguistic sources, Professor Whatmough proposes "to uncover and describe the foundations upon which the united Italy of Augustus was built".

Chapters i-iv consist of an introduction, a geographical description of Italy, a chapter on the prehistoric peoples of Italy and their civilizations from the paleolithic to the early iron age, and a chapter on the ancient tribes and their dialects (about 400 B.C.). This material is up-to-date and well organized. The description of the early Italian cultures is excellent, and the classification of the dialects is extremely helpful. In chapters v-xv eleven regions of Italy, corresponding roughly to the eleven *regiones* of Augustus, are individually surveyed; in chapter xvi there is a discussion of Sicily and the neighboring islands. The separate cultures of these areas are reconstructed with the aid of ancient tradition combined with archaeological and linguistic evidence. With chapter v the interest of the general reader will begin to wane, but the student will find it well worth while to consider carefully the material that follows. The complex elements which composed the ancient cultures, the many interrelations of languages and cultures, and the relative importance of the various groups described are presented in such a way that one gains a new viewpoint with regard to the position of the Romans and the Etruscans in the history of Italy. The last two chapters (xvii and xviii) deal with the early Italian religion, literature, and government and the Roman unification of Italy. These are disappointing, as they are cursory and contain little that is new or significant; one possible exception is the section on law and government, which has some interesting comparisons of Roman and Italian political institutions.

A few of Professor Whatmough's conclusions may be noted here. He is convinced that the evidence of language, archaeology, and anthropology shows that "Alpine man" migrated southwards into Italy in the bronze and early iron ages (p. 118). He points out, however, that "the current assumption that no Indo-European language . . . could have been spoken in Italy before the beginning of the bronze age is nothing but assumption pure and simple, as arbitrary as unnecessary" (p. 132). The influence of

the *terremare* people upon the culture of Latium is minimized; one applauds the statement that the similarities between the *terramara* and the Roman camp are "more superficial than real" (pp. 263-64). Professor Whatmough considers the Villanovans invaders from the north (p. 85), and he rejects the theory that the South Villanovans were descended from the *terremare* (p. 264). Three separate, and probably unrelated, groups of "Villanovans" are distinguished: the North (true) Villanovans of Bologna, the South Villanovans of Tuscany, and the Latian Villanovans (pp. 84-87). The Etruscans are called sea raiders of foreign origin whose culture was orientalizing rather than oriental (pp. 26, 84, 213). The evidence of language, archaeology, and tradition points to Asia Minor as the homeland of the Etruscans (pp. 102, 213, 229). The point is made that the Gauls came from the Upper Rhine rather than from Gaul; also, there is no archaeological evidence to show that the Gauls were in Italy before 400 B.C. (pp. 147, 154).

Professor Whatmough suggests a possible cultural connection between Illyria, South Italy, and Sicily. He finds, for example, similarities in the neolithic pottery of the three regions, but he is forced to admit that the sum total of his evidence for close relations between Sicily and South Italy in the neolithic and bronze ages is not convincing (pp. 60, 80, 310, 355). In the iron age the culture of Sicily seems to have influenced that of southeastern Italy (p. 309).

Occasionally one questions Professor Whatmough's reasoning. For example, he states definitely that Etruscan is a non-Indo-European language (p. 102). With this assertion there can be no quarrel. Then, however, after calling Hittite a proto-Indo-European language, he says that Hittite may furnish a clue to Etruscan (pp. 103, 177, 225). It is also doubtful whether Professor Whatmough is justified in his statement that in Rome "almost all of the material traces of the Etruscan occupation no doubt disappeared at the time of the destruction of the city by the Gauls in 390 B.C." (p. 274). Few historians today would subscribe to a theory of so complete a Gallic destruction of Rome.

On the whole, this book is deserving of high praise. The plates, text illustrations, and maps are good. Helpful bibliographies follow each chapter. The index, however, is most unsatisfactory.

The University of Minnesota.

TOM B. JONES.

Augustus. By JOHN BUCHAN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 379. \$4.50.)

Augustus Caesar. By BERNARD M. ALLEN. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 261. \$3.00.)

ONE of the few books published in connection with the two thousandth anniversary of the birth of Augustus which will not soon lose its value is

that by John Buchan (Lord Tweedsmuir), governor general of Canada since 1935. No other author has given to the lay reader such a brilliant description and such a penetrating and subtle analysis of the Augustan age. At the same time, this book may well be read with genuine appreciation by the scholar. Anyone who is familiar with the previous biographical writings of Buchan knows how markedly his approach to historical personages differs from that of the representatives of the "biographical" genre which has caught the popular fancy. He does not try to vulgarize history by dubious analogies with events of today, though he believes "that the convulsions of our time may give an insight into the problems of the early Roman Empire which was perhaps unattainable by scholars who lived in easier days". It would be equally true to say that no other epoch gives us so much for the understanding of our own as the age of Augustus.

An experienced and astute statesman, the author realizes thoroughly that in every political system it is not the façade which is important but rather the real interrelation of powers concealed behind the façade. For him the question of whether Augustus restored the republic is a purely academic one; what matters is the fact that behind the nominal preservation of many traditional Roman political institutions lay the apparition of a new decisive power—the princeps. Augustus understood that Rome, exhausted by the long years of civil strife, dreamed not so much of self-government as of good government, and that is what he gave to the harassed nation. The success of Augustus lies in the restoration of the thing which Rome needed more than anything else: peace with security, the fundamental prerequisites of the nation's normal life.

Buchan is an excellent psychologist, and his interpretation of the reconstruction scheme conceived and carried out by Augustus is convincing. It is difficult, however, to agree with him when he attempts to free Augustus from the charge of duplicity; Buchan is unable to prove that Augustus did not foresee from the start the later developments of the principate and that in his heart of hearts he believed in the reality of the restoration of republican principles. Another point which might be made is that in his chapter on Augustan peace Buchan does not emphasize sufficiently the degree to which the new regime influenced the economic well-being of the Roman middle class—the class for which the age of Augustus became the golden age.

The historian who wishes to grasp the spirit of the Augustan age must touch upon the part played by Caesar in the destiny of Rome. For Buchan the real genius is Augustus, who rejected his great-uncle's world-embracing visions and dreams of a decentralized Roman nation with an imperial citizenship and who welded together an empire in which Rome and Italy were the dominating powers. It should be remembered, however, that the imperialistic policy of Augustus was based entirely on principles which

were for the first time enunciated by Caesar. The concept of a ruler under whose aegis all parts of the Roman Empire would form a friendly commonwealth was born in the head of the "dreamer" Caesar and was inherited from him by the slow, patient "trimmer", Augustus. This thought (which Buchan himself formulated explicitly in his *Julius Caesar*—"it was given to Augustus to bring into being what Julius dreamed") is somewhat veiled in his *Augustus*.

It would be trivial to cavil at the few errors to be expected in a book of this size. However, since the importance of the book will certainly make a new edition necessary, we should like to mention a few desiderata: The reader would profit by (1) a revision of the map of the Roman Empire on the flyleaves, the present map being very sketchy and containing a number of errors; (2) the addition of a bibliographical list; (3) the addition of reproductions showing the many monuments of the Augustan age, which, for the lay reader, illustrate the grandeur of the period better than anything else. (Such a set of illustrations makes the recently published work on Augustus by Karl Hoen particularly valuable.)

Buchan's work is assured a permanent place in any good collection of books on Augustus. The same cannot be said of Mr. Allen's *Augustus Caesar*. The purpose of the latter work is to satisfy the curiosity of the average reader who has heard of the bimillenary of Augustus and who wishes to learn something about the statesman whose name was quoted so often in the newspapers and magazines during the past year. Written in a drab style and in a language which has nothing in common with that of Buchan, Allen's book contains only a biography of Augustus. The reader will gain from it no idea of the age of Augustus or of the social factors behind it. The author has not been able to breathe into the book the spirit of the epoch which enlivens the picture of an individual and transforms it into what the Germans so aptly call a *Lebensbild*. The evolution of the Augustan constitution remains completely unexplained; the description of the reforms of Augustus is superficial and summary. The author, in spite of good intentions, limits himself to a dull and uninspiring enumeration of events in the long life of Augustus.

The University of Nebraska.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

Taxation in Egypt from Augustus to Diocletian. By SHERMAN LEROY WALLACE, University of Wisconsin. [Princeton University Studies in Papyrology, No. 2, edited by Allen Chester Johnson.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 512. \$6.00.)

WHEN Professor Wallace selected taxation in Egypt in the Roman period as the object of his interest and his investigations, he chose one of the most difficult and intricate problems in the entire field of ancient economic history. There can be no doubt that he has taken seriously the

laborious task of going through and organizing the Greek documents dealing with taxation. This is apparent from the fact that his references and critical remarks, assembled by chapters at the end of the book, constitute one fifth of the entire volume. Granting that, in the present state of the study of papyri, any specialized collection of material is valuable and welcome, the question of the usability of the collection is the one of primary importance. From this standpoint the omission of an organized bibliography of the contemporary articles and books which the author has used is a distinct handicap. Also, an alphabetized list of his own abbreviations in referring to the published volumes of papyri would have been helpful even to seasoned students of papyrology. This is particularly true because Professor Wallace has chosen to deviate, in numerous instances, from the accepted method of abbreviation.

The book has an index of Greek technical terms printed in Greek, to which a very brief list of Latin and English terms is added. The omission of an index in English and the constant use in the body of the book of Greek words, without transliteration more often than with it, set for the reviewer the evaluation of this study as one directed solely to those students of taxation problems who are technically equipped with knowledge of the Greek language. By the specialist workman the failure to supply an index of the many Egyptian villages and towns to which the hundreds of papyri refer, with their deviations of tax rate according to locality, must be regarded as a serious defect. The necessity of such an organization of the material has, indeed, been recognized by Professor Wallace himself since he has collected in his copious notes, by villages and nomes, the references upon certain forms of taxes (*e.g.*, the useful list of the house-to-house census declarations on pages 392-95). A separate index of the tax officials would also have been acceptable.

The study of taxation problems is today a highly technical business, with a standardized terminology generally accepted by tax practitioners and the theoretical exponents of taxation principles. In my judgment, an obligation rests upon the student of ancient taxation to make his work available to those professionally interested in the general field. With this group in mind, in order to avoid misleading terms one must either abandon the modern technical terminology altogether or adopt its inclusive rubrics and fit the ancient tax names under these, giving an adequate explanation in English of each of the ancient terms. Professor Wallace has, correctly I think, followed the latter course, as his chapter headings show (land tax, poll tax, sales taxes, customs duties, etc.). But he has made the fundamental error in his text of deviating from the technical implications of modern terminology.

An example of this is the statement on page 76 that a certain payment on the rent of houses, the explanation of which is in itself highly conjectural,

implies a "single tax". In the multiplicity of Egyptian taxes the "single tax" theory, which technically implies a single and exclusive source of revenue, is quite inapplicable. Again (pp. 9, 58, 59, 154), the author uses the term "surtax" to refer to the numerous supplementary fees exacted in Egypt. These *prodiagrophomena* lack completely the progressive feature inseparably connected with the modern idea of the graduated surtax. In chapter ix Professor Wallace's definition of the capitation tax does arbitrary violence to the accepted terminology. Under this definition the pig tax (definitely regarded by the author on page 144 as a "tax on pigs"), all of the "distributed" taxes (the *merismoi* which fall at a flat rate upon those who pay them), the license for the right to brew beer, and the problematic consumption tax on beer—all of these become "capitation taxes". For the pig tax this is based upon two false assumptions, upon the mistaken belief (p. 143) that the pig was anathema to the native Egyptians and upon the statement (p. 144) that Schwahn, in Pauly-Wissowa, *Real-Encyclopädie* 5A, page 289, regarded the pig tax as a "capitation tax". Schwahn states merely that it was collected in the manner used in bringing in the poll tax.

Professor Wallace is occasionally guilty of the "arm-chair" method of suggesting new readings or new datings of published papyri without having had a check made by some competent papyrologist upon the original document. The late Karl Wessely was a distinguished reader of papyri. When Wessely has read λ[εῖπ]εῖ in his *Studien zur Palaeographie* XXII 28, it is not permissible to mark as doubtful the final *iota*, which Wessely read as certain, and then to suggest (see note 65 on page 391) that δ[ιεφ]θ(ἀρη) is "quite probable". Again, on page 108 the author suggests a change from the dating of a papyrus which Wessely had established, by the style of writing, as from the beginning of the second century A.D. Apparently without checking the hand, Wallace thinks it possible to shift the document to the late second or to the beginning of the third century. This suits his argument—but it is inadmissible as method. On page 43 the author suggests a change in the reading of Wilcken, *Ostraka* II 1546, from φορι(οῦ?) to φορέτ(ου), marking as doubtful two letters which Wilcken had read without question. By this means Wallace eliminates one piece of recalcitrant evidence for the sake of evidential uniformity. Methodologically he has thereby replaced the fact of Wilcken's reading by his own free fancy. Again, on page 419, it is bad practice to build up an argument by reverting to an abandoned reading of Wilcken's *Ostraka* II 1290, corrected in the *Berichtungsliste* II, 101.

I come to the historical perspective needed by a scholar who has undertaken so imposing and complicated a task as this. In Professor Wallace's view, as expressed on page 1, the "gift estates" of the Ptolemaic period were like the great estates held in Egypt by the senatorial nobility and equites at Rome in the early period of Roman rule. Under the Ptolemies

the *doreai* were, actually, granted in usufruct, not in ownership, as rewards for distinguished services to the crown and under the obligation of their economic development (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 274). In the early Roman period the large estates in Egypt were privately owned and under a system of sheer exploitation by privileged Roman grandees. The author has resurrected the long-abandoned idea of Egypt as an "isolated country" (p. 350). One need only look at Heichelheim's *Auswärtige Bevölkerung* and recall the embassy which came to Egypt from lower Russia, along with a religious mission from Argos (H. I. Bell, *Symbolae Osloenses*, 1927, pp. 1-7), or the delegation of three prominent citizens from Caunus in Caria in 257 B.C. (*Columbia Papyri* III no. 11), to throw this isolation theory overboard for the third pre-Christian century. For the following century the idea would surely be discarded by any person who has read the sea loan published by Ulrich Wilcken in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache* etc., LX (1925), 89 ff. In the first Christian century the constant connections of "isolated" Egypt extended from India to Gibraltar.

Where Professor Wallace feels it necessary to substitute a conjecture of his own for one advanced by scholars like Rostovtzeff (as on pp. 266-67), the reviewer does not find his arguments apt or convincing. On page 31 and in note 3 on page 368 Professor Wallace presents two contradictory views as to the power of the Roman prefect of Egypt to regulate taxation. He seems to adhere to both of them. It is the statement in the text (p. 31) which is wrong. Tiberius Julius Alexander, prefect under Nero, in his well-known edict makes only one specific statement regarding restriction upon his taxing power, which is to the effect that the emperor alone had the right to remit arrears of taxes (OGI no. 669 § 15, according to the new readings of this document made by Evelyn White, which will soon be published). On page 95, in dealing with taxes upon animals, Wallace sets up a hypothesis based upon the lack of any information opposed to it. He follows this with an acknowledged probability that the ownership of the herds which had belonged to the state went over to the great landowners. He then advances the theory, as a probable explanation of the previous probability, that animals could no longer be profitably leased by the state and comes finally to the wise conclusion that we cannot tell in how far the treasury of Egypt was benefited by an assumed change, originally predicated upon an unfounded hypothesis, as described above. It is obvious that we get nowhere under such a method of deductive reasoning.

The work of Professor Wallace is to be commended as an industrious and honest collection of important material, which is not made as usable as an increase in the indexes would have made it. The conclusions presented, in my judgment, should be adopted only with great discretion. The writer had not acquired, from his training, methods of work adequate to perform his task properly. He should have taken a much longer period

in working over his material—time for wider and deeper study and a longer period for gestation and for the ripening of judgment which this process brings.

Columbia University.

WILLIAM LINN WESTERMANN.

The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces. By A. H. M. JONES, Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 576. \$10.00.)

For the purposes of his study Mr. Jones recognizes thirteen geographical or ethnic units as constituting the eastern possessions of Rome: Thrace; Asia; Lycia; the Gauls; Pamphylia, Pisidia and Lycaonia; Bithynia and Pontus; Cappadocia; Cilicia; Mesopotamia and Armenia; Syria; Egypt; Cyrenaica; and Cyprus. For each of these areas he has gathered the evidence relating to the origins of the cities, their internal organization, and the history of their relations with the surrounding districts and with the paramount powers from as early as the Achaemenid period to the reign of Justinian. The evidence is furnished by a well-balanced use of inscriptions, papyri, coins, and the literary sources, including documents of the early Christian Church.

In the introduction the author tells us that he hopes to publish a succeeding volume which will "draw together the scattered threads obscured in this work in a tangle of facts". The present volume is essentially a handbook of data, and as such its physical features are most impressive. Besides the 375 pages of text there are 114 pages of notes and references, 50 of appendixes and tables, 12 of bibliography, 8 maps, and an index with references to nearly 1700 distinct geographical and ethnic names. The index includes also references to personal names and to well-selected topics, such as bishoprics, climata, royal lands, taxation, etc. In the notes references are limited to original sources, but the bibliography appears to cover the field of modern literature in an adequate manner. In the appendixes, besides a series of comparative tables of "the principal civil and ecclesiastical lists of the Byzantine period", we find a formal analysis and criticism of four of the principal literary sources: Pliny, Ptolemy, the Synecdemus of Hierocles, and the so-called Document of Georgius Cyprius. The tables are arranged according to the provinces of the Byzantine period as given by Hierocles. The names of the towns or other administrative units within each province are followed by columns of references to each unit in Hierocles, the Notitiae, and lists of the various church councils; in a separate bibliography Mr. Jones lists his sources for this ecclesiastical literature. Besides the formal discussion in the appendixes, the text is rich in comments on the various ancient authors, and this subjection of literary sources to the requirements of an exhaustive study in a particular field will be of real value to students in allied fields.

The author has chosen wisely, in limiting his study to the confines of the Roman Empire. In his statement, however, that beyond these borders Greek cities were "never more than isolated phenomena" he seriously underestimates the strength of this phase of Hellenization, though it is only too true that our knowledge concerning both Greek and native cities of Babylonia, Arabia, Iran, and India is so limited that a comprehensive study of their growth and organization cannot yet be attempted. In connection with the detailed picture which Mr. Jones provides for Western Asia, one should read the challenging sketch of Greek influence in the Middle East which comprises the introductory chapters of the most recent work by W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria and India*.

Throughout the volume under review one notes a measurable failure on the part of the author to distinguish adequately the various definitions of the term "city" which are required by the nature of the subject matter. Mr. Jones is concerned with the development of urban as opposed to tribal life, and even more with the increased use of cities as units of administration as opposed to a centralized bureaucracy. Many of the centers with which he deals had acquired the essential characteristics of cities before they had felt the influence of Greek culture, and, of course, a large number were the creation of the Roman Empire, intended exclusively to serve the Roman administration. In the face of these conditions, carefully brought out in the study, Mr. Jones tends to overemphasize the role of Greek culture in the process of urbanization. In the introduction he states that "the object of this work is to trace the diffusion of the Greek city as a political institution through the lands bordering on the eastern Mediterranean"; that his "object is to trace the diffusion of Greek political institutions in barbarian lands"; and again, that "deprived of the fostering care of the Roman government, Greek political institutions never achieved outside the Roman Empire that universal diffusion which they achieved within it". Without minimizing the fact that with the spread of Greek culture over much of the ancient world urban centers tended to adopt the forms traditional in the Greek cities, one must avoid an assumption that the cities of the Hellenistic and Roman periods necessarily owed their essential functions to Greek culture. For the most part the Greek colonies established on the Mediterranean shores and along the Black Sea had signally failed to organize politically the districts economically dependent on them, in many instances even the districts immediately outside the city walls. The breakdown of tribal life through the development of urban centers and the conscious use of these centers for the administration of the districts surrounding them became important in the Near East of the first millennium B.C. only with the Hellenistic period, and the inspiration appears to derive in part from the Phoenician tradition but more largely from Babylonia.

The University of Michigan.

ROBERT H. McDOWELL.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

The Gateway to the Middle Ages. By ELEANOR SHIPLEY DUCKETT, Professor of Latin Language and Literature, Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 620. \$5.00.)

Dr. Duckett follows up her fine volume on the fifth century with one on the sixth. She modestly declares that it is intended for the general reader. The general reader will find it stimulating, and the professor of history will gratefully put it among the reserved books in his course on the Middle Ages. Nor will the technical historian fail to see its virtues. He will not, however, find it heavily "documented". The footnotes do not contain complete bibliographies on all the topics of controversy raised in the text—those proper adornments of a severely scientific work. Some additions might well be made to the works that the author does cite and to her general bibliography at the end. But nonetheless this is a critical and not a mere popularizing account of the author's theme.

Indeed it is a question, sometimes, whether the solid sort of historiography is really solid. A scholar may start with some standard account of a period of the past—he has to start with something—master all that has been written about it, reckon with all the discoveries made and all the hypotheses proposed, distinguish carefully between primary and secondary sources, keep the eye single to *veritas* in general and the doctrine of evolution in particular and the mind unclouded by dogma, emotion, or humor, and display the sum total in a style free from meretricious elegance or charm.

Miss Duckett works the other way round. She begins with the ancient writers themselves and allows them to speak. Being an accomplished professor of the classics, she knows their *ipsissima verba* and calls for their testimony as if nobody had summoned them before. Procopius, Cassiodorus, Paul the Deacon, Boethius, Gregory of Tours, St. Benedict, Gregory the Great, and all others who deserve a hearing declare the history of their own times. Direct quotations and skillful summaries are always referred to their sources, but the work is no mere accumulation of summaries. The witness of the writers is not left without a comment. We see the movements, the dramas, of the times in which all unconsciously they were playing their roles. The author has immersed herself in modern estimates of the men and the events, political, social, literary, and intellectual, of the age that she treats, and she acquaints us *en passant* with her own point of view. But we are invited to see the play, not to read what the critics say about it next day in the papers. This is an entirely different affair from a book "for the general reader"—a rewriting of some standard work in simple and attractive language. The present work is at once good literature and critical history.

The subjects of Miss Duckett's chapters indicate the scope of her work. They are: "The Historical Scene in Italy"; "The Gothic Rule in Italy";

Cassiodorus, Secretary of Theodoric the Great"; "The Gothic Rule in Italy: Jordanes and Ennodius"; "Philosophy in the Sixth Century"; "A Picture of France"; "Poetry in the Sixth Century"; "A Picture of Britain"; "Roman Monasticism"; "Celtic Monasticism"; "Saint Benedict of Nursia"; "Saint Gregory the Great". It is obvious from these titles that a proper balance is preserved between literature and history—those sister arts that ought never to have been separated by our departmentalized system of college education. Surely history cannot be written by one who does not know the literature of the times in the language or languages in which it was written. The expert in law or government or economics or social conditions, of course, makes weighty contributions to the study of any age, but these contributions should be assayed by one who knows at first hand the highest expressions of the human spirit in letters and the arts and its strivings for a higher realm of philosophy and religion. How different does the Merovingian age become when a writer of Miss Duckett's cultivation adds to the battles, murders, and sudden deaths recorded by Gregory of Tours the poetry of Fortunatus and the heroic experiment, an experiment that came to stay, of the monastic life! It was an age of strange contrasts, not differing much from our own, between crude failure without and placid triumph within.

Of all this Miss Duckett writes in a polished and measured style, seasoned with touches of emotion and a quiet humor that relieves, but never interrupts, the even tenor of dignity. She can treat a great subject simply. Above all, she has that inner acquaintance with the beauty of the liturgy, the profession, and the practice of the Catholic Church, without which the period that she treats is a sealed book. Did space permit, I would quote one passage (p. 209) in which history passes into poetry sure to appeal to any who have felt the spell of the Tours of Bishop Gregory and St. Martin.

We hope that having brought us thus to the gateway of the Middle Ages, Miss Duckett will next show us what is within the portals.

Harvard University.

E. K. RAND.

✓ *An Introduction to Medieval Europe, 300-1500.* By JAMES WESTFALL THOMPSON, Sidney Hellman Ehrman Professor of European History, The University of California, and EDGAR NATHANIEL JOHNSON, Associate Professor of History, The University of Nebraska. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 1092. \$5.50, trade edition; \$3.90, text edition.)

✓ *Europe in the Middle Ages.* By WARREN O. AULT, Professor of History in Boston University. [Revised.] (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 730. \$3.48.)

THE stream of textbooks on the Middle Ages continues to swell; the books grow longer and heavier. Now we have a complete rewriting by Professor Johnson of an earlier book by Professor Thompson with more

than a thousand large closely printed pages, a hundred illustrations of real beauty, and nearly forty maps of sufficient utility. By the inclusion of two chapters on England by Dr. Glenn W. Gray all fields are covered. There is the usual short list of helpful readings for each chapter with brief critical comment by Dr. Gray for his sections, and a syllabus with full bibliographical information is announced.

The book has many admirable qualities only a few of which can be mentioned. The style is forthright, not sparkling, rather lacking in humor, but good. The avowed aim of the authors at the composition of a book wherein the history of ideas is presented against the political background, "refreshed constantly by intimate contact with warm human beings and the homely facts of life", has been well achieved. The continuity of intellectual developments has been emphasized from Neoplatonism to Humanism. Two excellent chapters on the "medieval renaissance" point through various other passages to the final chapter on learning and art in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries wherein the outworn view is skillfully amended by establishing continuity with the earlier movement, both being treated as a phase in the increasing urbanization and secularization of society. The chapter on literature, art, and music in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries is the most delightful in the book. In it the text and line drawings on architecture are a real achievement in clarity, and the pages on music could have been written only by a trained amateur and performer, as Professor Johnson is said to be. To find Palestrina appreciatively placed in a textbook on medieval history is a happy augury. In a book of this quality and aim four lines for John of Salisbury seem meager, and the final chapter seems too sternly compressed: thirty pages on the period of the Hundred Years War might have been partially sacrificed advantageously. The history of the church is handled elaborately and with vigor, occasionally with brutal frankness of phrase, yet tempered often by passages of appreciation of the problems confronted if not solved. A chapter of some originality in concept treats the "medieval reformation", the religious discontent and protest, revolutionary monastic developments, phenomena further discussed in two later passages and interpreted as the real beginnings of the Protestant Reformation, again emphasizing continuity. From time to time there are interesting comparisons, frequent cautions to the incautious reader against easy judgment on the Middle Ages based on inadequate knowledge of them or of his own age, timely cautions against clichés. Economic and institutional developments are adequately considered.

A few questions arise in reading the book. The revivifying views of Dopsch seem to have been ignored; otherwise the too categorical statement concerning Charles Martel's use of the benefice would have been modified (p. 231), and Dopsch's work, now available in English, would have been mentioned in the suggested readings. The statement that merchant guilds

"split up" into craft guilds requires qualification (p. 589). The very difficult problem of stating briefly the views of the church on marriage has been unwisely attempted (p. 681). Careful reading of Lunt's book on papal revenues would have avoided conflict with his conclusions on the annates and profits from the sale of indulgences in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries (p. 659). There are few inaccuracies of a careless nature, but Tunis is wrongly given as the port captured by the Genoese-Pisan expedition in one passage, though Mahdia is correctly named in another (pp. 517, 564), and there are a few other errors of this sort. In the lists of readings Tait's book on towns should certainly have been included, and if Villehardouin in translation is recommended, the excellent translation of Robert of Cleri by Professor McNeal, giving the other side of the picture, should have been listed. Only three errors in proofreading have been noted.

The revised edition of Professor Ault's book is of another ilk, simpler in plan and purpose, more conventional, written in a lively style, marred by carelessness. Can we conscientiously teach the young to speak of "oral literature" (pp. 56, 63)? Mohammed did not leave to his successors a "unified Arabia" (p. 211). Robert Guiscard cannot be said "actually" to have laid siege to Constantinople (p. 310). It is trying to read that Lombard merchants were the importers of eastern luxuries to the West (p. 369). Six fairs in four towns in Champagne is as easy to write as "four fairs in as many towns" and has the advantage of being true (p. 392). Sicily is either on the main highway of Mediterranean trade or it is not—impossible to have it both ways (pp. 369, 409). The unhappy bishop arrested by Philip the Fair in the course of the quarrels with Boniface VIII was not a papal legate, as is stated (p. 431). Would Abelard's self-confessed vanity be tickled at being called the "greatest of twelfth century nominalists" (p. 496)? Because the Arabs gave a name to algebra is no excuse for telling students that they "invented" that science (p. 222). The map of commercial routes sadly needs revision of maritime routes before the next edition of the book (pp. 366-67).

Neither of these textbooks will pre-empt the field, although the first one is a brave new approach, a difficult task handsomely accomplished.

Columbia University.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Terrae Incognitae: Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte. Band II, 200-1200 n. Chr. Von Dr RICHARD HENNIG, Hochschulprofessor in Düsseldorf. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1937. Pp. ix, 399. 6 g.)

THIS second part of Hennig's projected three-volume work on pre-Columbian discovery is as catholic in scope as was the first. Of the fifty-

two expeditions discussed, six went to the Near East and Abyssinia, four to Central Asia, four to India, five to China, and two to Japan. At least seven were journeys from one part of the Far East to another. Some eight undertakings sought information about the Baltic region and northern Russia, while no less than fifteen—most of them by Northmen—brought within the circle of Europe's knowledge the lands of the north Atlantic from the Faroe Islands to the shores of Vinland.

In its organization Hennig's work is a bit unconventional. The material on each journey is divided into two parts. First there is a rendering of passages from medieval sources (sometimes as many as half a dozen) which are relevant to the journey in question. Thereupon follows an original essay by the author, touching upon a variety of data—sometimes as much geographical and climatological as bibliographical and historical. All the sources are rendered in German.

The order of treatment is chronological. There is less duplication in the essays than might be expected from such a procedure, yet something might have been gained from a regional arrangement. It seems a little awkward to find the section on the Japanese Chonen in China inserted between the section on Eric in Greenland and that on the first Northmen in Vinland. Likewise the material on the Malayan colonization of Madagascar is sandwiched between that on Harald Haardraade in the Greenland ice drift and that on Bishop Eirik Gnuþsson in Vinland.

In the interpretation of doubtful and obscure passages—there are many such in the sources pertaining to medieval discovery—the author is never timid or hesitant but undertakes to fill in the gaps with hypotheses and suggestions (for example, pp. 34, 60-61, 179, 202, 248), which not infrequently are substantiated with ingenious reasoning. In most cases where there is some doubt about the historicity of a journey he accepts it and argues that at least the kernel of the account must be valid. The tone of the argument in such passages may be a bit peremptory (for example, pp. 19, 49, 99, 104, 131) at times when a suggestive and tentative approach would be fully as convincing.

As a work of reference the volume has its merit. Into its preparation the author, who has to his credit a long list of articles and studies on the historical aspects of geographical exploration, has put a good deal of serious effort, first in assembling and editing the diverse extracts from sources, and second, in composing the essay for each journey. These essays are far from being of equal value, but the longer ones provide convenient and sometimes effective introductions to the expeditions discussed and to the controversial literature on them.

New York University.

OSCAR J. FALNES.

Histoire de Moyen Âge. Tome IV², L'essor des états d'Occident: France, Angleterre, Péninsule ibérique. Par CH. PETIT-DUTAILLIS, membre de l'Institut, et P. GUINARD, directeur de l'Institut français de Madrid. [Histoire générale, publiée sous la direction de Gustave Glotz.] (Paris: Les Presses Universitaires de France. 1937. Pp. 403. 50 fr.)

IN this volume twenty chapters by M. Petit-Dutaillis cover the history of France and England, 1152-1272, and three by M. Guinard deal with the Spanish peninsula, 1031-1252. A "bibliographie générale" supplied for each part is supplemented by copious footnote references, often critical, to sources, standard secondary works, monographs, and periodicals, some as recent as 1936. There is a satisfactory index of persons, places, and terms.

M. Petit-Dutaillis's account seems to the reviewer a work of real distinction. It embodies the results of recent scholarship in both France and England, including the author's own studies and suggestions for problems yet unsolved. More than is usually the case with French or English historians, Petit-Dutaillis is at home on both sides of the channel. Hence he gives a penetrating insight into the complicated interrelationships of the two areas, the comparative history of their institutions, and the probable influences of each upon the other. Instances of this are his description of Henry II's administration of his Continental fiefs and relations with his vassals and towns "d'outremer"; suggestion as to what French kings may have learned from the English administration of Normandy, and English barons from Louis IX's ordinances; Philip Augustus's role and motives in the English crisis, 1213-16, and Saint Louis's in the *Mise of Amiens*. Apparently the author's own contributions are the analysis of King John as modern psychiatry would deal with the contemporary evidence, the growth of absolute monarchy in France through the character of Louis IX, and theories accounting for the partly progressive character of the Articles of the Barons and allotting responsibility for article 14 of Magna Carta. While narrative history is adequately traced, more space is devoted to economic, social, and religious forces, and the growth of governmental institutions. Felicity of style and skill in depicting personalities lend liveliness to the narrative. Errors are few. Occasional brevity of treatment results in misleading or doubtful statements: for instance, the confusing account of the origin of common pleas and king's bench (pp. 95-96, 184) and the obscure reference to permanent committees of four or six knights (p. 39, ll. 30-31). Article 14 of Magna Carta does not mention a *magnum concilium* (p. 189, l. 12) nor article 17 a *court* of common pleas (p. 184, l. 13). One is inclined to question the emphasis on the contributions of the Dominicans to representative institutions (pp. 51, 55, 199) and the force of the elective principle in the succession to the English throne (pp. 89, 111-12, 125).

We are fortunate, no doubt, in having this work from M. Guinard's pen completed at the time it was. The author, "retenu loin de Madrid par des

circstances independantes de sa volonté", apologizes for failure to revise his proofs as he would have liked to do. In brief compass he gives an effective account of the troubled two centuries of Spanish history from the end of the Caliphate of Cordova to the confining of Moslem power to Granada. Emphasis in this period is naturally on the Christian states—their political history, a comparative study of their institutions, and the story of the reconquest, with possibly overemphasis on the unifying effects of the latter. His treatment gains over that in the *Cambridge Medieval History*. (Vol. VI, ch. XII, 1929) both in the use of studies which have appeared since 1929 and in a fuller exposition of the various forces at work in the peninsula. He plays up the influence of geography, contacts between the Christian states and the Christian world north of the Pyrenees, and the character and life of the small Moslem states ("royaumes de taifas"). Especially good is the description of Moslem Spain: its economic and cultural civilization; the relationships of Christians, Moslems, Jews, Mozarabs, and Mudejares, tolerant at least into the thirteenth century; and Spain's role in the transmission of learning—"les grands philosophes qui seront les traits d'union entre la pensée antique, la musulmane et la chretienne". A suggestive final paragraph relates the effects of the reconquest to present-day problems in the peninsula.

The University of Minnesota.

FAITH THOMPSON.

L'Albanie et l'invasion turque au XV^e siècle. Par ATHANASE GEGAJ, docteur en sciences historiques. [Université de Louvain.] (Paris: Paul Geuthner. 1937. Pp. xx, 169. 30 fr.).

THIS admirable monograph is one of the most instructive contributions to Balkan history that have appeared in recent years. Drawing upon the numerous collections of Southern Slav, medieval Greek, and Italian documents, the author has undertaken to picture the conditions in Albania on the eve of the Turkish conquest. The country, since about the year 1200, had passed from effective Byzantine rule into the control of a number of powerful feudal families, mostly native, like the Thopia, Ducagin, Balsha, and Musachi. There intervened a short period of Serbian rule in the time of Dushan, after which real efforts were made in Albania, as elsewhere in Europe, to overcome the feudal anarchy and establish some form of centralized authority. This process was interrupted by the attacks of the Turks in the last years of the fourteenth century and by the establishment of the Venetians in the coast towns. By 1423 Turkish suzerainty had been imposed on most of the interior.

The second part of the book is devoted to a critical examination of the career of Scanderbeg. For this section the author has of course made use of Barletius's chronicle, the shortcomings of which he fully recognizes, but which he rates somewhat higher than other recent writers have done. More

important, however, is his re-discovery of an earlier, much more sober, and apparently more reliable chronicle, written by an anonymous author from Antivari, a brother of one of Scanderbeg's officers. This chronicle was printed in 1480 but later lost. It was used extensively by Biemmi in his *Historia di Giorgio Castriota* (Brescia, 1742), a work which itself is now extremely rare. In addition, Gegaj has drawn upon the account of Musachi, written in 1510 and first published by Ricca in 1865. He makes full use of the valuable studies of Marinescu on the relations of Alfonso V of Naples with Scanderbeg, though he believes that Marinescu overemphasizes the extent of Neapolitan aid. Above all, Gegaj has supplied a much-needed scholarly, critical account of Scanderbeg's origins and career and has put that career into the larger Italian and Slavic setting. It is hard to find anything but praise for his painstaking treatment of a most difficult subject. Possibly some further information might be derived from some of the recently discovered Turkish chronicles, though the Turkish sources, like Sead-eddin and Leunclavius, which Gegaj has used, are so disappointing that little is perhaps to be expected from that side. Only two or three insignificant slips have been noted.

Harvard University.

W. L. LANGER.

The Private Life of Lorenzo the Magnificent. By YVONNE MAGUIRE. (London: Alexander Ouseley, 1936. Pp. 208. 6s.)

Lorenzo il Magnifico. By CESARE VIOLINI. (Milan: La Prora. 1937. Pp. 364. 15 l.)

Laurent le Magnifique. By MARCEL BRION. (Paris: Albin Michel. 1937. Pp. 367. 25 f.)

No one of these studies qualifies as a biography. Mrs. Maguire has limited herself to a narrow interpretation of a single aspect—Lorenzo's relations with his family and the members of his household. Her book is not without a certain quality of scholarship, although on the whole it does not rank with *The Women of the Medici*, which was awarded the Gamble Prize at Girton. Aside from letters included in that earlier volume Mrs. Maguire relies on printed sources, of varying value but used with discrimination.

Signor Violini has been more ambitious. The chapter headings cover Lorenzo's personal and political life and his cultural attainments, together with certain interpolations on women, literature, and social customs in Florence from Boccaccio's day on. The chapters themselves fail to fulfill their promise; they are brief, often trivial in content and loosely organized. In many instances the author relies on imagination rather than on research, for data as well as for conclusions. The accounts of the economic organization of Florence, of the early Medici, and of the Triple Alliance are

most inaccurate. The sack of Volterra and the analysis of the relations between the Medici and Pope Sixtus IV are more adequate. Signor Violini is a novelist as well as a historian. He is occupied just now with a romance centering on the Pazzi Conspiracy, which explains why that incident receives disproportionate attention. The period after 1478 is hurried over; Lorenzo's diplomatic achievements, on which any just estimate of his ability must rest, are quite ignored. The best chapters are those on social and literary history, in which Signor Violini's imagination is his best asset.

M. Brion is equally inaccurate so far as his facts go. His most serious blunders are in confusing Lorenzo di Pierfrancesco with the Magnifico and in accepting the legend of Savonarola's denying absolution to his patron. He makes no mention of Lorenzo's political life after the Peace of Bagnolo. During the decade when he was the greatest statesman in Italy and an important figure in trans-Alpine affairs M. Brion sees him as a tired philosopher absorbed in the management of his estates while Savonarola was winning from him the support of the rabble. While the friar's sermons were heard by men and women of all classes and all parties, there is as yet no proof that he was supplanting the Medici. Such a situation was not improbable, but if it existed, the causes were not political, as M. Brion thinks, but economic. Half a century before, Cosimo dei Medici had secured the support of the laboring classes by providing work for them in Florence and by protecting their interests in foreign markets. After his death the commercial supremacy of the Florentines declined rapidly; Lorenzo was held more or less responsible for the accompanying depression. To what extent this affected the loyalty of the people is yet to be determined; M. Brion's unsupported generalities are far from convincing. He gives no bibliography, so it is impossible to comment on his sources, but it seems evident that he used no contemporary manuscripts or he would hardly have spoken of "Lorenzo's beautiful handwriting" when the illegibility of the Medici letters is such an obstacle to research. Despite its shortcomings the book has many excellences, such as those who know the author's studies of Botticelli and Giotto have a right to expect. Particularly commendable are his re-creation of the charm of fifteenth century Florence and his generally accurate characterization.

Each of these studies adds something to our appreciation of Lorenzo as a symbol of the Renaissance, but they leave him merely a historical figure, not at all a convincing personality, partly because of the limitations of their information and partly because of the baffling problems of achievement and qualities, problems which invite the biography but defeat the biographer.

Wellesley, Massachusetts.

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

✓ *William Tyndale*. By J. F. MOZLEY. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 364. \$4.00.)

DURING the half century that has elapsed since the publication of the second and final edition of Demaus's life of Tyndale much new material has come to light, and many studies have dispelled a good deal of the obscurity that long clouded the career of the greatest of the English Reformers. Mr. Mozley has, in this fresh biography, added to these studies investigations of his own that make his work a considerable advance on that of his precursor. He has discovered the date and circumstances of Tyndale's ordination, has illuminated his college years at Oxford, has followed him through Germany, and has carefully evaluated the sources and the literary qualities of his translations of the Bible.

For all this the student of English history and of English literature will be profoundly grateful. On the other hand, he will regret that Mr. Mozley has overlooked important material that might have added greatly to the value of his work. The scholar will find a review of much of this material and a fine appraisal of Tyndale's mind and influence in a recent article by M. M. Knappen in *Church History*, Volume V (1936). It will be helpful, perhaps, to devote the rest of this review to a few important points in which Mr. Mozley has fallen short of his opportunities.

The author states that Tyndale matriculated at Wittenberg University on May 27, 1524, under the name *Guillelmus Daltici* (or *Daltin*) *ex Anglia* (pp. 52 f.). In this he is undoubtedly right; but he is wrong in saying that the evidence for this fact has been "hitherto overlooked, though it has been in print for ninety years". The identification was made just as Mr. Mozley makes it, including the suggestion that "Daltin" should be read for "Daltici", in an article published in the *English Historical Review* in July, 1921.

On the vexed question of the authorship of the translation of Erasmus's *Enchiridion* Mr. Mozley says (p. 345): "This seems to be Tyndale's translation. It bears strong marks of his style. . . . I hope to put out the evidence elsewhere". Before he publishes his promised article he should read the fine study by Professor J. A. Gee, "Tyndale and the 1533 English *Enchiridion*", in the *Publications of the Modern Language Association*, Volume XLIX (1934).

The most interesting of all the bibliographical puzzles offered by the literary history of the sixteenth century is the provenance of a series of works by Tyndale and Roye which have on the title page the words, "At Marlborough in the lande of Hesse . . . By me, Hans Luft". Scholars have long ago recognized that these books could not have been printed by

Hans Luft, a Wittenberg printer, at Marburg in Hesse. It was long believed that they were printed either in Antwerp or in Hamburg by an unknown printer. In 1919 Miss M. E. Kronenberg published an article in *Het Boek* identifying the printer of some of these works, by the types used, with John Hoochstraten of Antwerp. These identifications are accepted, some as certain, some as probable, some as doubtful, by the editors of the great bibliography of sixteenth century Dutch works. All this Mr. Mozley knows. But apparently not only he but Professor Knappen and all other students of the subject have overlooked an article published in the (New York) *Nation* on May 16, 1912, an article which, if its assertions are accepted, places the whole matter in a new light. The author of this article shows that the woodcut on the title page of three of these Hans Luft books, namely, *The Obedience of a Christen Man* (1528), *An Exhortation to the diligent study of Scripture* (1529), and *A pistle to the Christian Reader* (1529), had been used earlier in various works issued by the Cologne printers Cervicorn and Soter. The woodcut, representing Venus and the three Graces, was the work of Anton Wönsam of Worms (see J. J. Merlo, *Kölnische Künstler*, 1895, p. 1046, no. 435). It was first used in a book printed by Cervicorn at Cologne in 1523; it was then used in three works published by Soter at Cologne in 1526-27. It can also be traced, in a new form, showing that it had been recut, in a work published by an Antwerp printer in 1529. The author of the article in the *Nation* discovered other interesting facts connecting the printing of the Hans Luft books with Cologne. And now Mr. L. A. Sheppard, in an extremely important essay published in the *Library*, December, 1935, has set forth new facts and hypotheses connecting the printing of the English Bible of 1535 with Cervicorn, Soter, and Marburg. He asserts, on the most convincing grounds, that this Bible was not printed, as commonly but rashly asserted, by Froschouer at Zurich but by types used by Cervicorn and Soter at Cologne in the years 1534-37. Moreover, he shows that Cervicorn was appointed university printer at Marburg, matriculating on November 25, 1535, only a few weeks after the printing of the English Bible was finished (on October 4, 1535). Now, all this evidence converges to the conclusion that Tyndale and the other translators of the English Bible had close relations with Cervicorn, Soter, and Marburg. The problem is not yet solved; but the abundant data cry for investigation. If Mr. Mozley, Mr. Sheppard, Professor Knappen, or Professor Gee will now undertake the careful and patient search necessary for the establishment of sound conclusions, he has an excellent opportunity to clear up definitely one of the most fascinating problems in the whole literary and religious history of England.

Cornell University.

PRESERVED SMITH.

Juan de Valdés: La sua vita e il suo pensiero religioso. By EDMONDO CIONE.

Con una completa bibliografia delle opere del Valdés e degli scritti intorno a lui. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1938. Pp. 195. 14 l.)

Alfabeto Cristiano: Dialogo con Giulia Gonzaga. By GIOVANNI DI VALDÉS.

Introduzione, note, e appendici di B. CROCE. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xxviii, 178. 16 l.)

THESE volumes are welcome, both for the task undertaken and for the way it has been performed. It was time that some competent scholar assembled the new material about Juan de Valdés, unique figure among sixteenth century reformers as a layman whose efforts were directed primarily at laymen. In 1922 his *Diálogo de la Doctrina Cristiana* was discovered by Bataillon in the library of the University of Lisbon. It was reproduced in facsimile, with introduction and notes, in 1925. In 1937 the first edition of the Italian translation of his *Alfabeto Cristiano* turned up in the Biblioteca Nazionale at Naples, in time to claim an appendix in the volume of Cione but too late to be used in the present edition by Croce. The latter contains, however, seven letters of Valdés to Cobos, imperial secretary of state, regarding Giulia Gonzaga and the Spanish administration of Naples, as well as precious details about the last will and testament of Valdés. Cione's book is important not only in making use of the new material but in fitting into the picture older material difficult to reconcile with that originally drawn of Valdés by the Quakers Wiffen and Usoz de Rio. We have not indeed the dossier of his trial by the Inquisition, but we know that the attack on his *Diálogo de la Doctrina Cristiana* drove him from Spain in 1529. In Italy he was protected from persecution by the bull which his influential brother Alfonso prudently secured from Clement VII.

The works of Valdés written in Italy do not exist in the Spanish originals. Croce's edition of the *Alfabeto Cristiano* is based on the unique exemplar (1546) of the Italian translation by Marcantonio Magno, preserved in the British Museum and first published in 1860. Its interest lies not only in the circumstance of its origin, the dissatisfaction of Donna Giulia with the sermons of Ochino, which she attended, and her successful appeal to Valdés. It lies also in the spirited give and take between them. After stating her case, Giulia becomes the listener, whose close attention is evinced by her quick and terse rejoinders. She is in as deadly earnest as he; but while Valdés drives home his points with scriptural allusion and homely illustration, Giulia comments often with humor and is never convinced too easily. If the mastery of the Christian Alphabet with its twelve steps secures the hope of eternal life, the book for advanced study is then *il proprio libro*, the name by which Valdés was accustomed to call his own mind.

In his biographical sketch of Valdés, Cione relies mainly on archival

material, as in the important chapter on the teaching of Valdés. The biographical chapter separates what the author has to say about Erasmus and mysticism from what he says about the teaching of Valdés, who broke with "the mild semi-pelagianism of Erasmus" and in his *Doctrina Cristiana*, while admitting his debt to the author of the *Enchiridion*, turned to St. Paul, for whose tormenting religious experience he felt a deep sympathy. Oriental and Neoplatonic influences on Valdés are not seen by Cione (as by Heep in 1909), but he agrees with the evidence as to the debt to Tauler. Croce finds in the teaching of Valdés a new moral philosophy which will one day take the name of Emanuel Kant and considers of little or no interest the question of his debt to earlier mystics.

Cione has provided his book with two indexes (of names in the text and of names in the bibliography). The bibliography is complete, well arranged, accurate, and critical.

The University of Idaho.

FREDERIC C. CHURCH.

A Cardinal of the Medici: Being the Memoirs of the Nameless Mother of the Cardinal Ippolito de' Medici. By MRS. HICKS BEACH. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 411. \$3.00.)

THIS narrative of the early sixteenth century is a work of real learning and much charm. Mrs. Hicks Beach has chosen a difficult medium. To simulate a historical memoir is to place a severe strain upon the profoundness of the writer's information. It is no small praise to say that the author seems to the modern critic to have achieved the sixteenth century, even as to color of thought and feeling.

The writer of this memoir is represented as a lady in waiting at the court of Urbino. In various cities she follows the fortunes of her adventurous son, Ippolito de' Medici, who, somehow, fails to become the hero of the tale. The lady created by Mrs. Hicks Beach remains throughout more significant than the creature of history. She grows continually in distinction of mind, knowing disillusionment without cynicism, grasping the realities of life without despising its outward forms—a true child of Urbino and the twilight of the Italian renaissance.

Other arresting portraits are presented. Elisabetta Gonzaga is shown from many angles, overprecious but fundamentally simple and fine. Pietro Bembo is a living personality, growing dim beneath the worldly wisdom of the courtier. Pope Leo X, obese, unfeeling, superficially refined, also rings true. Strangely enough, Giuliano de' Medici, whose spell enmeshes the lady of Urbino, is one of the unrealities of the book.

Questions of fact scarcely arise. Matters of emphasis are about all that the author has left to the critic, and these can usually be explained by the personal bias of the memoir. Medici reactions may be responsible for the

claim that Salvestro de' Medici gave equality to all classes in Florence (p. 19), and similar personal motives might explain the slight inaccuracies of statement concerning the papal elections of 1513 and 1521 (pp. 50, 126). Ippolito's mother is, perhaps, too certain of the universal acceptance of the belief that Clement VII was the father of Alessandro de' Medici. If this had been so generally suspected at the time, why should the Venetian ambassador have put into the mouth of Ippolito himself the argument that Alessandro was the son of the hated Lorenzo (duke of Urbino) while he (Ippolito) was the son of Giuliano de' Medici, beloved by the Florentines? Ippolito based several arguments for his superior claim to Florence on this version of their parentage. True, the Venetian ambassador comments pointedly upon the pope's affection for Alessandro, but he explains this strange preference by Ippolito's incorrigible insubordination. Another unsolved problem—that of the sudden death of the Cardinal Ippolito at Itri—is very deftly handled.

Unfortunately the author believes that complete annotation would give an air of "spurious erudition" (p. viii). There is therefore no opportunity to discover the basis for her somewhat unsympathetic treatment of Giulia Gonzaga. The only reference is to the biography by Bruto Amante, but this conception cannot be derived from him. As is usually the case, the absence of documentation is regrettable.

Those who are most familiar with this period will best realize the subtlety and ability with which this study has been accomplished.

Goucher College.

KATHARINE JEANNE GALLAGHER.

Deutsche und Engländer: Wesen und Werden in grosser Geschichte. Von ARNOLD OSKAR MEYER. (Munich: C. H. Beck. 1937. Pp. vi, 326. 5.65 M.)

WHEN the latest incumbent of the most sought after chair of German history, that in the University of Berlin, publishes a collection of his minor works, the reader, in times like these, may legitimately raise the question, does it explain how or why this scholar, otherwise not well known abroad, was raised to his exalted position? In other words, does either his choice of problems or his treatment of them indicate something about the *Wissenschaftspolitik* in the Third Reich? It is not the reviewer's fault if the question is easily answered and the history in the case turns out to be thinly disguised politics. For the truly scientific part of Professor Meyer's essays is slight. The chief themes are these: "Thoughts on German National Character in the Mirror of German History" (a convenient summary of the discussions on Germanism and Christianity and of the question, which has injured the other more?); "From the History of German National Feeling"; "Kant's Ethics and the Prussian State"; "Metternich"; "Bismarck's Peace Policy"; "The Moral Bases of Bismarck's Policy"; "King James I of England"; "Cromwell"; "England and the British Empire". A

few of the essays have been left as originally printed; those that lend themselves to a political reading, however, are altered. The one on Metternich, first published in 1924, has not so much worked in the new materials of Srbik and Bibl but rather has added on pages 122 and 132 genuflections before another Austrian: "We have since experienced with an impact surpassing all expectations the resurrection of a strong state power, the necessity for which is eternal law in Metternich's eyes." An attempt is made to save Christianity from the hands of the Rosenbergs by reminding those still higher in power that Bismarck, Germany's greatest statesman, was a Christian from the bottom of his heart (p. 117), a defense which, together with the further discussion of Bismarck's morality, reminds one how old that attempt is, how much it owed to Bismarck himself, and how it was answered at that time by that *Unbekannter* in Vienna, who wrote some of the best German epistolary prose: "If B. believes in his believing, then—God forgive me!—God himself is a Prussian and I myself surrender to the devil who is, I hope, at least something of an Austrian" (*Briefe eines Unbekannten*, 1879).

Compared with this lofty stuff of German history, the articles dealing with British history are solid, showing the victory of economic interests (p. 267) or the total yearly income of the plutocratic Long Parliament (p. 256). But they are equally cautious; Meyer's portrait of Cromwell is as safe as that of Oncken was unsafe for its author, who had made the parallel with a later *Führer* rather uncomfortable. The essay on England and the British Empire has received a new ending, different from that of 1929, an exhortation directed across the North Sea to remember the common Nordic qualities of order and "the high appreciation of the creative personality" (p. 305). This recent image of England reminds one again how interesting a topic waits for its treatment—German historians and their England.

Sherman, Connecticut.

ALFRED VAGTS.

The Netherlands Divided, 1609-1648. By P. GEYL, Professor of Modern History in the University of Utrecht. Translated by S. T. Bindoff in collaboration with the author. (London: Williams & Norgate. 1936. Pp. 284. 12s. 6d.)

IN this interesting work, as the title indicates, both the northern and the southern provinces of the Netherlands are discussed, though the seven tiny states which comprised the Dutch Republic receive the greater share of attention owing to their great economic power and their relatively high degree of culture. The author corrects a viewpoint widely held by historians, among them even Henri Pirenne, who believed that in the southern provinces the inhabitants remained in possession of their ancient political privileges, instead of being dominated by the policies determined upon in Madrid and after 1713 in Vienna (p. 23). On the other hand, he himself

errs when he declares that the orthodox Calvinists in the Dutch Republic were of the opinion that "for them and for the Reformed Church alone Christ had died" (p. 46).

Professor Geyl makes it very clear that the so-called Flemish language as a literary tongue (distinguished somewhat from the local dialects spoken in Flanders and Brabant) is the same as what Americans call the Dutch language; he speaks correctly of the Dutch-speaking provinces of Flanders, Brabant, and Upper Gelderland (p. 15). Another important observation made by the author is that in the first half of the seventeenth century the war against Spain had become a struggle for the maintenance of the Calvinist faith, though William the Silent had inaugurated it for political and national interests (p. 81). Nevertheless, as late as the middle of the seventeenth century only about half of the population in the province of Holland was affiliated with the orthodox Calvinist churches; the rest were either liberal Calvinists, Baptists, or Catholics (p. 211). The author, considering the age of which he speaks, believes with Descartes that in Holland, in spite of periodical outbursts of mild intolerance, men "enjoyed liberty more than elsewhere"; and he defends the ruling class in the big cities against the scholars in foreign states ruled by absolute monarchs, for the latter could not understand how it was possible or proper for the patricians to have acquired so much economic and political power, seeing that they had just risen from the class of the "brewers, the tanners, and the soapboilers" (p. 249).

Although the book is written in a popular vein, it retains throughout the earmarks of a scholarly publication, the text being accompanied by footnotes printed in the back of the book, together with a valuable bibliographical note and a very good index. The balance is well maintained between the political narrative on the one hand and the discussion of social, political, and cultural factors on the other hand.

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

The Physical Treatises of Pascal: The Equilibrium of Liquids and The Weight of the Mass of the Air. Translated by I. H. B. and A. G. H. SPIERS, with Introduction and Notes by FREDERICK BARRY. [Records of Civilization, edited under the auspices of the Department of History, Columbia University, Austin P. Evans, General Editor.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 181. \$3.25.)

THE rare blending in the prose of Pascal of simple charm with trenchant criticism—long recognized by scholars in the humanities—has been less familiar to students in the sciences than the virtuosity of his method. Such an unfortunate situation, resulting, perhaps, from the fact that Blaise Pascal left to posterity an account of his scientific work which is tantaliz-

ingly meager, is the more to be regretted inasmuch as the genius of Pascal lay not so much in originality of conception as in a remarkable flair for the clarification of ideas. The hydrostatic paradox had been implied by the work of Archimedes and Stevin, and the effects of atmospheric pressure had been correctly described in the experiences of Torricelli; but it was Pascal who made these phenomena vivid and unambiguously intelligible. This he did through the shrewd selection of cleverly devised crucial experiments, carried out with meticulously correct procedure and through the application of a keen logical penetration which enabled him to grasp immediately the implications of his work and to recognize clearly the correlation of the principles involved. Pascal as a result conducted his attack upon the doctrine of the *horror vacui* with a vigor and effectiveness beyond that which had been achieved by Galileo. For these reasons the *Physical Treatises*—here given in a delightful and yet sound translation—are recognized as constituting one of the classics of scientific literature.

The concepts of science are the result of centuries of cumulative effort to furnish a picture of nature which shall be self-consistent in an ever-widening universe of discourse; but to no individual may there be ascribed a prescience of the part which his ideas will play in the scientific patterns of the future. His contributions are not to be regarded as consciously directed toward the development of present-day theories; nor is his work to be interpreted, as all too easily it may be, in terms of the latter. Pascal lived during a period in which such notions as mass, density, pressure, force, work were not the commonplaces of science which they are today but were in process of formulation. For a proper understanding of this critical epoch in the history of science a ready availability of sources is greatly to be desired. In this respect, and particularly with reference to the development of the statics of fluids, the present book serves such a purpose admirably—better, in fact, than its modest title would imply. It contains not only the decisive work of Pascal, as found in his *Physical Treatises* and in other fragments, but adds as well, in appendixes, translations into English of pertinent passages from Stevin, Galileo, and Torricelli. A timely foreword, a bibliographical note, a serviceable index, explanatory and suggestive footnotes, and well-executed diagrams further enhance the value of this attractive volume.

Brooklyn College.

CARL B. BOYER.

The Works of John Milton. Edited by FRANK ALLEN PATTERSON and others. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1931-1938. 18 volumes in 21 books. \$315, de luxe edition; \$105, library edition.)

It is among the more agreeable coincidences in the history of English literature, if it is a coincidence, that almost precisely three hundred years

after John Milton's first contributions to that literature—*Comus* and *Lycidas*—first saw the light of print, the first complete edition of his writings should be brought to its conclusion. This splendid memorial to one whom many regard as the greatest of English poets is due to the untiring efforts of the president of Columbia University. Acting on a suggestion made to him apparently nearly twenty-five years ago by Professor W. P. Trent, he has, as the editors tell us, "kept watch over the evolution of the work and has furthered the labors of the editorial board in every way in his power". Thus it will remain a monument not only to the poet but to the president and professors of Columbia University. As it is the only complete, so it will be the "standard" edition of Milton, a landmark by which all future editions of any of his writings must set their course, whether in agreement or disagreement with its text, its notes, or its translations.

That there will be disagreement there can be no doubt. No work of such a scope, carried on by so many hands, whose text and translations must of necessity be controversial at many points, can possibly escape severe and searching criticism. For years to come the rarefied altitudes in which pure scholarship resides will be profoundly agitated by the controversies over this reading or that interpretation. There will be long lists of addenda, delenda, and especially corrigenda. There will, no doubt, be arguments of greater or less acrimony. It is not too much to expect that some small reputations may be made by pointing out errors of commission or omission in this great work. All this is to be expected, for that is the spirit of scholarship, and that is the way to truth; and this, among other things, will ensure the future of this great edition. It will be not merely the complete corpus of Milton's writings, it will become, in a sense, the measure of the knowledge of his works.

In any brief review of this great edition it would be unfitting, as it would be impossible, to note the small infinity of points in which one might disagree with various editors. Everyone differs in his conception of the particular English phrases which should be used in translating the Latin writings, and one need only go back to the eighteenth century translations to perceive not merely how true this is but how greatly that difficult and dangerous art is affected not merely by different concepts but by different fashions from generation to generation. As the whole history of that art demonstrates, there can never be such a thing as a "standard" translation. And, on the other hand, as the editors' notes and addenda themselves indicate, there are other documents, especially in the so-called "state papers", which might have been included here. One prolific source of criticism the editors have avoided. They have not introduced each part of the work with a historical and critical introduction. Nor was that, in a sense, necessary, for it would have been in considerable measure a résumé of Masson. With his monumental *Life* and this no less monumental edition, there is but one

other English author who has anything like the memorials now erected in Milton's honor. But even here there is a difference. Since the seventeenth century it has been possible to view the work of Shakespeare as a whole, however little we have learned of his life; but this is the first time that we have been given a complete and convenient conspectus of the whole of Milton's literary labors.

It may be a peculiarly "simple" thought, but to one who has been for many years not wholly unfamiliar with Milton in his various aspects nothing has ever given quite the same conception of the man as all these titles in a row and the writings in a uniform and readable form. In them is revealed more clearly than anywhere else within the same compass the poet-pamphleteer-historian-grammarian-logician-theologian-social reformer-schoolmaster-Latinist-foreign language secretary which was John Milton. To probably the vast majority of mankind he was the author of *Paradise Lost* and various immortal so-called "minor" poems. To a far smaller company he was the author of some tracts, notably the *Areopagitica* and the various "defenses" of the revolutionary party known as "Puritan", the champion of liberty whether in the execution of a king or in his own matrimonial misadventures. To a still smaller company he was the author of various so-called "state papers" or letters from the authorities of the Commonwealth to foreign princes and powers. There is some mention of him as a historian of Britain, though there are very few, no doubt, who have ever heard of his "history" of Muscovia. There is a mere handful who have known of him as a grammarian or a logician, and still fewer who know him as the author of four thick volumes on Christian doctrine—which, as it happens, form by far the largest single body of writing in all this list.

So, in sum, the greatest of English poets of his sort was, in fact, the author of rather less than four volumes of poetry and seventeen thicker volumes of prose; or, to be statistical, some four thousand pages of prose and nine hundred of verse. That is, like most statistics, of far less importance than the difference in quality. To those who have never read much, or any, of Milton's prose, he stands as the noble and eloquent defender of liberty; and his various tracts are admired—from afar—as the expression of man's loftiest emotions on that loftiest of subjects. A closer view dispels that agreeable illusion. They do, indeed, contain some passages of great and splendid rhetoric; but in no small part they are not merely the dullest but often the most scurrilous of reading. His attacks on Morus reach depths scarcely attained save by Prynne. His famous *Eikonoklastes* is one of the dullest and least convincing defenses ever penned, if one excepts some of his other apologies for regicide. This, of course, is heresy; and in his capacity as secretary to the council of state he would have suppressed it, as he helped to suppress other criticisms of the existing government, for the practice of the

author of the *Areopagitica* varied widely from his theory, once he was in power. In this he differed little from his generation, and that must remain, as it has long been, his defense.

And, curiously enough, the publication of his collected works will add nothing to the reputation of Milton. For the sake of that reputation it would be better had he never written any prose at all, had he never taken part in the controversies of the Puritan Revolution, had he never held office, had he never been married. He was possessed of the highest poetic genius; he had an imagination and a gift of phrase unsurpassed in English if not in any other literature. But as a prose writer, as a historian, as a pamphleteer, he was surpassed by many men, then and since. He seldom rose above mediocrity; he sometimes even fell below it; and one needs to know little of his life to realize that, with all his splendid gifts, he was an unpleasant man, with many admirers but few or no friends, difficult or impossible to live with, and, as is apparent from his writings here presented, which are so largely in defense of himself even more than of the causes he championed, selfish and self-centered, egotistical, bad-tempered, contemptuous of others, and in general unlovable. To perceive this we need no more than his own words. As one goes through these volumes he is prepared to give the author of the verse the highest praise of which our language is capable and to forgive him almost anything. But he cannot but regret that Milton was not content to write his immortal poetry and let the rest of the world be damned in its own way. For, among its other great contributions to Miltoniana, this magnificent edition does more than any single thing to provide a corrective to Professor Masson's unrivaled but too eulogistic account of the poet's life. It will unquestionably serve to open another era in Miltonic biography; but that era will, almost equally without question, lean more to the views of Mark Pattison than to those of David Masson. There is much here, both of Milton's life and of his writings, which, in his own words, the world would only too willingly let die.

Yet without it we should have no true picture of the poet who, to his own loss and our own, turned pamphleteer and politician. Despite innumerable attempts of various men at various times to play both roles, there are few instances or none where poets have made good politicians or politicians good poets. Perhaps the ancients were right and the poet is like the fabled peacock which had no feet and so could never tread the earth which supports the rest of us. If, like that fabulous creature, Milton could have been content only to use his pastoral and his epic wing, if he had not raised his harsh, untunable voice in the world of politics, if he had refrained from exposing the weakness of his judgment as a historian, his reputation as a poet would not have suffered, and his character as a man would have stood higher.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

W. C. ABBOTT.

Englische Geschichte im achtzehnten Jahrhundert. Von WOLFGANG MICHAEL. Band IV. *Das Zeitalter Walpoles*, Teil 3. (Berlin: Verlag für Staatswissenschaften und Geschichte. 1937. Pp. xvi, 608. 32 M.)

THIS, the fourth volume of Dr. Michael's *Englische Geschichte*, of which volumes one and three were reviewed in this journal (XL, 732, and XLII, 530), sustains the author's reputation for sound workmanship. His thoroughness, his originality, and his fairness of judgment, considered in connection with the wide scope of his subject, are impressive.

The main aspects of English history which Dr. Michael considers are the constitutional, the economic, and the diplomatic. Only in the discussion of constitutional government is the author narrowly concerned with Walpole's England; and thus the subtitle, *Das Walpole'sche England*, must be liberally construed, for the background of England's diplomatic relations includes the various courts of Europe, and the field of her colonial and commercial interests extends west to the Mississippi and east to the Ganges.

Possibly because the constitutional problem has its own natural limitations, Dr. Michael's clear and accurate analysis of parliamentary government forms his most successful contribution. In spite of his investigation of numerous original sources, however, he has added nothing of significance to certain phases of this subject, such as patronage, corruption, and the rise of the opposition.

Dr. Michael's approach to the problems of foreign trade is new, for he has drawn heavily upon the correspondence of foreign diplomats. In studying an age of highly developed nationalism it is enlightening to examine English commercial policies and trade statistics through the eyes of the French, the Austrian, and the Prussian ministers.

The chapters on colonial trade and administration suffer somewhat by comparison. Greater familiarity with recent studies in the field might have led Dr. Michael to a rather different interpretation of the defects in colonial administration and the significance of the Walpole era in the history of the British Empire. He suggests the contrast between Walpole's refusal to consider a plan for colonial taxation and Grenville's mistake in a later period; but he might well have added that a long period of laxity in law enforcement under Walpole produced a situation in the colonies which made his successors' most reasonable attempts at administrative reform objectionable to the colonists. Furthermore, in the light of extensive research by other scholars, Dr. Michael's conclusion in regard to the board of trade seems only superficially justified: "So steht es da ohne Initiative, ohne festen Standpunkt, als ein ewig retardierenden Factor" (p. 294).

He is on more certain ground in his chapters which deal with foreign politics, and one admires the ease with which he guides his reader through the mazes of eighteenth century diplomacy. He represents Walpole's success in maintaining England's neutrality during the War of the Polish Succes-

sion, without sacrificing the balance of power in Europe, as one of the chief evidences of his genius.

By bringing together the fruits of years of research Dr. Michael has placed historical scholars in his debt. Even a casual glance at the footnotes reveals an extensive use of continental archives and the writings of continental scholars, while the text illustrates how English history may be enriched from such sources.

Reference to the footnotes, however, will immediately disclose certain of the technical defects of this publication. The citations are often too abbreviated to be easily interpreted by a scholar less well-informed than Dr. Michael himself, and the typographical errors are not limited to the notes but appear on every page of the text, in German as well as in English. The decision to omit an index is regrettable. Surely a work of such value deserves more care in its publication.

Wilson College.

DORA MAE CLARK.

✓ *An Economic History of Europe since 1750.* By WITT BOWDEN, Senior Economic Analyst, United States Bureau of Labor Statistics; MICHAEL KARPOVICH, Assistant Professor of History, Harvard University; and ABBOTT PAYSON USHER, Professor of Economics, Harvard University. (New York: American Book Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 948. \$4.25.)

THE time was overripe for a new survey of the economic development of modern Europe, for a lot of economic history has been written as well as made since the texts by Ogg, Knowles, Day, and Birnie appeared. That double development makes the task too large for one author, and teamwork is almost inevitable. From the team of Bowden, Karpovich, and Usher we know what to expect: good work on eighteenth century England from the first, an authoritative treatment of Russia from the second, and ample consideration of technological and geographical factors from the third. We are not disappointed. The essence of Mr. Bowden's well-known monograph is here; the four chapters on Russia are excellent; and the descriptions of Liebig's researches, of the Rothamsted experiments, of modern butter-making, of railroad engines, of electrical generation and transmission, of the iron and steel industry, and of the relation between the distribution of resources and of population are invaluable novelties in a textbook. Statistics are lavishly supplied, and the bibliography is a godsend. Slips are few and far between.

The chief novelty of the book, apart from its recognition of the fact that physical resources and technologies merit attention along with social institutions, is the treatment of economic history "as an integral part of general history". This is splendidly healthy. It is done "not so much by the inclusion of the data of general history as by the plan of organization and by emphasis on the interaction of economic, political, and cultural factors" (p. iii). In

practice, however, very substantial chunks of political history have been included; whole sections or chapters (*e.g.*, chapters 5, 17, and some of the postwar chapters) might be fitted into any general, or even political, history of Europe. The political influence goes further, in determining the dividing lines between the six periods or parts into which the story is cut. Part I surveys economic conditions and organization in the early eighteenth century; Part II is entitled "New Philosophies and a New Industrialism, 1750-1789"; Part III, "The Age of Revolutions, 1789-1832"; Part IV, "The Ascendancy of British Enterprise, 1832-1870"; Part V, "The Struggle for the World Market, 1871-1914"; and Part VI, "The New Europe". But the fences break down time after time; much of six chapters out of the seven in Part II belongs largely to Part I or to a still earlier period, Part III overflows its banks in at least two chapters out of six, and Part V does so in three chapters out of eight. Of course this is inevitable, for no dates would be leakproof; but I wish that the whole book, or as an alternative that each part, had been preceded by a brief overview which brought out the distinctive features of each period and justified the dividing lines.

The arrangement of the material, especially in the early part of the book, is puzzling, and students who come fresh to the subject will have difficulty in piecing together a picture of the prerevolutionary economic conditions and trends. They will also come away from the study with a very unevenly distributed body of knowledge. They will know much about the open field system, enclosures, land tenure, and agricultural science; but does that cover the story of European agriculture? They will know much about changes in commercial policy, from the mercantilists to the autarchists, but little about international trade and less about domestic commerce. They will have read a series of brilliant chapters on postwar topics but will lack a general picture of that sad period. They will understand many technological changes and know of many movements among capitalists and wage earners, of institutions and laws, of thinkers and books—including eight pages on List; but they will not always know the economic effects of these things. They will not know how industry after Boulton or transportation after Stephenson was financed, what joint-stock companies did, how the modern banking system worked, how the business curve went up and down, and how enterprise succeeded or failed. They will have met Bakunin, Bebel, and Bernstein but not the Barings; Robespierre, Rodbertus, and Roscher but not the Rothschilds. In short, they will still have much to learn, much which might have made the dry bones live or given a glimpse of the wheels going round and of the man in charge of them.

The University of Minnesota.

HERBERT HEATON.

Henry Grattan. By ROGER J. McHUGH. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. 222. \$1.75.)

The Rise of the United Irishmen, 1791-94. By ROSAMOND JACOB. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1937. Pp. 266. 12s. 6d.)

MR. McHugh's absorbing short biography of Henry Grattan will, if sympathetically read, safeguard the reputation of one statesman at a time when all liberals would seem to be suspect. One may now well challenge the verdict that Grattan was one "bathed in sentimental loyalty to the British Crown". Within his deliberately chosen sphere of action, constitutional expediency, he waged for forty-five years an incessant fight for political reform and Catholic emancipation. And it was the dying Grattan who passed the Irish standard to the youthful O'Connell. Miss Jacob in her work upon the United Irishmen is impatient of Grattan. Her hero, Wolfe Tone, regarded Grattan's contribution as "a bungling, imperfect business". Tone, however, was a revolutionary and a separatist; and he, Fitzgerald, young Emmet, and the others gave their lives heedlessly. They had no chance of winning in '98 or later. Grattan, like O'Connell, refused to sanction bloodshed.

In the parliamentary arena Grattan fought against insuperable odds and knew it. In 1782 he won "independence" and an Irish parliament, such as it was; and he was instrumental in the removal of certain trade restrictions and the abolition of a large part of the penal code. His great mistake was his trustfulness of the British ministry. He neglected to gain legal safeguards for his "independent" parliament and permitted the Volunteers to disband. Henceforth he could proceed only when friendliness was exhibited in London or by taking advantage of England's importunities. One may criticize Miss Jacob's work for its lack of understanding of Grattan; but, in turn, one may quibble with Mr. McHugh for his neglect of the United Irishmen and the broad stage of Irish opinion. Mr. McHugh's contribution lies in his interpretation of Grattan and in catching the significance of his role in Irish history. Throughout, the book is temperate in tone and distinguished by fine writing.

Miss Jacob's work upon the United Irishmen is of a more searching character. McHugh confines himself to the broad current of a great stream, whereas Miss Jacob, who modestly refers to herself as "an inexperienced historian", pushes back into minute headwaters. She attempts to trace the rise of the United Irishmen, to explain a movement that embraced both Catholic and Protestant, Dublin and Ulster, and to reveal its potential greatness, which, because of its suppression in 1794, never attained status in recorded history. Her short epilogue, concerned with the abortive rising of '98, contains all that most students know of the United Irishmen. Briefly, this movement for Irish political reform had its beginnings among the Protestants of Ulster in 1791. Under the strong impetus of the French Revolution, its leaders extended their concept of equality and fraternity to the Catholics. Belfast adopted a platform of Catholic emancipation, and the

United Irishmen spread rapidly to the towns of northern and eastern Ireland. The Catholic Committee in Dublin responded vigorously to this helping hand, and for a time their joint drive threatened to embarrass the government. London yielded a measure of relief to the Catholics in an effort to split the alliance. Though the Catholic Committee did disband, both elements, as United Irishmen, continued the fight for reform. The declaration of war against France, however, enabled the government to break up the movement. Tone and the radicals in the organization were in touch with France and courted French aid, which came too late. The United Irishmen tried to find support among the masses, but the Defenders and such loosely organized groups were interested only in wreaking their vengeance upon erring landlords. After suppression in 1794, the radicals, a mere skeleton, stumbled on until ruthlessly crushed in the Rising of '98.

Miss Jacob has written a masterly work. One might argue, however, that she painfully labors several points which lend a tone of unreality to certain of her pages. She remembers too vividly, for example, the conquest. Her Englishmen are land thieves. She never wholeheartedly accepts the Dublin Catholics as Irishmen—they spoke English; and similarly she never quite reconciles herself to the fact that the Belfast Dissenters were Irishmen. The "lower Irish", whose culture she refers to yet never describes, alone qualify. Yet she realizes, certainly, that the masses played no part in the history of the period. As someone else has written, they were too preoccupied in toiling against hunger and want to have any thought of political activity. A realization of this fact and a simple statement of their plight in her introductory chapter would have spared her much worry—and yielded better history.

Vanderbilt University.

JOHN POMFRET.

The Romantic Age: Europe in the Early Nineteenth Century. By R. B. MOWAT, Professor of History in the University of Bristol. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1937. Pp. 280. 6s.)

IN the preface to a preceding volume Professor Mowat wrote: "It is surprising how many judgments, hitherto accepted without question, have now to be altered, sometimes because new material has been discovered, but in other cases simply because it has occurred to somebody to think out an old situation anew." In the light of these words and of Professor Mowat's past performance we were justified in looking forward with eagerness to his treatment of the Romantic age. No other period stands so much in need of a new thinking out and the bringing together of extant but unfamiliar material. It is therefore doubly regrettable to have to report that the present work disappoints our expectation. More than that, it raises serious doubts about the adequacy of the author's preparation for his subject.

Professor Mowat has apparently not thought it worth while to tackle the question: What is Romanticism in its essence, and what was it in its historical manifestations? Nor have his instincts saved him from using the adjective Romantic (as we all do) in a dozen different senses, ranging from foolish and unpractical to poetic and picturesque. Deprived of an intellectual criterion wherewith to limit his study and yet judging rightly that a bare chronological scheme will not work, the author floats about, as it were, on the surface of the entire nineteenth century. We are told, for example, what Tolstoy's and Renan's views on certain subjects were, as if these writers were spiritual contemporaries of Wordsworth and Metternich; while actual contemporary opponents of acknowledged Romantics are explained away as "cold eighteenth century rationalists". The historian has patently neglected his task, which was to indicate the basic attitudes common to, let us say, Byron and Bonald, Scott and Hazlitt, common to the age as a whole, and so to substantiate the title of his book while replacing in the reader's mind apparent contradiction by historical comprehension.

If, as seems likely, this work was intended as an introduction to the subject, it will leave the youthful reader—and the older reader whose special interests have lain elsewhere—with the all-too-common idea that a whole generation of men between 1789 and 1860 were melancholy poets who did nothing of lasting importance and died young. At the same time, a contrary impression will emerge from such passages as concern Fichte, Carlyle, the Schlegels, and others; and the two impressions together will suggest or strengthen the false conclusion that, unlike other periods, the Romantic age defies historical analysis and cultural order.

With regard to particulars, many of Professor Mowat's judgments, or perhaps the words he chooses to express them, could be questioned. As an example of this, the statement, "National Socialism is a kind of Neo-Romanticism" (p. 43), contradicts not only the facts but the author himself, who says: "The Romantic writers and thinkers were not national, but they were humane . . . cosmopolitan" (p. 58 and also pp. 233, 247). Lacking criteria and a sense of continuity, the author is capricious in his allotment of space. He devotes five chapters to Germany and none to the French Romanticists. He makes no mention of Coleridge, Sismondi, Beddoes, Büchner, Hoffman, Berlioz, Jane Austen, Blake, Goya, Lord Elgin, Schopenhauer, or Balzac in contexts where they seem called for; and he accords only trivial mention to Lessing, Rossini, Spinoza, Michelet, Lord Brougham, Mazzini, and the brothers Grimm. He gives credit to Emile Deschanel for "suggestive ideas" that come from Stendhal's *Racine et Shakespeare*; he traces to Haller the Romantics' medievalism, neglecting the social, religious, and historiographic reasons for the movement; he makes too much of Fichte's contribution to National Socialism and refutes modern Germany's racialism while making frequent use of racial criteria himself. Lastly, he

concludes with a Plutarchian parallel of the peace settlements of 1815 and 1919, adducing as a historical distinction worth noting that "Napoleon was not a gentleman but the Allied statesmen [of 1815] certainly were" and adding, "I do not mean in saying this to imply that the men who conducted the World War . . . were not gentlemen; but war and peace were certainly made in an ungentlemanly way" (p. 273).

Columbia University.

JACQUES BARZUN.

The Italian Exiles in London, 1816-1848. By MARGARET W. WICKS. (Manchester: University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 316. 12s. 6d.)

THE first two chapters of this book deal with Ugo Foscolo, the great Italian poet, who spent his last years as an exile in England. Our knowledge of his life during those years remains unchanged in its basic lines, but it is enriched by means of unpublished material diligently collected and intelligently utilized.

Not less valuable are the fourth and fifth chapters, on Santorre di Santa Rosa and Antonio Panizzi, respectively. Especially valuable is the former, not only because of the wealth of new information which it contains, but also because the writer has been completely won over by the moral beauty of the man's character and in describing his generous and dignified life has displayed in the highest degree her unusual literary gifts.

The third and sixth chapters are devoted to a large number of other persons, many of whom played a remarkable role in Italian intellectual history. On some of them, such as Gabriele Rossetti (the father of Dante Gabriele), very little that was new could be said. On others the information was scarce, or the writer did not have the time to investigate the problems more deeply. It was difficult to avoid this drawback, since so many people had to be considered.

The weakest part of the book is the last chapter, dealing with Giuseppe Mazzini, not because it would have been "presumptuous to attempt to add anything to what is already written about him" (p. 182), but because the already known material, if adequately utilized, would have permitted the writer to give a fuller and more living account of him. For example, the relations between Mazzini and Jane Welsh, the wife of Carlyle, deserved a better illustration. Two letters in Italian written by Jane in 1840 and 1841 to Mazzini's mother—two jewels of freshness, abandon, and affection and a delicious mass of orthographical, grammatical, and syntactical errors (I. Cremona Cozzolino, *Maria Mazzini e il suo ultimo carteggio*, Genoa, "Imperia", 1927, pp. 243 ff.)—deserved to be mentioned, perhaps even to be reproduced in their entirety. Miss Wicks, I do not know why, has avoided saying frankly that Jane fell in love with Mazzini. Therefore she has overlooked a beautiful letter of July 15, 1846 (published in J. A. Froude's *Thomas Carlyle*, ed. of 1884, I, 329), in which Mazzini explained

to Jane why they had the obligation to each other not to pass the limits of fraternal tenderness. Jane accepted this decision in a generous and pure spirit. Why should one ignore this episode, which is all to the honor of both characters?

Much precious information is undoubtedly buried in the state archives at Vienna, in the correspondence of the Austrian ambassadors in London with Metternich, and in the reports of Austrian spies who were shadowing the Italian exiles in England. The research done in those archives on the Italian exiles in France has yielded rich results. Miss Wicks has the training and the intelligence needed to unearth and re-elaborate that unknown material. This book may be the preliminary sketch of a more complete work. It is worthy of being brought to perfection.

Harvard University.

GAETANO SALVEMINI.

Electoral Procedure under Louis Philippe. By SHERMAN KENT, Assistant Professor of History in Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 264. \$2.50.)

ELECTORAL history is dynamite—instances of fraud or corruption if handled indiscriminately can wreak havoc. Mr. Kent is aware of this fact when he confesses that with the exception of war few subjects produce such misleading evidence (p. 190). Yet in the preceding 189 pages he has found numerous instances of corruption and injustice and with this dynamite has blasted the electoral system of the July Monarchy to bits. There is no disputing his facts; but there is ample room for divergence on the interpretations he has placed on these facts.

This book is not concerned with results—the number of deputies which the various parties of the Right and Left sent to the chamber, the growth or decline of parties over the years, the geographical distribution of political opinion—but, as the title implies, with procedure. The first part—chapters 1 to 6—deals with the nature of the electoral law of 1831, the electorate, the electoral district, registration, the electoral college, and the official candidate. The second part discusses the opposition. The reviewer has looked in vain for any mention of a fair and just election, anything in the electoral machinery which may have been good. The author is consistent in his point of view that whatever existed was unjust. He finds the origin of all injustice in the electoral law of 1831, which defined the electorate as those male citizens over 25 years of age who paid at least 200 francs annually in direct taxes. "Nearly every phrase was characteristic of the thinking of the complacent propertied group which dominated the Revolutionary Chamber" (p. 20). Granted that they were the propertied group, is it fair to damn them as complacent? In the first half of the nineteenth century, and in the United States as well as in France, voting was not a right but a privilege. Men of that period believed that to vote intelligently a man must be educated.

Since universal and free instruction was still a thing of the future, it is hard to avoid the conclusion that education generally did presuppose some kind of wealth. Moreover, sincere liberals such as Casimir Périer, Benjamin Constant, Royer Collard, and Alexis de Tocqueville believed that universal suffrage was incompatible with free institutions. Certainly the facts were on their side. From 1800 to 1814 it had buttressed the dictatorship of Napoleon, and when universal suffrage was restored in 1848 it promptly led to the dictatorship of another Napoleon. Except for a handful of republicans, few questioned the necessity of a property franchise. Among the liberals it was never a point of debate from 1815 until nearly 1848.

Chapter 2 on the electorate is the longest and meatiest of the book. Here Mr. Kent has done painstaking research to determine what social classes paid the 200 franc *cens* and were, therefore, qualified to vote. He has analyzed the tax rolls in detail; the section on the *patent*—a license fee paid by business and professional men—is the best treatment of this subject which the reviewer has seen in English or in any other language. Mr. Kent finds that of the electorate of 200,000 men, probably 164,000 to 180,000 were men of the soil, 6,000 to 10,000 men from industry, 10,000 to 18,000 from commerce, and from 4,000 to 8,000 from the professions. Briefly, the landed gentry dominated the electorate. Here again Mr. Kent's excellent research is weakened by the tendentious nature of his conclusions. He assumes that because the incidence of direct taxation was heavier on land than on business, industry and commerce were grossly underrepresented. Perhaps so, but to a lesser extent than Mr. Kent believes. Reliable figures on the total national wealth produced in France each year during the 1830's are hard to find; but later-day conservative estimates agree that at least three fourths of the national wealth probably came from agriculture. Mr. Kent's own figures on the landed gentry show that this class constituted seven eighths of the electorate. The disparity, then, is not great. Moreover, the various classes—landed gentry, industrialists, professional men—are not so mutually exclusive as the classification implies. My own work on the elections of the Restoration has pointed to the fact that merchant princes and great industrialists owned estates which were frequently larger than those of the old nobility. It was fashionable in 1838 to be one of the landed gentry, just as in 1938 it is fashionable to call oneself a businessman. Allowance must be made for the fact that some of the gentry, as they appeared on the tax rolls, included industrialists *et al.* As the analysis proceeds during the course of the chapter, politics and sociology give way to mathematics in the form of long algebraic equations and geometric proportions. The reader sees the electorate as a statistical and abstract mass. What these men thought, how they acted, their emotions, in other words, the electorate as living men—for this the reader must go to the old-fashioned Balzac and the eminently human picture he painted in *Le député d'Arcis*.

With certain notable exceptions, Mr. Kent analyzes the electoral machine from a central rather than a regional point of view. The nestor of French electoral historians, Charles Seignobos, has always maintained that the only true globular picture comes from a minute study of elections, region by region. No one can appreciate this as fully as he who has formed his general conclusions, then analyzed the regions one by one, and seen many of his conclusions disproved or seriously modified. It is to be regretted that Mr. Kent has not used this approach more frequently. To be more specific. The author cites numerous instances in which the cabinet informed its prefects to support this or that candidate. My own research—on the elections of the Restoration to be sure—shows that sometimes the prefects obeyed and sometimes they didn't. If one reads the biographies of the prefects of the period, he realizes that most prefects were interested in two things—holding their jobs and being promoted. Should they support an official candidate whom they thought would be beaten? Should they incur the wrath of the probably victorious deputy whom they were to oppose? Not all prefects were rubber stamps; they were shrewd men and were looking to the morrow. Whereas the archives will show the orders the prefects received, only local and personal histories show how the prefects acted. Their conduct frequently reveals an evasiveness and a latitudinarianism which does credit to the ingenuity of human nature. Again, Mr. Kent believes that if nascent business had had greater representation in the chamber, the course of politics would have been more truly liberal. Perhaps so. But this much can be said: during the Restoration no department with the exception of the Seine had so many voters who were *patentés*—businessmen—as the Bouches-du-Rhône (Marseille the capital). In 1817 nearly one fifth of its electorate paid their *cens* exclusively through the *patent*—a terrifically high proportion. During all of the elections of the Restoration the Bouches-du-Rhône sent more than twenty-five deputies to Paris. Not a single one was classified as liberal. Although this is too extreme to be typical, study of other departments has revealed that the liberal-conservative demarcation is by no means the same as the division between businessmen and landed gentry. At times there is a coincidence, at other times none whatever.

In the closing pages Mr. Kent pays tribute to the republican ideal of universal suffrage, and as the tribute is warm and glowing, one has the feeling that the author is speaking for himself. When all free men can go to the polls, the argument runs, then the problems of society will be solved. To those who believe that universal suffrage is the panacea of all ills, the restricted franchise of the July Monarchy will certainly seem unjust, and Mr. Kent's book will come as the reaffirmation of a faith. But for those who believe that every period must be treated in terms of its own ideals, that the historian must show some sympathetic understanding, that despite

the abuses and even increasing abuses the electoral system of the July Monarchy had some merits, Mr. Kent's exposition will evoke strong dissent.

Council on Foreign Relations.

EDGAR PACKARD DEAN.

✓ *A Hundred Years of English Government.* By K. B. SMELLIE, Lecturer in Public Administration at the London School of Economics. [The Hundred Years Series.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. 468. \$4.50.)

THIS book is in many ways a brilliant performance. Mr. Smellie has tackled the notoriously complicated transition of British governmental institutions from the lethargic oligarchy of 1832 to the sensitive collective structure of today and has put his story into a little over four hundred pages. The result is not superficial, thanks partly to a useful structure but largely to a gift for witty summary. The author has divided the years into three periods (1832-70, 1870-1914, and post-1914), with a separate chapter on the war. Within each period he discusses the principal social and economic problems within their setting of contemporary thought, the course of parliamentary politics, and the creation and operation of administrative machinery. This apparatus sustains the rapid pace of the exposition and justifies a good deal of epigrammatic condensation. Occasionally it involves some carelessness about dates and other arithmetic, some inadvertent omissions, and even some faulty grammar. Some of the swift judgments and provocative antitheses suffer from exaggeration or oversight. It is a question, for instance, whether the Irish-Americans were "the most dangerous enemies England has ever had" (p. 34); whether the English legal system is less intelligible than the American (p. 121); and the justices of the peace are overlooked in the statement that "in 1800 almost all the judicial work of the kingdom was done by fourteen men" (p. 121). Again, it is surprising to find the Bank of England of today described as an "autonomous regulator" (p. 317). The account of cabinet government from 1880 to 1906 is an example of how brevity defeats clarity.

By sustained broad interpretations of his own Mr. Smellie avoids giving the impression of an ingenious mosaic or compendium of the scholarship of others. His sources are interestingly varied, and his use of monographs, British and American, is a good guide to the literature of the subject. Naturally, as a historian, he seems himself to be a gradualist, although he yields to prevailing fashion in giving the gradualist Fabians rather less than their due in the nourishment of twentieth century developments. He is particularly successful in demonstrating how political democracy must be distinguished from social reform and how slowly it had its effects, not only in parliament but in all kinds of other institutional arrangements. He is explicit in defending the old dualism of empire in partnership and empire in trust, if a little unrealistic about the latter. Like many historians, he

is more respectful to economists than they are to each other. His *bêtes noires* are the ever-backward states of education, the law, and the administration of justice.

The central theme is, of course, the extension of state activity, and this is developed better than in any other book of similar scope, not so much in description as in appreciation of the stresses to which the whole apparatus has been subjected, both domestic and foreign. Gladstone does not quite receive his due in civil service reform, but once that movement gets under way, the cumbrous proliferation and gradual consolidation of local and central authorities is defended and described with remarkable clarity. The volume concludes with a thoughtful consideration of the problem as to how the politician, the administrator, and the expert can be balanced in modern government: "If philosophers cannot be kings, despots will come in."

Columbia University.

J. B. BREBNER.

✓ *Charles Kingsley, 1819-1875.* By MARGARET FARRAND THORP. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 212. \$3.00.)

FOR the preparation of this adequate and scholarly biography the author had access to the Kingsley family papers and to several hitherto unused collections of letters. In the main, however, it is a study of this clergyman, social reformer, poet, and novelist through his published works. Copious quotations, well-woven into a smooth narrative, tell much of the story.

While sympathetic toward her subject, the author succumbs to no temptation to magnify his accomplishments either as a thinker or as a literary artist. In him she finds a typical man of Victorian England, so that the book is a revealing study of the period. Her estimate of Kingsley is summarized at the outset:

Most of the great literary figures of the nineteenth century were rebels against or thinkers in advance of their time. Kingsley's influence was due in large part to his not being a thinker at all. He suffered all the torments endured by the average man of the period in his struggle with a changing universe; he differed from the average man in the courage with which he faced the problems of the day and the volubility with which he discussed them. He made for himself solutions which were shallow but convincing to hundreds because of their power for comfort and because of the enormous vitality and sincerity behind his presentations. His power in his time and his significance to succeeding generations lies in this, that he was not so much an artist as a fluent English gentleman (pp. 1-2).

In the main this verdict will stand. Certainly the Kingsley intellect proved unequal to conflict with such an adversary as Newman, and no critic ranks him as a literary giant. A longer view, however, would sup-

port claims that Kingsley was something of a thinker in advance of his time and more than a fluent English gentleman. He was a pioneer in social reform, the co-operative movement, and woman suffrage. Few members of his class and profession had enough of the rebel in them to announce publicly, "I am a Church of England parson—and a Chartist." Kingsley and his Christian Socialist colleagues were chiefly responsible for giving a new orientation to the church with the result that it now has its own programs of social reform. Socialist leaders and societies can feel comfortable in its ranks, and before the day of Kingsley this would have been impossible. That this progress since Chartist times was in part due to him is a measure of his courage and influence. Certainly no student of British social history can afford to overlook his work.

The author has been able to identify numerous minor works published anonymously and include them in her bibliography.

Stanford University.

CARL F. BRAND.

✓ *Russia and the Balkans, 1870-1880.* By B. H. SUMNER, Fellow of Balliol College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 724. \$10.00.)

THE eastern crisis of 1875-78 is rapidly becoming one of the most fully studied of the many periods of tension between 1871 and 1914, but this latest addition to the list of recent studies fills a longfelt need, for there has been almost no attempt since the revelations of the postwar years at a synthesis of Russia's policy and her relations with the other great powers in this period. Even though the author has not studied in the Moscow or the Vienna archives, he has had the use of published source material and manuscript transmissions from these and other repositories, has examined the foreign office and British Museum papers at London, and the memoirs, biographies, and important secondary works in all Western European and Slavic languages. His unusually complete grasp of sources and his effort to present the influence of military, economic, and intellectual factors upon Russia's policy make his work a welcome contribution in a field which has hitherto been treated with too little attention to the Slavic sources and with a too exclusive regard to purely political and diplomatic considerations.

On nearly every phase of the subject the author's narrative and interpretation, based as they are on thorough study, sense of perspective, and a nice critical discernment of the men and events of the time, carry conviction. His conclusion that the uprisings in Bosnia and Herzegovina were not in the first instance fomented either by Austrians or by Russian panslavs, though both were quick to take advantage of them, disposes pretty conclusively of the tales of intrigue current in 1875. The lack of unity and singleness of purpose of Russian imperial policy is emphasized by the ex-

cellent descriptions of the crosscurrents and conflicting views that surged around the emperor. Panslavism in the guise of a newly awakened Russian nationalism captured the court for a time, only to subside after Berlin. In the later period fears of revolution within Russia were real but probably exaggerated. Among the men who helped to shape policy, Ignatyev is given due mead of praise and blame without any effort to make either a panslavic hero or an anti-British and anti-Austrian devil of him, while Gorchakov, of secondary importance after April, 1877, remains the pompous old man who had outlived the time when Eastern affairs could be settled among the great powers without regard for the peoples concerned or for the public opinion of Russia and other countries. Among the non-Russian statesmen Andrassy comes off rather better than it has been the tendency of late to regard him, but in his case, as in that of Bismarck, Disraeli, and others, the author, while thoroughly conversant with their policies, has not stepped outside the limits of his subject to pass judgment.

There is not much at which to cavil in this study. One misses any consideration of Russian finances in the latter stages of the crisis, although their weak condition and the pleas for peace on that ground are set forth in connection with the first half of the crisis. Also, there is little discussion of Russia's relations with France in 1876 and 1877, a subject which unsatisfactory references scattered throughout the source material suggest may have played some part in Russia's diplomacy, though undoubtedly a very secondary one. There are still a few obscure incidents such as the exact nature of Manteuffel's mission in 1876, the initiative in the Shuvalov-Derby discussions of peace terms in 1877, the Russian attitude toward Serbia at the Congress of Berlin, and the question of Russian approaches to France in 1879. But these are all minor matters especially when put against the unusually high level of accuracy and generally firm grasp of subject matter. Eight sketch maps and several appendixes of notes on special problems and of documents, some of them printed for the first time in English, together with a critical bibliography, round out the work. It is the best single volume on the period of the Eastern crisis that has appeared to date.

Clark University.

DWIGHT E. LEE.

The Development of Dominion Status, 1900-1936. Edited by ROBERT MACGREGOR DAWSON, Associate Professor of Political Science, University of Toronto. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 466. \$5.00.)

DR. Dawson provides in this volume a careful selection of documents relating to the evolution of the British Commonwealth of Nations during this century and adds a lengthy preface, which is one of the best short accounts of that evolution that has yet appeared. Possibly the viewpoint is more Canadian than is warranted by the title of the book, but after all,

Canada, during most of this period, was the Dominion which took the lead in achieving the new status. The author's occasional suspicion of British policy will be instructive to the reader, for such feelings have been the historic spur to autonomy. Dominion status, as will be clear from this narrative, was not the gift of Englishmen so much as the conquest of colonials.

The story Dr. Dawson has to tell is one of steady decentralization. Save for the short interlude of 1917-19, during which the Imperial War Cabinet functioned like the council of a league of six nations, every advance made by the Dominions has been a retreat from unity. The Commonwealth marriage is becoming increasingly companionate; the sentimental ties may be as strong as iron, but their lightness is growing airier and airier. How much further the process may go Dr. Dawson, perhaps wisely, does not attempt to predict. He notes the fact that with all their formal freedom, "the Dominions are still largely dependent on British diplomacy and in this regard have made but little progress since 1914" (p. 130). The implications of this fact are far-reaching; it is because of this dependence that "Dominion status" is still not a completed evolution. Theory is now far ahead of practice, and the distinction made in the Balfour Declaration of 1926 between "status" and "function" is as important as formerly. The present stage of Commonwealth development, which Dr. Dawson calls the period of "equal status", is a period concerned with bringing Dominion diplomatic practice into line with constitutional theory; it would seem to involve greater Dominion representation abroad; the international acknowledgment of the right to neutrality, and the placing of defense arrangements with Great Britain upon a treaty basis instead of leaving them, as now, in the no-man's-land between voluntary co-operation and military alliance. But all history is a story without a beginning and without an end, and it is perhaps ungracious to ask Dr. Dawson to cover more ground than that which he marked out for his survey.

Within his chosen field of study, however, Dr. Dawson might have done more to relate the development of Dominion status to its world environment. The creation of the League of Nations, with its principles of consultation and arbitration, was a powerful stimulus to Dominion autonomy. In such a world the old British Empire was an anachronism. Self-determination was in the air, and the equality of the Dominions was a particular expression of the wider equality accorded to all small states in the collective system. President Wilson may not have created the new British Commonwealth, but his influence undoubtedly hastened its coming. There is a similar world pressure at the present moment, arising out of the anarchy in Europe, making for new arrangements between the British countries.

McGill University.

F. R. SCOTT.

Politics from Inside: An Epistolary Chronicle, 1906-1914. By SIR AUSTEN CHAMBERLAIN. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. 675. \$5.00.)

THE first third of this book is occupied almost exclusively with an appreciative post mortem on tariff reform, written for the author's father, whom gout had put out of action in the middle of 1906. His faith and Sir Austen's in the sacred cause, "for which Father sacrificed more than life itself", survived overwhelming defeat at the polls. So did their mutual admiration and their mutual interest in the subtle process of maneuvering Balfour and later Bonar Law into line. This is quite understandable. The narrow professionalism displayed in these letters is less so. It seems strange that the minutiae of party politics obscured for the Chamberlains the fact that, under the Liberals, England was beginning a New Deal long overdue and badly needed. What a sheltered life these prewar politicians lived—at least until the coal strike of 1912, when Sir Austen anticipated "rough work" in the shape of serious rioting which the troops were to put down without mercy (p. 463).

The sheltered attitude did not apply in foreign affairs. Here there are no revelations, but we learn that Sir Austen anticipated "a deal of blood-letting" over Morocco in 1911, wished then and later for an alliance with France, and viewed the Haldane mission with alarm (pp. 353, 472, 485).

To meet the German menace Lloyd George had proposed a coalition government in 1910. The terms as reported here (by Balfour) included placing the British navy on a satisfactory footing, conscription, Dominion preference, and an Irish settlement "somewhat on your Father's lines", *i.e.*, national councils. This seemed so favorable that the Unionists could not see how Lloyd George could face his party with such terms. But they were rejected by Balfour, whose "whole history forbade his being a party to any form of Home Rule, though younger men less involved in the controversies of '86 and '93 might be free to contemplate what he could not accept".

In the winter of 1913-14 Bonar Law, Balfour's successor as Unionist leader, secretly discussed with Asquith the possibility of excluding Ulster. Nothing came of it; but it was surely a concession. Chamberlain, who had magnanimously stood aside for Bonar Law despite his weakness, gives one piquant instance of Law's outdoing Disraeli in audacity. In May, 1912, he actually suggested that King George should veto Home Rule. "They may say, he told the King, that your assent is a purely formal act and the prerogative of veto is dead. That was true as long as there was a buffer between you and the House of Commons, but they have destroyed the buffer and it is no longer true" (p. 487).

The buffer was of course the lords' veto, destroyed by the Parliament Act of 1911. On this act, on the budget of 1909, and on other controversial matters these letters throw light. They are, of course, one-sided, though

not ungenerous or unfair—incisive at times, vivid usually, and extremely interesting when the matter in them allows it. But they do not add to the stature of the friends and foes whom they criticize very candidly. They do not add to the stature of Sir Austen Chamberlain himself.

Willamette University.

R. I. LOVELL.

✓ *The Kaiser on Trial.* By GEORGE SYLVESTER VIERECK. (New York: Grey-stone Press. 1937. Pp. xx, 514. \$3.50.)

THIS book, to which former Ambassador Gerard contributes a very reserved introduction, is much better than those who knew the author chiefly as an ardent pro-German propagandist during the World War could have expected. To be sure it contributes nothing to our knowledge of the war guilt question. The real value of the book, which is considerable, lies solely in its sympathetic and often penetrating analysis of the personality of the ex-kaiser, whom the author knows personally and from whom he is often able to quote directly.

The thesis is, in brief, that Wilhelm has been made a scapegoat for the blunders of his associates and subordinates. He had a bad start, as a snubbed and bullied youth, handed on from the tutelage of the severe pedant Hinzpeter to that of the domineering egotist Bismarck. With Bismarck's resignation, the young ruler looked in vain for an adequate servant in foreign affairs. "For twenty-eight years Bismarck had alienated all able and vigorous men from public life." Mr. Viereck lays the blunders of the Kruger telegram, the Moroccan affair, and the *Daily Telegraph* incident entirely to the kaiser's yielding, often most reluctantly, to the pressure of his advisers. On the other hand, he claims that the Björkö treaty was a masterpiece of statesmanship, due entirely to the kaiser's initiative and frustrated only by Bülow's jealousy and the czar's weakness. If the kaiser had been more of an autocrat than he was and had not so frequently followed the policies which incompetent officials marked out for him, he would, in the author's opinion, have bulked more grandly in history.

Many wise remarks clear up certain aspects of the kaiser's character; for Mr. Viereck, while always insistent on Wilhelm's good intentions and his native ability, concedes certain weaknesses of personality. He "resented the fact that his mother remained an Englishwoman. By a curious paradox he transferred to England both his hate and his love for his mother. . . . Here is the explanation of apparent inconsistencies in his diplomacy" (p. 51). Again, with reference to the ruler's loquacity and his frequent indiscretions of speech: "Disfigured and transformed in the press, remarks that were perfectly innocuous in private conversation, seemed monstrous indiscretions. To efface the impression thus made, the kaiser was compelled to burst into speech again. The result was a vicious circle of misunderstanding and misrepresentation" (p. 166).

How far Mr. Viereck has succeeded in clearing up the kaiser's reputation each reader is invited by the author (and the reviewer) to decide for himself. That the kaiser did not deliberately engineer a general European war in 1914 now seems to be admitted by almost all students. That his many blunders contributed to bringing on that war it seems impossible to deny; even Mr. Viereck offers only the plea in extenuation that they were blunders due to bad advice given by others. In one respect the author hardly seems to realize how dangerous a concession he has made. Wilhelm's hatred of democracy and his reliance on the "purple international" of divine right monarchs seems to the author quite the right thing, and he regrets only that the other rulers of Europe were incapable of understanding the principles of royalism as Wilhelm understood them. To most Americans this will seem to be a point for the prosecution rather than for the defense.

The University of Michigan.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

Die kleinen Staaten Europas und die Entstehung des Weltkrieges. Von PAUL HERRE. (Munich: C. H. Beck. 1937. Pp. x, 517. 7.90 M.)

RESTRICTING himself chiefly to the two decades before 1914, Professor Herre sets himself the task of discovering "how far and in which way the small states were the objects of the policy of the great powers and to what degree they were able to use or even to influence the high policy of the European cabinets". Throughout he centers his attention on the small state. His account of the Morocco crises, for example, does not revolve around Franco-German relations but rather deals with how these issues affected Spain. Such treatment presupposes a thorough knowledge of pre-war diplomatic history, which most of the readers of this book will no doubt possess.

In spite of the flood of documents which have appeared covering the period before the war it is surprising how few really pertain to the smaller states. Documents concerning them were often omitted from the great document collections because interest centered on other matters and other regions. There are few published sources that stem from the small states themselves. Time and again the author is driven to state that this detail or that still awaits clarification.

In general Herre deals with his material by countries, grouping them according to geographical location. Beginning with the Iberian states, he stresses King Alphonso's preference for the Western powers. It was largely through English efforts, however, that Spain was kept in the Entente circle in spite of many differences with France over Morocco. The English alliance and the problem of the African colonies focus the discussion of Portugal. The fear of Russia in Sweden, the special friendship of Norway and Denmark for England, the "correct" attitude of Denmark to Germany

because of her geographical situation, the different prewar discussions in regard to the status of the Baltic straits in time of war outline the situation in the Scandinavian countries. That the Entente seriously considered landing troops in Norway and Sweden in 1915 and 1916 as a means of forcing an entrance into the Baltic is indicated, although the necessary documentary evidence to clarify this episode is still lacking. In the section devoted to the Netherlands, Belgium, Luxemburg, and Switzerland, Belgium naturally receives the most attention. The argument is advanced that, although no signed written agreements existed, Belgium by her military conversations and promises to the Entente had undertaken obligations which were inconsistent with her position as a neutralized state. On the other hand, Germany's political leadership is criticized for accepting so blandly and without protest the plan of the general staff to march through Belgium, thus incurring the onus of being the first to violate Belgian neutrality. Although the revised French mobilization plans of 1913, which arranged for concentration of some army corps on the Belgian border, are underlined, Herre commends the wisdom and stresses the care with which English and French political circles avoided violating the territorial neutrality of Belgium. He also states definitely that there were no French troops on Belgian soil until the Brussels government officially called upon England and France for aid on the afternoon of August 4. In the section on the Balkans, instead of discussing each country separately Herre deals with the different Balkan crises of the prewar decade. In the final chapter, on the World War, he outlines briefly the entrance of Bulgaria, Rumania, and Greece into that conflict and summarizes the gains made by all the various small states.

No general conclusion as to the significance of the small states in prewar history is drawn. Their influence varied, depending on whether they were bent on an active or passive policy, on their geographic position, their racial complexity, etc. The alliance systems, however, became so finely balanced that the small states grew in importance. On the whole, England wielded the greatest influence among them, in part because of her democratic tradition. The peace settlement, which sought to provide absolute equality between large and small states, was, in Herre's opinion, unfortunate. In the end it is a concert of great powers which will govern Europe in the future as in the past.

In a book of such merit and one which draws together so many loose ends it is perhaps carping to note differences of judgment or minor errors. To consider Italy's relation to the Serbo-Bulgarian treaties of 1904 as on the same plane with Russia's sponsorship of the Balkan League of 1912 is unwarranted. Even the treaty of 1904 visualized the czar of Russia and not the king of Italy as arbiter, if differences arose, and certainly Russia

was not opposed to the treaty. Contrary to Herre, there was a written treaty between Serbia and Montenegro before the Balkan wars, while the text of a written military convention between Bulgaria and Montenegro—if such a formal agreement ever existed—is still to be discovered. Herre also gives more credence to the existence of formal agreements between Rumania, Greece, and Serbia after the Treaty of Bucharest than the reviewer believes is justified.

Bowdoin College.

E. C. HELMREICH.

At the Paris Peace Conference. By JAMES T. SHOTWELL, Professor of History, Columbia University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. x, 444. \$4.00.)

It is not without significance that the most extensive and authoritative information about the Peace Conference of 1919 derives from American sources. The published papers of President Wilson (Baker) and Colonel House (Seymour), the two books by Robert Lansing, and the biographies of Henry White (Nevins) and General Bliss (Palmer) tell the story from the point of view of each of the American commissioners. Perhaps even more important is the *Diary* of David Hunter Miller, with its rich mine of documents. Now comes Professor Shotwell, like Mr. Miller one of the experts attached to the commission, with his diary and some more documents. By comparison, British, French, and Italian contributions, with the exception of André Tardieu's book and possibly Harold Nicolson's, have been of small consequence, as if the European makers of the treaties have felt it futile to defend their handiwork. For this reason Mr. Lloyd George's memoirs of the Peace Conference, now in preparation, will be read with peculiar interest.

Mr. Shotwell's book is the American counterpart of Nicolson's *Peacemaking*, for in spite of certain differences between a professional historian and a professional diplomatist, both went to Paris thoroughly imbued with the Fourteen Points and the Wilsonian idealism; both kept diaries in which they recorded their gradual disillusionment, and, years later, both have tried to explain to themselves and to the world why the dreams of 1918 were not realized in the treaties of 1919. Each has also elected to print the explanation as the first and the diary as the second part of his book, as if he feels on the defensive. There is no indication that the two men met at Paris, and the details of their experiences were very different, but they give much the same picture of drift and submission to circumstances which produced treaties far removed from what enlightened British and American opinion had expected.

It was as head of the division of history in the Inquiry organized by Colonel House that Mr. Shotwell went to Paris; on arrival, he was placed

in charge of the library. For a time he seems to have acted as physician in ordinary to a sick world, being consulted on matters as varied as Spitzbergen and Manchuria, Dalmatia and Syria, not to mention African mandates and the Covenant of the League! In the end he found himself—apparently in no small degree because no one else was interested—doing what he most wished to do, namely, helping to draft Part XIII of the Treaty of Versailles, the section devoted to labor. This story he has already told in *The Origins of the International Labor Organization* (1934); here it is important only to point out that some of his most effective work was done without proper official authorization, and he had to negotiate on matters of high politics in the capacity of “technical expert”.

This experience of Mr. Shotwell, though an index of the high value placed on his judgment, reveals, as he himself points out, a fundamental weakness of the conference, or at any rate of the American delegation. The Department of State did not take kindly to the Inquiry, and it was not until towards the end that Lansing could see any merit in it. On the voyage over on the *George Washington*, President Wilson, as is well known, appealed to his experts to tell him what was right, so that he could fight for it. Yet no effort was ever made to co-ordinate the work of the Inquiry with the progress of the negotiations. True, a “Black Book” and a “Red Book” were prepared which contained summaries of the Inquiry’s recommendations, but there was never anything like the teamwork which prevailed in the British delegation. No meeting of the Inquiry was held until May 15, and it was not until June 3 that President Wilson held a conference with his experts as a whole to discuss possible modifications in the draft treaty handed to the Germans nearly a month before. Meanwhile, by force of circumstances, experts had become negotiators, and assuredly much can be said for what they accomplished. But because of the supposed necessity of secrecy, each group worked by itself and knew little of what was going on in other groups. Mr. Shotwell was evidently better informed than most persons, but as late as April 8 he and his intimates were very despondent because “we do not know what is being done” (p. 253). The result was that while any one section of the treaty might be defended, the sum total of sacrifices demanded from Germany was intolerable. Another unfortunate result, peculiar to the American delegation, was that the experts disagreed on the matter of Fiume and presented rival schemes to Wilson; this, in Mr. Shotwell’s opinion, had much to do with the breach between the President and Colonel House.

According to Mr. Shotwell (p. 31), President Wilson did not originally intend to impose terms of peace on Germany; the plan was for the Allied and Associated Powers to reach an agreement among themselves on fundamentals and then negotiate with their enemies. But once a draft treaty had

been put together by the methods actually followed, changes became difficult, and the Germans played into the hands of those who did not wish them well. Everyone was much *froissé* by the deliberate rudeness of Brockdorff-Rantzau on receiving the treaty, and the German delegation then made the grievous error of attacking almost every article of the treaty, instead of concentrating on a few issues. Like the Allies, they handed over the treaty in sections to experts, each of whom tore his bit to pieces, and the chiefs could not see the wood for the trees. Thus those in the British and American delegations who wished for a more liberal settlement received no assistance from those whom they wished to help. Nevertheless, when all is said, it has to be admitted, with Mr. Shotwell, that "the supreme attribute of statesmanship, magnanimity", was lacking at Paris (p. 51), even in Wilson himself, who "accepted retribution for ill-doing as part of the moral order of the world, and believed that it applied to nations as well as to individuals". For this reason, it is wrong to blame Lloyd George and Clemenceau exclusively for the ill-starred treaties. Mr. Shotwell notes that the Fourteen Points themselves could not be carried out without creating grievances and that some of the most criticized features of the settlement were precisely those recommended to Wilson by his experts.

The historian of the Peace Conference will find innumerable details of interest in this volume, while the lay reader will enjoy the descriptions of Paris and the battlefields in the winter of 1919. Some of the close-ups of the Big Four and other personalities are highly entertaining. Altogether, this is a notable book which, if it fails to explain many mysteries, throws much light in dark corners; perhaps a cynic would suggest as a subtitle, "How not to run a Peace Conference".

The University of Chicago.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

✓ *Survey of British Commonwealth Affairs. Volume I, Problems of Nationality, 1918-1936.* By W. K. HANCOCK, Professor of History in the University of Birmingham, with a supplementary legal chapter by R. T. E. LATHAM. [The Royal Institute of International Affairs.] (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 673. \$8.50.)

THE Royal Institute of International Affairs has performed a genuine service in assisting to completion this volume on the problems of nationality, which is the first of a survey of British Commonwealth affairs. Professor Hancock, who has written it, is uniquely qualified to interpret the psychological and historical aspects of imperial problems. He is an Australian who had a brilliant career leading to a fellowship at All Souls College, Oxford, and has since lectured both in England and Australia in various universities.

The book fills a very longfelt gap by bringing up to date the general accounts of the relations between the members of the British Common-

wealth of Nations and by indicating the effects of the new status on nationality and nationalism within the Dominions. The supplementary chapter by R. T. E. Latham, also an Australian and a fellow of All Souls, "The Law and the Commonwealth", covers satisfactorily, with less of the legal jargon than is used by Professor Keith, some of the problems of the present time. It closes with an appendix that treats the constitutional and legal problems created by the abdication of King Edward VIII.

No work of this sort can, of course, satisfy the demands of readers so various as those at which it is aimed. From the point of view of the lawyers the legal problems are somewhat summarily treated, and the distinctions between constitutional and purely legal questions are often not clearly drawn. But in its breadth of sweep, in its historical interpretations, and in its special treatment of the problems of the separate Dominions, particularly of those of the Irish Free State, it is extremely good. The arrangement is somewhat uneven in that the role of Canada, and indeed of South Africa, is often not adequately portrayed in comparison with that of the Irish Free State. Curiously enough, Australia itself figures in terms of little enough importance.

Perhaps the subsequent volumes will remedy this emphasis, but to the detached observer the first volume taken alone has an entirely disproportionate emphasis. Problems of India and race equality and even the problems of colonial government in areas like the Sudan and Palestine are given too extensive treatment. Moreover, there seems to be too little logic of organization, and it is difficult to find a single thread which gives unity to the volume. Nevertheless the book as a whole is a distinctly worthwhile contribution, and it will be invaluable to students of the British Commonwealth who wish to understand the underlying forces that are not always discernible in public documents or in legal opinions.

It is astonishing, though, in the treatment of diplomatic aspects of that empire as they affect the problems of nationality under consideration, that Professor Hancock should have devoted so little attention to the conflicts that seem to be inevitable between the "have" and "have-not" states and should have paid what seems to me to be undue emphasis to the ideological conflict of the British Empire with Russian communism. But this, after all, is not the volume in which one must look for the development of these relations, and a quite different emphasis may be expected in the later treatment. This book must be taken in conjunction with the fuller treatment to be found in *The British Empire: A Report on its Structure and Problems by a Study Group of Members of the Royal Institute of International Affairs* (Oxford University Press, 1937). Taken in this context it is a most valuable and interesting contribution.

Harvard University.

W. Y. ELLIOTT.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

✓ *China: A Short Cultural History.* By C. P. FITZGERALD. Edited by Professor C. G. SELIGMAN. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xviii, 615. \$7.50.)

THE difference between this work and most general histories of China is clearly indicated by Mr. Fitzgerald in his preface. He seeks a balanced presentation of China's history, avoiding overemphasis on the nineteenth century or on early history. He endeavors to present his history as a "record of change and development, the transformation of a loose federation of agricultural tribes into a highly centralised autocratic empire". He tries to replace the conventional political history by a description of China's cultural conditions, religion, literature, and art; and he uses Chinese sources wherever possible "to indicate something of the economic background which, in part at least, determines the pattern of a culture". Special attention is paid to the neglected early contacts with the Roman Orient and the Middle East (p. v).

On the whole, Mr. Fitzgerald has been measurably successful in four of his five objectives. The arrangement of his material according to the periods of development is plausible and well balanced. The author's conception of development penetrates every epoch treated in the book. It gives this cultural history a thoroughly dynamic character because it presents the changes in religion, philosophy, literature, and art as part of an underlying general movement. A general history of China limited to six hundred pages cannot go into great detail, but the events described—and they are numerous and manifold—are presented with vigor, insight, and in a genuinely scientific manner. The treatment of China's early contacts with Central Asia and the West are of special value. Recent investigation makes it clear beyond doubt that China was much better informed about the West during the first millennium A.D. than vice versa.

The errors of the book, apart from technical lapses like the misprinted figures on page 402, fall largely in the field of sociology and economics. No space is given to Wang Mang's attempted economic and political reforms. The Grand Canal and the first establishment of the system of examinations, the achievements of the Sui dynasty, pass unnoticed. No word is said about the second Grand Canal (under the Mongols), perhaps because Fitzgerald overestimates the barbarian aspect of the Yüan dynasty. The changes in the land system and taxation are not analyzed, nor do we get a clear idea of the structure of China's classes under the "Empire". The fundamental weakness of the book lies here. There are chapters on socio-economic conditions in almost every section, but the author's conception of economy is vague, and the data given are thin and scarcely repre-

sentative. No real picture is offered of the character of China's basic production, agriculture. The economic and political functions of artificial irrigation are touched upon only occasionally. The specific character of Chinese absolutism remains undefined. The social stratification seems arbitrary. Political philosophy, especially that of Confucius, is not analyzed adequately.

In a pioneer work like this, limitations should not be overemphasized. Both the author and the editor are to be congratulated on their attempt to get away from a type of history in which history actually remains a meager by-product of philology. In this book history is treated as a science to be dealt with according to its specific laws. Its weaknesses indicate the lines along which further attempts toward a scientific history of China will have to develop.

International Institute of Social Research.

K. A. WITTFOGEL.

Early Japanese History, c. 40 B. C.-A. D. 1167. By ROBERT KARL REISCHAUER, Lecturer in the School of Public and International Affairs and Instructor in the Department of Oriental Languages and Literature, Princeton University. [School of Public and International Affairs.] (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Part A, pp. xiii, 405; Part B, pp. 249. \$7.50.)

THE book under review, despite its title, is not a history but a sort of dictionary presenting a wide range of subject matters—historical, geographical, linguistic, etc.—covering more than twelve hundred years. It is an ambitious undertaking. The author explains that the work was compiled “for those who do not read Japanese fluently and yet who are sufficiently interested in the history of Japan to desire fairly detailed information that can be obtained at present only from Japanese sources” (p. vii). In order “to assist those who do not have a thorough knowledge of the fundamental political and social forces operating in Japan during the early ages of Japanese history, and who are but slightly acquainted with the economic and cultural changes that took place in those centuries to make the best use of the chronology of events”, the author has discussed “the most important movements in each age, era, and period treated in this first volume” and has mentioned “some of the problems involved in a study of these chronological divisions of Japanese history” (p. 4).

Part A begins with a bare chronological outline of the period embraced in the work, followed by a chronological list of era names, sovereigns, and high officials, and diagrams and tables relating to the organization of the central government (592-1167). All these are packed into about one hundred pages, while the remaining space is devoted to a chronicle of events, the author's main subject. Part B contains a bibliography, a discussion of the Romanization of Japanese words, the author's own translation of Japanese historical terms, a number of outline maps, genealogical charts of important families and of Buddhist priests by sects, and an index of Chinese

characters used in connection with Japanese names. The major portion of this part is given to an alphabetical index and a glossary.

The work is a laborious enterprise of a scholar whose recent untimely death we lament, and it should prove helpful to those for whose benefit it was specially designed. However, the author did not escape some of the usual defects of a pioneer attempt; this is particularly true as regards the subjects which he does not consider of primary importance, but which he nevertheless treats in quite a positive manner. Some of his translations are questionable. The maps are not very satisfactory. The writing of characters is amateurish, and, while actual errors are not many, most of them are poorly formed and very difficult to read. The use of type would have eradicated these faults and would have economized much needed space for the entire printing. The make-up of Part B is very hard on the eyes.

Stanford University.

YAMATO ICHIHASHI.

✓ *The Cambridge History of India. Volume IV, The Mughul Period.* Planned by Lt.-Colonel Sir WOLSELEY HAIG. Edited by Sir RICHARD BURN. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xxvi, 670. \$12.00.)

THIS volume deals with one of the most brilliant epochs of Indian history. Few dynasties of foreign origin have achieved so much in the land of their domicile as the Mughuls did in India, and there have been few more fascinating figures in all history than the founder of their empire, Zahir-ud-Din Muhammad Babur, a Turko-Mongolian adventurer descended from the famous Timur Lang and Chingiz Khan. The career of this accomplished soldier of fortune, who inherited a crown of thorns from his father at the age of twelve and died thirty-five years later, after having converted it into an imperial crown of gold, might thrill even a modern audience if it were reproduced on the screen. His autobiography, translated into English by Mrs. Beveridge from the original Turki, reads like a romance which, for all its historical veracity, seems stranger than fiction. Sir E. Denison Ross deals with this subject in the opening chapter of the book under review, forgetting neither the dramatic quality of his theme nor the rigid requirements of *The Cambridge History*.

Like the rest of the series, the present volume is the product of the collaboration of several scholars. Its editor, Sir Richard Burn, contributes three lucid chapters on Humayun, Jahangir, and Shah Jahan, respectively. While Babur and all his other successors down to Aurangzib have been the subjects of special study by more than one scholar, Humayun has suffered the distinction of being let alone. Erskine's work, though valuable in itself, has long needed replacement by a more up-to-date study. Humayun has suffered from more than mere neglect; he has been wronged, like most other failures in life, by facile condemnation. Yet from a biographical point

of view his career is full of a tender interest, and from the historical point of view we cannot forget that it was his persistence, under the most trying circumstances, that rendered the restoration of the empire possible. Sir Richard is more correct in his estimate of Jahangir, "whose temperament was artistic rather than practical and in whom generosity degenerated into self-indulgence". Efficiency and grandeur were the keynote of the next reign, and Shah Jahan has received all the critical appreciation he deserved. The late Dr. Vincent Smith did more injustice to his own scholarship than harm to the just reputation of Shah Jahan by his intemperate criticism of the creator of the Taj Mahal. In the opinion of Sir Richard Burn, under Shah Jahan "state revenues increased, in spite of the disastrous famine of 1630, owing to better supervision over officials and greater security of life" (p. 218). The Mughul reputation for art and refinement has survived to this day and spread over the whole world because of the masterpieces of Shah Jahan's reign, and this meets with adequate recognition in the present volume.

No less than six chapters, out of the eighteen, are from the pen of the late Sir Wolsley Haig, who had originally planned this volume. Readers of Volume III (*Turks and Afghans*) will not question the erudition of its editor and part-author. But few will recollect having read that volume (published ten years ago) with anything like keen interest, except for some purple patches. Concentrating for the most part on the military events and following an essentially chronological sequence in his narrative, Sir Wolsley has not succeeded in imparting to his chapters the charm of the rest of the work. Though his appreciation of Sher Shah's administrative genius is fair, so far as it goes, it scarcely seems adequate in illustration. His two chapters on Akbar do scant justice to their great subject, despite the encomium with which they close (pp. 154-55).

Aurangzib ruled for half a century, like Akbar, but no sharper contrast is to be found in Indian history than that between these two emperors in character, outlook, and policy. Sir Jadunath Sarkar has contributed the two chapters on Aurangzib and two others, on his immediate successors and on Nizam-ul-Mulk, respectively. He writes with the clarity and confidence that come from long familiarity with, and mastery of, his subject. No one is qualified to speak with greater authority on this portion of Mughul history than the author of the five weighty volumes on Aurangzib, the two on the later Mughuls, and the two on the fall of the Mughul Empire, besides others on allied subjects. On one of the most complicated and intriguing of historical periods, "the Gibbon of India" has written with impressive judgment, sense of proportion, and perspicacity.

The remaining chapters must be rapidly characterized, though with no intention of being invidious. Mr. H. G. Rawlinson brings out the bearing of contemporary Maratha history without partisan bias, and Mr. G. E.

Harvey deals with Burma. Without questioning the merits of Mr. Harvey's handling of his theme, one may be permitted to doubt the relevance of his contribution, with the exception of the section on Arakanese and Portuguese piracy, in an otherwise homogeneous volume on the Mughul period. Mr. W. H. Moreland describes the revenue system of the Mughul Empire with scholarship and scientific care in a too brief chapter. The volume appropriately closes with a very interesting chapter on the monuments of the Mughul period, appreciatively written by Mr. Percy Brown.

It is not possible to touch here on all points that a close reading of the volume has suggested, but I cannot refrain from pointing out that much valuable space which might have been better devoted to the administrative organization, social and economic conditions, ideals, policies, and culture of the Mughuls, whose rich legacy has gone into the making of modern India, has been wasted on a somewhat prosaic narrative of military events. Nevertheless, judging the work as a whole, more in terms of what it contains than of what it omits, this volume presents the fruits of critical research hitherto available only in isolated studies. It also contains a helpful classified bibliography covering twenty-two pages, ninety-eight well-selected illustrations, half-a-dozen maps, dynastic lists, and chronological tables. It is an indispensable work, long overdue.

Willingdon College, Sangli, India.

S. R. SHARMA.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800.

By HENRY R. WAGNER. Two volumes. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 270; v, 271-543. \$20.00.)

FOR a reviewer who is not a cartographer or a geographer to attempt a technical criticism of Mr. Wagner's work would invite quotation of a remark about a colonial secretary during the fisheries discussions of 1852, when Disraeli wrote that Sir John Pakington was "out of his depth, more than three marine miles from the shore". However, the historian is not interested in ancient maps qua maps but rather in what may be called the relativity of such maps to events. Many writers have pointed out that limited or erroneous geographic knowledge at a given time and geographic ignorance of particular statesmen have had international repercussions of importance. It is also true and sometimes forgotten that those concerned with diplomacy cannot always be expected to wait for the work of explorers and cartographers.

Mr. Wagner's work is of value to historians and students interested in the eastern shores of the north Pacific, for "Northwest Coast" is to be taken in a rather large sense, beginning at Cape San Lucas and extending indefinitely north. Those who have perused the earlier publications of this

author will not fail to profit by this complement to them; and the reader is rightly enjoined (p. vi) to consult them "in order to obtain a complete picture . . . of the historical and bibliographical background".

In the first of these two volumes, apart from the introduction and the conclusion, we have some thirty-nine chapters on cartography and explorations illuminated by admirable reproductions of forty maps of the three centuries. Two chapters are devoted to imaginary geography in the sixteenth century; but even about 1700 most maps showed California as an island (ch. xviii); and the controversy over the Delisle-Buache Fantasy (ch. xxii) was active after 1750; it is well said (p. 3) that "nothing has such an air of verisimilitude as a map". There are chapters on the English expeditions, ending with Vancouver, on the Russian discoveries, and on the voyage of La Pérouse; but the Spanish explorations and their results naturally bulk the largest and perhaps to American historians will be found of most interest.

In chapter xxxiii we get some further light on Nootka, supplementing Dr. Manning's monograph, to which Mr. Wagner pays a just tribute (p. 218). On one point the author differs (rightly, the reviewer thinks) from Dr. Manning, namely, in believing that the Spanish government in 1789 was more concerned with British than with Russian possibilities at Nootka Sound (p. 215); but the conclusion (pp. 251-52) that the result of the Nootka Convention (presumably the conventions of 1790 and 1794 read together) was that the territory south of Juan de Fuca Strait "was considered subject to the Spanish Government" goes too far. This was arguable after the 1794 convention; but Vancouver made no such admission in 1792, nor did the British government thereafter. Indeed one basis of the British position during the later diplomatic discussions concerning the Oregon country was the 1790 convention, then deemed by the British government to be in force but by the government of the United States to have been ended by the war of 1796; and consideration generally was not possible, since the 1794 convention was not published until 1843 and was unknown in the United States even in 1846, when the Nootka controversy passed finally from politics to history.

From a multitude of passages of interest one may be selected for mention as specially apropos at this time. Mr. Wagner is convinced (pp. 376-77 and 384-85) that the indentation now called Drake's Bay on the California coast was not necessarily the place where Sir Francis Drake landed and took possession and that Bodega Bay was probably the scene of this historic event.

The apparatus of this scholarly and comprehensive publication is worthy. For Volume I there is an excellent index; Volume II includes, apart from introduction, abbreviations, and bibliography, the annotated list of some nine hundred maps, with index (pp. 273-370), and two lists of place names;

these last, with learned comment, will be found useful to a degree almost beyond overstatement; the first of them is of names still in use (pp. 371-422), the second (pp. 423-525) of names now obsolete.

Washington, D. C.

HUNTER MILLER.

A History of Printing in the United States: The Story of the Introduction of the Press and of its History and Influence during the Pioneer Period in each State of the Union. By DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. Volume II, *Middle & South Atlantic States.* (New York: R. R. Bowker Company. 1936. Pp. xxvi, 462. \$6.00.)

Printing in the Americas. By JOHN CLYDE OSWALD. (New York: Gregg Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 565, xli. \$7.50.)

MR. McMurtrie, like earlier historians of printing in the United States, is a practical printer, and he has a thorough knowledge of the source materials for his historical studies. As a by-product of his great work, he has already published over two hundred monographs on various phases of the history of printing, including regional bibliographies of many cities and states in which his work has covered hitherto untouched material. As consultant to the national director of the Historical Records Survey of the Works Progress Administration, he is in direct charge of the important American Imprints Inventory, which aims to describe and locate every American imprint down to the year 1876. This material is already sufficiently in hand to provide a great amount of source material for the history on which he has been at work for many years.

With this great fact-finding organization back of him, Mr. McMurtrie plans to issue, in four volumes, a history of the beginnings of printing in each state of the union. Since there has been no such history since Isaiah Thomas's, much of the later material will be recorded for the first time, especially that in the West and South. Volume II, covering the Middle and South Atlantic states, was the first to be published. This will be followed late in 1938 by Volume III, including the Middle West, the Northern Migration, and the Gulf States. In 1939 the last two volumes will probably be finished, Volume I covering the New England states, with a general introduction, and Volume IV the Far West, with an index to the whole set.

This second volume of Mr. McMurtrie's history deals with Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland, New Jersey, Delaware, District of Columbia, Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia. In each state or section of a state he first sketches in the historical background and then gives the fullest possible account of the first printer. This is followed by a complete history of each succeeding press established during the pioneer period, with briefer mention of the succeeding presses which came too late for fuller treatment.

Though much has been published on the history of Pennsylvania printing, this work is the first to cover it completely in a single volume. The

chapter on Benjamin Franklin is particularly well done, and the presses outside of Philadelphia are adequately covered for the first time. The chapter on Maryland was taken, by permission, from Dr. Lawrence Wroth's excellent history of colonial printing in that state, since little could be added to his important discoveries in that field. In the same way, there was nothing of importance to add to the history of printing in New York City, though Mr. McMurtrie has been the first to put the findings of many investigators into compact form. But in his treatment of eastern New York State the author found much new material and was the first to tell the story as a whole.

The chapters on New Jersey and Delaware are also summaries of many separate studies which had never before been welded into a unit, but the chapter on the District of Columbia is largely new material. Mr. McMurtrie's most important contributions to this volume, however, are in his treatment of the states of North and South Carolina and Georgia, in which most of his records were previously unpublished. He has discovered many new documents through which he has frequently pushed back for a year or more the date of the introduction of printing into a given city or colony.

Each chapter has a full bibliography and voluminous footnotes, which are placed at the end of the volume and occupy sixty pages. The volume is beautifully printed and bound and is enriched by the reproduction of seventy-one rare newspapers, title pages, and broadsides and an end-paper map showing the date of the introduction of printing into each of the states.

The late John Clyde Oswald's *Printing in the Americas* attempts to do too much in a single volume. Its ninety-one chapters, some of them only half a page in length, relate to every state in the union, Canada, Spanish America, Greenland, and Hawaii and include sketches of famous printers and printing families, women printers, the equipment of the colonial printshop, modern bookmaking, printing machinery, and trade organizations. Though the volume contains a mass of valuable information, it is an encyclopedia rather than a historical narrative and almost wholly avoids giving the printer his rightful place in the social history of his times. It is poorly organized, appears to have been written entirely from secondary sources, and obviously suffers from having had many of its chapters hurriedly compiled for publication in a popular series of articles in its author's magazine, *The American Printer*. Though much of the text is accurate, there are many errors in names and facts. In the brief account of Isaiah Thomas, for example, there are five mistakes. The absence of bibliography and notes leaves the reader uneasy as to the author's sources. There is, however, a good index and 160 facsimiles of rare titles, some in two colors. It is a useful and handy volume of printing data, but it can scarcely be called a history, and its facts must be used with caution.

The American Antiquarian Society.

R. W. G. VAIL.

Of the Earth Earthy: How Our Fathers dwelt upon and wooed the Earth.

By MARIAN NICHOLL RAWSON. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1937. Pp. 414. \$5.00.)

Everyday Things in American Life, 1607-1776. By WILLIAM CHAUNCEY LANGDON. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. xx, 353. \$3.00.)

It is a far cry from the conception of history as past politics to that exemplified in these two volumes. In them the matters of everyday life receive deserved recognition.

Mrs. Rawson's work, in this volume and the many preceding, bespeaks years of traveling up and down the Atlantic seaboard, talking with handicraft workers, inspecting old iron furnaces, etc., and engaging in what is interestingly known as "junk snapping". All this inspires confidence. The author has caught the atmosphere of the industries, but the text is frequently jumpy and sometimes weak in the detailed descriptions.

For the most part the industries selected are those in which the craftsmen deal closely with nature, are "of the earth earthy". The author confines herself almost entirely to the eastern seaboard, but she ranges over three centuries. One can question but little the subjects included, but he may properly ask for coal mining, lumbering, turpentine distilling, and the distinctive home industry of textile making (about which the author has written so well before). He looks in vain for butchering or the grinding of grain. Mrs. Rawson makes no pretense of writing a comprehensive work on early industry, but one may regret some omissions.

The author implies that 1100 B.C. is early in the history of the plow, whereas plows were in use in Babylonia and Egypt before 2500 B.C. The Dutch contributed much toward the development of the plow, but where is the evidence that they turned the first furrow? She mentions Jethro Wood's plow of 1814, about which little is known, but omits reference to that of 1819, on which his fame as an inventor rests. She confuses smelting with melting. Yet withal we are glad she wrote the book.

Mr. Langdon's volume has a different air. It is a more systematic treatment than that of Mrs. Rawson and at first glance gives the appearance of adequacy. Closer examination, however, reveals serious gaps. What was more "everyday" before 1776 than spinning and weaving? Yet these are scarcely mentioned in the text, although the implements are well illustrated. The axe is declared to have been essential, but there the matter rests. Houses and furniture are adequately covered, but one might conclude that like Topsy they "just grew". Tools and construction are left out. In another field the grist mill is merely mentioned and the grater and mortar overlooked entirely.

The chapters on "Dutch New York" and "Penn's Quaker City" are good in themselves, but they contribute little to the professed purpose. On

the other hand, the chapters on Ephrata and Bethlehem are excellent. It is well to describe the provincial post and would be even better to tell of early printing, but on what pretext can one drag in Peter Zenger and the freedom of the press? The exceptions to the statement, "Iron can no longer compete with steel for any purpose", must be quite obvious. Furthermore the improvements in steel are related to the science of metallurgy and not to mining engineering.

The bibliography by chapters will identify, to the satisfaction of most readers, the sources used. The volume is well illustrated, and the pen and ink drawings are commendable. The format is good and the style pleasing, but in most other respects the work suffers by comparison with the Quennell volumes on England, after which it is professedly patterned.

Museum of Science and Industry, Chicago. RUSSELL H. ANDERSON.

Government in the United States. By CLAUDIUS O. JOHNSON, Professor of Political Science in the State College of Washington. Revised Edition. (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 735. \$4.00.)

American Government and Its Problems. By ROBERT PHILLIPS, Professor of Government at Purdue University. Under the editorship of Edward M. Sait, Pomona College. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. xv, 813. \$3.50.)

THE bachelor who wails at the difficulty of finding a girl who is both attractive and intelligent would find a comparable lack of the combination of interest and accuracy in these two texts on American government. Professor Johnson's revised edition is accurate and fairly comprehensive, but sounds rather like a lecture at 2 P. M. on a warm spring day! It also suffers from a heavy touch and a failure to pick out some of the important intangibles in American government. For example, the chapter on the Presidency overlooks the argument of stability for a completely independent executive—which seems to the reviewer to be the most important argument. The author also neglects the President's loss of influence in his second term. Despite occasional lack of balance, however, it is a solid book for one who wishes to teach his American government largely from a textbook with much constitutional and legal background.

Professor Phillips writes in the lively W. B. Munro tradition—and does it even better than Munro. Unfortunately, he is afflicted with a besetting inaccuracy. For example, he comments: "There is need . . . that there be established an interstate legislative reference bureau." Apparently, he is entirely unaware of the fact that there has been such a bureau for almost a decade. The reviewer was in charge of it for two years and hence has reason to feel sure of its existence.

The spot where Professor Phillips really slips off into deep water is in his discussion of the recommendations of the President's Committee on

Administrative Management. He writes, in exact opposition to the truth: "The President recommended the substitution of an auditor's office, subject to the executive rather than to Congress."

Just as the average bachelor eventually decides to get married anyway, the average teacher chooses a text. Reduced to the alternatives here offered, I would be rather inclined to choose Mr. Phillips—if only for the fun of correcting him and filling in the gaps. The only true solution of the problem is, of course, intellectual polygamy. I remember hearing J. P. Baxter remark, a decade ago, that the age of all-inclusive books on American history was practically past. Let us hope that that will be the case shortly in American government and that Professors Johnson and Phillips will be free to devote their very real talents to topics which one man can reasonably hope to cover in one book.

The University of Michigan.

GEORGE C. S. BENSON.

The Old South: Struggles for Democracy. By WILLIAM E. DODD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. vii, 312. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Dodd has compressed into about three hundred pages the history of Virginia, Maryland, and the Carolinas before 1690. The subject is broadly viewed: the story of the founding of the settlements is retold; their economic life, their social order, their culture, and their politics are treated; and much attention is given to their English backgrounds and to their part in international conflicts. So broad a treatment in so small a space could not be both systematic and detailed. Consequently, Professor Dodd—except in a few chapters—has employed a rather discursive manner of presentation, descriptive and narrative rather than analytical, often impressionistic and disconnected, suggestive of a miscellany of random remarks and generalizations that do not always grow out of the evidence. Perhaps in order to avoid a display of learning he has made the sources of information too obscure.

From his pages one gets glimpses of turbulent times when a complex society was being formed. Judged by the range of topics, the work is not guilty of oversimplification. Mr. Dodd sees the colonies as affected by the major forces active in Europe. And he has an intimate knowledge of the Southern country which enables him to convey a vivid impression of the close relation between the land and the life of the people.

The central themes suggested, but unhappily not developed, are the emergence of democracy in America and the struggles to foster and retain it. Mr. Dodd suggests that the great enemy of democracy was the Stuart monarchy and that those forces were democratic which contended against absolutism. Thus Sir Edwin Sandys is made the father of democracy in Virginia, and colonial acts of resistance to the crown are treated as democratic. Mr. Dodd does not mean that such resistance merely prepared the

way for democracy; he states that Virginia after 1619 was a democracy and that its leading people held democratic views.

In support of this thesis Mr. Dodd offers the following statements. Manhood suffrage prevailed in Virginia until 1670. The expulsion of Sir John Harvey was a successful assertion of democratic resistance. The house of burgesses was the ruling power in the colony. Although social classes existed, the upper planters were willingly accepted as leaders, the lower folk easily rose in the social scale, and social harmony prevailed. In Mr. Dodd's view, religious liberty is an important democratic principle, and the Anglican Church did not violate it: either the people were devoted to the church, or unpopular church laws were ignored. Bacon's Rebellion was an uprising against Stuart absolutism as personified by Governor Berkeley.

Mr. Dodd's thesis of manhood suffrage does not take into account the indentured servants and the slaves. In view of the powers of the governor and council (over the land, for instance), the house of burgesses cannot be regarded as the supreme authority in the colony. The expulsion of Governor Harvey was obviously the work of upper class leaders rather than of the rank and file. As to the Anglican Church, the laws supporting it reflect an aristocratic rather than a democratic tendency. And finally, Bacon's Rebellion was an internal conflict denoting sharply drawn class lines and severe social tensions. In both the Harvey and Berkeley episodes the "absolutist" crown was by no means hostile to the "democratic" rebels.

Mr. Dodd has not analyzed critically and carefully the social structure of the Southern colonies and the economic foundations on which emerging classes rested. He has little to say about internal economic relationships—about growing inequalities in the distribution of wealth. That colonial resistance to the crown gave an impetus to democracy is undoubtedly true, but equally important was the internal struggle of democratic forces against the local upper class.

University of Wisconsin.

CURTIS NETTELS.

The Administration of Justice under the Quebec Act. By HILDA M. NEATBY, Regina College, University of Saskatchewan. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. Pp. v, 383. \$6.00.)

The Quebec Act, a Primary Cause of the American Revolution. By CHARLES H. METZGER. (New York: United States Catholic Historical Society. 1936. Pp. x, 223. \$3.00.)

THE framers of the Quebec Act envisaged a legal system in the province which would give to all its inhabitants the benefits of English criminal law and would continue to the Canadians the enjoyment of their ancient law of real property. They left to the provincial authorities the task of introducing such amendments, particularly with respect to commercial matters,

as might be best suited to local conditions. It was a sensible approach to a difficult problem, and Miss Neatby thinks it might have proved a satisfactory solution had not the Revolutionary war both intensified party and racial feeling and provided Carleton with a pretext for defying the instructions sent to him. After the war there was a franker attempt to adopt the principles of 1774, but the ignorance, inexperience, and stubborn prejudices of most of the judges and court officials prevented any considerable improvement in the administration of the law.

Miss Neatby's interest is not primarily in the political story, of which she does not tell us much more than we already know from Professor Burt. The greater part of this book is devoted to a detailed description of the fashion in which the law was actually administered from 1775 to 1791. If the picture is cloudy, it is not Miss Neatby's fault. The substantive law was French, but nobody knew how much of French law was also Canadian. The adjective law was partly English and partly French, but nobody knew where to draw the boundary between adjective and substantive nor how to administer French law by English procedure. Lawyers pleaded whichever system suited their cause the better or whichever was better calculated to meet the predilections of the judges. Judges handed down unreasoned decisions according to their views of equity or party or according to the respect which they entertained for the rival pleaders. Temperamental clerks of courts kept unveracious and incomplete records nearly as useless to judges in appeal as those which survive are vexatious to the historian.

It is very much to Miss Neatby's credit that she makes this confusion less confounded. She knows her law and knows how to make it clear to the layman. She knows her documents and uses them with skill and dependability, though, it must be added, not always with scrupulous attention to *ipsissima verba*. One chapter carries the typical suitor through the common pleas from summons to execution. Another deals with the court of appeals. Another shows the mixture of politics and law in *Haldimand vs. Cochrane*, the *cause célèbre* of the period. There are chapters on the criminal law, on the prerogative court, and on the cost of justice. In short, Miss Neatby has given us the first competent and thoroughgoing account of legal administration in any American colony. One suspects, however, that it might not have been so gloomy a one had better records been kept and had the author not been obliged to rely for so large a proportion of her material on the complaints of dissatisfied suitors and advocates.

Father Metzger's thesis is that the toleration clauses of the Quebec Act ought to be reckoned a major cause of the American Revolution. He supports this thesis first by showing that anti-Catholic bigotry existed in the thirteen colonies and then by presenting a considerable collection of contemporary opinions hostile to the act. The implication apparently is that such strong feeling must have led to strong action. It is the sort of propo-

sition which it is difficult, perhaps impossible, to prove but upon which the opinions of a careful investigator are worthy of respect. Unfortunately Father Metzger is not careful in handling his documents or cautious in interpreting them. For example, he states (p. 39) that it was known in America in August, 1773, that toleration for the Roman Catholics of Quebec was being considered. "At once scribblers became intensely active; numbers . . . broke into print." This show of zeal soon died down, but "the following spring witnessed an outburst which gathered force", etc. There is not a single citation of American origin dated before August, 1774, which supports the statement quoted. But it is characteristic of the book that four documents are cited as though they did support it. Three of these, which Father Metzger dates August 29, 1773, should be dated exactly one year later. Two of them were written in Great Britain and merely reprinted in American newspapers. And two of them make no mention whatever of Quebec or the Quebec Bill. The chapter on sermons is, so far as concerns New England, more convincing. The section on the pronouncements of colonial assemblies supports the view that toleration in Quebec was utilized as a channel for rhetoric rather than considered an actual grievance.

The University of Michigan.

S. MORLEY SCOTT.

James Madison, Builder: A New Estimate of a Memorable Career. By ABBOT EMERSON SMITH, Assistant Professor and Fellow in History at Bard College, Columbia University. (New York: Wilson-Erickson; Elliot Publishing Company, distributors. 1937. Pp. vii, 366. \$4.00.)

George Mason, Constitutionalist. By HELEN HILL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xxii, 300. \$3.50.)

THE flood of journalistic biographies seems to be subsiding. Here and there, land is emerging which many readers may regard as essentially *dry*, but students welcome as offering at least a solid foundation. The authors of the two works here reviewed evidently have been drawn to their respective undertakings through interest, and their conclusions are based upon long and careful investigation. Both are sympathetic with their subjects, but without attempt to disguise or gloss over limitations in the characters portrayed. Both works are alike also in that they are interpretations of distinguishing qualities rather than rounded complete biographies. This is indicated by their titles and emphasized in one case by the subtitle. After reading them one does not carry away a clear picture of the personality of either Madison or Mason.

Professor Smith's study opens auspiciously with a few paragraphs that will long stand as a delightfully frank, unprejudiced examination of Madison's qualities, ending with the opinion of his contemporaries "that he was honorable, scholarly, conscientious, cautious, and obstinate". The first

part of the book traces Madison's public life to its culmination in his greatest achievement—the services rendered in the Federal Convention and in obtaining the ratification of the Constitution. The sanity of the author's interpretation is exemplified in this comment (p. 103): "Like the political philosophy of the great majority of mankind, Madison's was a rationalization of his conscious and unconscious attitudes and interests." The author's fairness is shown in the treatment of the Federal Convention, where, he frankly declares, "it cannot be said that Madison was distinguished as a counsellor. He did not like compromises." A little later he adds: "Thus Madison, the father of the Constitution, was actually opposed to the two great compromises which made that document possible."

Madison's subsequent career, through the anticlimax of the Presidency, where he cut a pathetic figure, is treated very much in the same way. There follows a concluding chapter, entirely too brief, on the last twenty years of his life, when "Madison was constantly consulted upon literary, historical, and even philosophical questions by correspondents". Perhaps the author's summary is correct: "Of all his writings on these casual subjects, few are of much importance." That depends, however, upon the student's interest. The discussions of many constitutional and diplomatic questions by Madison in letters to his correspondents have considerable value for specialists in those subjects.

Professor Smith's book is the best presentation we have of what Madison contributed to American political and constitutional development. It is, and will remain, a distinct aid to the understanding of a figure almost insignificant personally and yet one of the important characters in American history. The form in which the book has been published leaves something to be desired. The index is so condensed as to be of little value, containing scarcely more than a list of names. The printing, paper, and binding are not attractive, and a printer's blunder at the very end of the book entirely destroys the effect which the author desired to convey.

George Mason did not play the conspicuous part that fate ordained for Madison, yet he exercised great influence at the time our independence was declared and left an indelible mark upon our political institutions and particularly upon our state and federal constitutions. Miss Hill, in her well-written and attractive study, has much in the opening chapters upon environment and contemporary conditions, but the leading character remains a somewhat dim and shadowy figure. This is largely because his was not a dominating personality that lends itself to portrayal in sharp relief. Perhaps the author accomplishes her purpose, however, for it is evident that Mason was reserved, aristocratic, and retiring. As befitted a gentleman of his quality, he took his place as a leader in parish, town, and county. For a time during the Revolution he was active in the affairs of his state, and he emerged from his seclusion at Gunston Hall to take part in the Federal

Convention of 1787. His refusal to sign the Constitution was in keeping with his character and temperament, as was his opposition in the Virginia ratifying convention.

Mason is generally known as the author of the bill of rights that prefaced the first constitution of Virginia, in 1776, and rightly so, for that accomplishment typifies the character of his contribution to American political and constitutional development. As Miss Hill has expressed it: "His essential interest remained throughout his life an interest in the ideas upon which government was established." The absence of a declaration of rights was placed in the forefront of his "Objections" to the federal Constitution, and to him in large measure should be ascribed the gentlemen's agreement that found its fulfillment in the ultimate adoption of the first ten amendments to the Constitution. His passionate antagonism to slavery was but a corollary of the larger proposition.

The whole study might be summarized by taking a single quotation: "Much as he accomplished during his periods of active public service, it may be questioned whether in the course of his lifetime he did not accomplish more as consultant, adviser, and advance guard to the political thinking of his contemporaries." George Mason deserves to be better known than he is to students of today, and it is fortunate that he has found at last an appreciative interpreter and a congenial spirit in Miss Hill, for it is evident that the author's interest also is in ideas and in the theory and philosophy of government.

Huntington Library.

MAX FARRAND.

William Samuel Johnson, a Maker of the Constitution. By GEORGE C. GROCE, JR. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 227. \$2.75.)

IN 1876 E. E. Beardsley published his *Life and Times of William Samuel Johnson*. This meritorious work, which, however, manifests the limitations of all biographical writing of half a century ago, has been the standard authority up to the present for the life of one of the most distinguished figures of the Revolutionary and formative national periods of American history. It must now give place to Dr. Groce's painstaking study, which is an excellent example of historical detachment and of the sober evaluation of evidence.

As to Johnson's early career, the influences that shaped his character and outlook on life, his preparation for the bar and the commanding position that he soon attained as a Connecticut lawyer, the variety of his cultural interests, and his business ventures—all these are well developed by Dr. Groce, as are also his moderating influence during the Stamp Act crisis, especially as a delegate to the Stamp Act Congress, and the astute manner by which he, a western Connecticut Episcopalian and, all in all, a con-

servative, won the support of the radical eastern Connecticut New Light, Susquehanna Company group in his successful candidacy for a place in the governor's council. The years of his residence in England in the interests of the colony are also interestingly portrayed, although one may regret that the opportunity was not seized to analyze Johnson's masterly defense of the Connecticut charter in 1768, then under attack by Hillsborough, the secretary of state for the colonies, a defense which is worthy to stand beside that of an earlier colonial agent, Jeremiah Dummer.

Johnson's search for preferment upon his return to Connecticut and the support that he gave to his late father's plan for an American Anglican bishop, his indecision in the developing crisis, his evasion of the responsibility of acting as a delegate to the First Continental Congress, and his difficult and embarrassing position during the Revolutionary War are also quite adequately treated. Yet, again, one may regret that his *Thoughts on the Disputes between Great Britain and her Colonies* was not presented and analyzed. After the war, the problem that confronted him was the means that he should take to re-establish himself in the good graces of the people of Connecticut. His great forensic abilities earlier displayed and still unimpaired, he now placed his services at the disposal of the assembly in the Pennsylvania-Connecticut boundary dispute and so far re-established his influence within the state that he was not only sent to the Congress of the Confederation but to the Constitutional Convention and later became the senior United States senator from Connecticut, resigning after two years to take up his duties as president of Columbia College, which office he had accepted in 1787. These aspects of Johnson's post-Revolutionary career, particularly his unwavering efforts to promote particular Connecticut interests which occasionally clashed with sound national policies, are not glossed over by the writer, who at the same time fully credits Johnson's important contributions toward the establishment of the new government.

The volume is in the main well written. It might to advantage have been expanded at certain points. Nevertheless, no student of American colonial and Revolutionary history can well afford to slight it.

Lehigh University.

LAWRENCE HENRY GIPSON.

His Excellency, George Clinton, Critic of the Constitution. By E. WILDER SPAULDING. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 325. \$3.50.)

CLINTON's opposition to the ratification of the Federal Constitution by New York was only an episode, albeit an important one, in his long public career, and a single chapter of Mr. Spaulding's narrative suffices for it. His constitutional opinions, however, as Mr. Spaulding shows, were rooted in the ideas and emotions of the Revolution, and they did not change materially with changing times. He favored independence and just missed

being a signer of the Declaration because of necessary absence from Philadelphia. He submitted the Articles of Confederation promptly to the New York legislature in February, 1778, and saw them ratified a month later, and in 1780 he urged upon the legislature the need of strengthening the powers of Congress. He was "not enthusiastic", on the other hand, over the proposal of a Federal Convention, and the Constitution itself aroused all his ingrained state rights sympathies. The new arrangement, as he saw it, forecast a consolidated government with immense powers which would eventually destroy the states, and only by far-reaching amendment could popular rights and liberties be protected. His "Cato" letters, although adjudged by Mr. Spaulding "dull and ponderous" and "intemperate in their dogmatism and exaggeration", nevertheless "show far better than such scholarly productions as 'The Federalist'", which they directly inspired, "what men were thinking and talking". He lost his case in the New York legislature not because his ideas were not widely shared but because the large anti-Federalist majority which he led—46 against 19 Federalists—was "composed for the most part of village lawyers, farmers and small town politicians", with whom leadership was an "impossibly difficult" task, and had no program to oppose to the united demand of the Federalists for ratification.

Once the Constitution was in effect, opposition could be directed only at Federalist policies, and Clinton was at no time pre-eminent as an opposition leader. His one great opportunity came in 1811, when he was able, by his casting vote as vice-president, to prevent a renewal of the charter of the first Bank of the United States. "It may possibly have occurred to him", Mr. Spaulding writes, "that the institution he was destroying had been the creation of his once great rival" Hamilton, but the vote "was entirely consistent with his convictions on the subject of banks". His reasons, as summarized in the narrative from the *Annals of Congress*, are not only, as Mr. Spaulding says, "an excellent statement of the position Jefferson had taken in 1791 in refuting Hamilton's contention that the bank could be properly established upon the doctrine of implied powers" but follow so closely Jefferson's argument and language as to suggest that Clinton, who was not an intellectual person, drew heavily upon Jefferson's opinion.

For the rest, Mr. Spaulding tells interestingly and in elaborate detail the story of Clinton's long and active life. The tangled politics, personal and factional, of New York, and the radical Republicanism which brought Clinton, as its most distinguished representative, into conflict with Hamilton and Burr necessarily bulk large in the narrative, but not to the extent of turning biography into history. There was need of the book, and Mr. Spaulding's thorough research leaves little, if anything, for other students to add.

New York City.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

John Langdon of New Hampshire. By LAWRENCE SHAW MAYO. (Concord: Rumford Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 303. \$3.50.)

MR. Mayo has never been a biographer of the three-volume "Life and Times" variety. He excels in re-creating the atmosphere of a period and in the portrayal of character by the skillful treatment of salient episodes. Thus in the present volume we have a full account of how John Langdon gave up his seat in Congress to secure the position of agent for marine affairs in New Hampshire, but his six terms as governor are dismissed in a few sentences. The result is a clear picture of Langdon's character but a less satisfactory one of some of his political activities.

The chief importance of this book for the historian lies in its treatment of the Revolutionary period. When the controversy with England began, John Langdon and his older brother, Woodbury, were well established in a mercantile career. The Langdons did not belong to the ruling oligarchy, but they had risen to wealth and prominence and might well hesitate to become revolutionists. Woodbury Langdon did hesitate, and though he was later chosen as one of New Hampshire's representatives in the Continental Congress, his political career was soon at an end.

John Langdon had the supreme virtue for a politician in a revolutionary age of knowing when and how to make up his mind. Mr. Mayo asserts that he was "always in advance of his time". If this be taken to mean that he made his political decisions somewhat in advance of the majority of his contemporaries, the statement is true, but he was never a political pioneer or a prophet. As befitted a New Hampshire Yankee, he was a practical man of affairs, not a theorist. In his calm good sense he reminds one of Franklin, without Franklin's wit. Apparently he gave little heed to the rising quarrel with England until the Portsmouth collector of customs seized a vessel aboard which he had a valuable cargo. The seizure was as impolitic as it was unjust, for Langdon promptly became one of the leaders of the Revolutionary movement in New Hampshire. Those of a leftist slant will mark him as a fit subject for debunking because he emerged from the war "perhaps the richest man in Portsmouth", but he also found time to see some military service and to hold many political and administrative positions where his business ability and patriotic devotion enabled him to further the common cause. Having had from the first a national outlook, he became after the war one of the leading advocates of a stronger national government, served in the Federal Convention, and was largely responsible for getting New Hampshire to ratify the Constitution. As a member of the first Senate he supported Hamilton's financial policies. In 1793-94, however, he became a Jeffersonian. His biographer ascribes this change chiefly to his hostility to Hamilton's pro-British policy, and letters here printed show his extreme dislike of Jay's Treaty. Always a leader, he built up a strong Republican party in New Hampshire and was the first Republican governor of the state. Jefferson offered him a position in his

cabinet, and in 1812 he was offered the nomination for the vice-presidency. Such a career places Langdon in the front rank of the secondary figures of the period. It is fortunate that we now have a biography of him from competent hands.

Williams College.

A. H. BUFFINTON.

Thomas Willing and the First American Financial System. By BURTON ALVA KONKLE. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. xii, 237. \$3.00.)

THIS biography is of decidedly mixed value. Mr. Konkle's presentation, from scattered and scanty sources, of a connected narrative of Willing's early public life represents a real contribution. Less satisfactory is the account of his mercantile activities. The author exaggerates the significance of Willing's nonimportation leadership in 1765 and also his association in 1780 with the patriotic purchasing agency commonly called the Pennsylvania Bank. The former, we are repeatedly assured, "was the heaviest blow ever struck by an American colony" and "the real beginning of revolution". The latter is described with similar reiteration, but with scant documentation, as having "saved the armies of General Washington and the republic". Equally dubious is the assertion (p. 78) that Willing, for all we know, might have signed the original manuscript Declaration of Independence on July 4, 1776.

The second half of the book deals chiefly with Willing's service as president of the Bank of North America (Nov. 2, 1781-Jan. 9, 1792) and of the first Bank of the United States (Oct. 25, 1791-Nov. 10, 1807). As a pioneer banker Willing has long deserved more adequate historical recognition. But Mr. Konkle contributes relatively little new factual material, commits innumerable and inexcusable errors, and badly distorts the nature of Willing's true influence.

No study has been made of the extant records of the Bank of North America. A few stray manuscripts relating to the Bank of the United States are utilized. The interesting exchange of addresses accompanying Willing's resignation in 1807 is reproduced from contemporary newspapers. There is no acknowledgment that the present reviewer called the author's attention to the letter describing the illness which occasioned this retirement. With minor exceptions, the remaining material is gleaned from unreliable secondary sources.

Only a few of the scores of factual errors can be noted here. Chancellor Livingston, far from collaborating with Alexander Hamilton in organizing the Bank of New York in 1784 (p. 105), sponsored a rival project for a land bank. Hamilton's "Opinion on the Constitutionality of a National Bank" appears to be confused with his "Report on a National Bank" (pp. 131-34). The bill to charter the bank was not presented to the Senate on December 23, 1790 (p. 134); a committee reported the bill on January

3, 1791. The Senate debated the bill from January 10 to 20, not "for about a month" (p. 140). The vote in the House was 39 to 20, not 39 to 18 (p. 140). The bank's notes were made "receivable for all payments to the United States", not "legal tender for all debts" (p. 141). Bank "script" reached 312, possibly 325, in Philadelphia in August, 1791, not merely 150 (p. 142). Wolcott was Comptroller of the Treasury in 1791, not Comptroller of the Currency (p. 142), an office not created until 1863. The magnificent new building occupied by the bank in 1797 did not cost \$480,000 (p. 166); that figure, probably derived from Gallatin's report of 1809, includes the real estate of all the branches. (On September 29, 1797, the main bank carried its estate at \$106,705, and on November 11, 1800, at \$148,542.) A grandiose statement regarding the building (p. 169) is incorrect. The government sold its remaining bank shares in 1802 to facilitate remittances to Holland, not primarily to reduce its debt to the bank (p. 178). The paper on "Continental Money" attributed to Samuel Breck (p. 193) was written by his son, Samuel Breck, jr. Archibald McCall is erroneously described (p. 193) as being Willing's father-in-law. John Jacob Astor's opposition to renewal of the bank's charter in 1811 arose from his bitter quarrel with the New York branch, not from a supposed desire to have the main bank located in New York (p. 197). Thomas M. Willing, not his octogenarian father, served as a subscription commissioner for the second Bank of the United States in 1816 (p. 208). The commissioners were appointed by Madison, not by Monroe (p. 209).

Even more vitiating than such errors is Mr. Konkle's fond portrayal of Thomas Willing as "The Economic Father of His Country" and as "The Old Regulator" of American finance—a veritable Robert Morris, Nicholas Biddle, and Jay Cooke all rolled into one. There is no adequate recognition of the fiscal genius of Alexander Hamilton or of his expert framing of the charter of the Bank of the United States. Instead, we read of "President Willing's Bank", of his wisdom ensuring the success and safety of the branches, of his loans to the government, and so on *ad nauseam*. Actually, the board of directors was the real governing agency of the bank, formulating its policies and controlling their execution. When Willing retired after sixteen years of honorable and faithful service, the directors expressed "their great satisfaction" with his "impartial conduct . . . as well during their proceedings as in coinciding to their decisions".

The present reviewer has a high admiration for "Old Square Toes", as Willing was irreverently but affectionately styled by contemporaries. His brief "Autobiography" (1786) ascribed his success not to "superior abilities or extensive knowledge" but to "a steady application to whatever I have undertaken, a civil and respectful deportment to all my fellow citizens, and to an honest and upright conduct in every transaction of life".

New York University.

JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

The United States and the Disruption of the Spanish Empire, 1810-1822: A Study of the Relations of the United States with Spain and with the Rebel Spanish Colonies. By CHARLES CARROLL GRIFFIN, Instructor in History, Vassar College. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1937. Pp. 315. \$3.75.)

Dr. Griffin's work is based upon careful study of the principal European archives as well as those of the Department of State; he has seen the documents in the Public Record Office and in the Ministère des Affaires étrangères; more important still, he has made full use of the Archivo Histórico Nacional at Madrid and has obtained further data at Simancas. Indeed, the most striking characteristic of his book is its thoroughness: the story is not told from the diplomatic correspondence alone; newspaper materials have been skillfully used in the examination of the development of American public opinion; and the published sources have been well combed. If finality is rarely attained in historical research, it may at least be said of this book that it goes a very long way towards that goal.

The period subjected to examination, as the title shows, runs from the first outbreaks of the great revolutionary movement in Spanish America to the recognition of the newborn republics of the south by the administration of James Monroe in 1822. Dr. Griffin's researches do not add a great deal to our knowledge with regard to the early period, 1810-1815, but as he moves into the negotiations for the cession of East Florida, which form the core of his narrative, he profits largely from his careful use of the Spanish sources and illuminates Spanish policy in most interesting fashion. The Spanish government was, in the period just after 1815, encouraged in a temporizing policy by some expressions of Lord Castlereagh which seemed to indicate vigorous British opposition to the cession of Florida; it assumed that the Florida question might be used to stave off American action in the question of the colonies; but it began to give way in the spring of 1818. At this time, indeed, Pizarro, the Spanish minister of state, was ready in case of necessity to surrender a good part of Texas, as far as the Colorado. By August of the same year the need for concession became still clearer, and Jackson's famous invasion of Florida had a stimulating effect upon the negotiations, pointing the necessity of action rather than increasing the tension. But the Spanish government still wished to attach impossible conditions to any cession, requiring a guaranty of territory not ceded and assurances that no aid would be given to the rebels in America. A change of ministry in the fall of 1818 brought matters nearer to a conclusion; Yrujo, Pizarro's successor, was ready to divorce the Florida question from neutrality enforcement; and it was he, Dr. Griffin believes, who really made possible the final success of the negotiation. On the boundary question Yrujo left to Onís, the Spanish minister at Washington, a free hand, and it

is impossible not to admire the manner in which that official, with virtually all the cards in his opponent's hand, managed to make as good a bargain as he did, saving Texas from the Americans.

Dr. Griffin's study also sheds more light on the Spanish side of the negotiation after the signing of the treaty, on the delays of the regime of Ferdinand and his advisers, on the rather shady affair of the Spanish land grants, on the discussions in the Spanish revolutionary government of 1820 and 1821, which finally brought the whole Florida cession to consummation.

Intertwined with the Florida question is the question of American policy towards the Spanish-American colonies. Here the original contributions of the work under review are less obvious, but there is a bringing together of materials hitherto scattered and an excellent discussion of such questions as Spanish-American filibustering and of American public opinion on the colonial struggle. The final decision in favor of recognition, it is maintained, was shaped in considerable measure by the hope of commercial gain, though it is candidly admitted that the evidences of direct pressure on the administration are not numerous. On this point, in the judgment of the reviewer, who claims no finality for the view expressed in his own work on the Monroe Doctrine, the author fails to establish his contention wholly satisfactorily.

Dr. Griffin writes lucidly and interestingly; his book is well organized, its manner is detached and cool, his opinions, when expressed, are judicious and convincing. He has made a contribution of real importance to American diplomatic history.

The University of Rochester.

DEXTER PERKINS.

South American Dictators during the First Century of Independence.

Edited by A. CURTIS WILGUS. [Studies in Hispanic American Affairs.] (Washington: George Washington University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 502. \$3.00.)

THIS volume, the last of the series issued under the direction of Dr. Wilgus, comprises the lectures given before the Fifth Seminar Conference on Hispanic American Affairs at the George Washington University. It consists of sketches of the lives of selected South American leaders which, in effect, present the history of certain periods in the national life of the republics they dominated. In some of these countries the rule of dictators has been fairly continuous, while in others the domination of strong men has been for briefer periods. There is, consequently, an unevenness in the treatment accorded to the various nations. Further, the fact that a number of lecturers participated in the course contributes to a lack of uniformity in the presentation and character of the material. This account of a part of South American history as revealed in the lives and activities of those men who so largely molded it makes most interesting reading. The work

portrays the mentality and character of these leaders, whether they were dictators in the fullest sense or merely *caudillos* who, for a greater or lesser time, controlled the situation in their countries.

The introduction consists of a general statement regarding dictators by Dr. Wilgus and a consideration of monarchies and republics as forms of government in South America and a study entitled "The Anguish of Bolívar" by Dr. J. Fred Rippy. The body of the volume comprises three groups of studies; the first, regarding Argentina, Uruguay, Paraguay, and Chile, is written by Dr. Lewis W. Bealer. Except for Solano Lopez of Paraguay and Balmaceda of Chile, all the characters included in this section pertain to the period before 1860. Among these, Francia, Rosas, Carlos Antonio Lopez, and Francisco Solano Lopez rate as outstanding dictators. The author, however, classes all those included in his lectures as "great dictators" and repeats it over and over. The second group, relating to Peru, Bolivia, and Ecuador, is written by Dr. N. Andrew N. Cleven. He describes the work of San Martín and Bolívar in Peru and includes a number of other personages, especially Flores of Ecuador, all of whom belong to the first half century of independence. In the third section Dr. Rippy discusses the dictators of Colombia and Venezuela. These chapters are a summary of the history of the countries based on the activity of the outstanding characters in each. It is only in the case of Venezuela that dictators of the twentieth century, Cipriano Castro and Juan Vicente Gomez, are included. The final chapter, by Dr. Alan K. Manchester, is entitled "Constitutional Dictatorship in Brazil" and indicates the difficulty that was experienced in including nineteenth century Brazil in a study of dictators. There is a supplementary lecture on "Juan Manuel de Rosas and the Church" by Dr. Almon R. Wright.

The best chapters are those by Dr. Rippy, Dr. Wright, and Dr. Manchester. Those by Dr. Bealer and Dr. Cleven evince a certain lack of finish. There is much repetition of the same phraseology, and too frequently a name appears twice in one sentence or is repeated many times in a short paragraph (*e.g.*, p. 350). Many individuals are introduced by their surname only, and the index gives no additional aid in many cases. For example, thirty characters are mentioned on page 300 without given names, of which only four are found in the index. The inclusion of many expressions and lengthy quotations in Spanish by Dr. Cleven does not make the work attractive for the general reader.

The idea of presenting such a collection of biographical sketches is an excellent one, and in spite of the criticism that may be made of the volume, it still serves as a valuable introduction to the activities of an outstanding group of South Americans associated for the most part with the first half century of independence.

The National Archives.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

Henry Wheaton, 1785-1848. By ELIZABETH FEASTER BAKER. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. x, 425. \$4.00.)

THE diligent and painstaking author of the volume under review remarks somewhat apologetically in her foreword that "this essay", as she modestly calls it, is to be considered "not as a biography in the modern psychological sense but as an effort to portray the man in his career". As a result, instead of a "featured" and titillating caricature designed for morbid emotionalists who crave entertainment rather than knowledge, we have a faithful portrayal of Wheaton as a man and a comprehensive presentation of his exceptionally varied and exceptionally distinguished accomplishments. For not only was he a student, practitioner, and judicial administrator of the law and an active participant in party contests and public affairs, but he was also a man of letters, a recondite historian, a constructive diplomatist, and withal the author of one of the most famous treatises on international law ever written.

Born in Providence, Rhode Island, in 1785, Wheaton was graduated from the College of Rhode Island, later Brown University, in 1802; and, having subsequently spent three years in a lawyer's office, he was in 1805, at the age of nineteen, admitted to the Rhode Island bar. This was followed by a period of travel, observation, and study in Europe. In France he attended the meetings of learned societies, met public men, and translated the Code Napoléon into English. In England he familiarized himself with governmental methods and gave special attention to the proceedings of the courts. On his return to the United States he entered upon the practice of the law, but he also took an active part in politics, becoming a member of the Tammany Society or Columbian Order and aligning himself with the followers of Jefferson. In 1812 he removed to New York, where, pending his fulfillment of the local residential requirements for admission to the bar, he edited the *National Advocate*, a Tammany organ. He warmly supported the war of 1812 and condemned the Hartford Convention. In 1815 he published *A Digest of the Law of Maritime Captures and Prizes*, and in the same year became the chief justice of the Marine Court of New York. In 1814 he made his first appearance before the Supreme Court of the United States, and in 1816 he succeeded William Cranch as its reporter. In this capacity he added valuable notes to the court's decisions, together with commentaries on legal questions, particularly in the domain of maritime law. In 1821 he published a digest of the court's decisions. In 1824 he figured among the candidates to succeed Brockholst Livingston as a justice of the court, but the appointment fell to Smith Thompson, of whom it may be said that his general reputation has not been commensurate with his abilities and his judicial deliverances. Meanwhile, Wheaton had served as a member of the convention to revise the New York constitution of 1777 and as a member of the assembly in the legislature that met in January,

1824. Without specific show of restless energy, it may truly be said that for extent and variety, combined with solidity and finish, his work was prodigious.

Wheaton's diplomatic career began with his appointment in 1827 as chargé d'affaires to Denmark. Traveling by way of England, where he renewed old acquaintances, he arrived at Copenhagen on September 19; and by the following June he had sufficiently mastered the national language to review certain works of the Danish philologist Rask, the real discoverer, as I was taught in my university days, of Grimm's law of the transmutation of consonants. By this inevitable indulgence of his natural bent, Wheaton no doubt contributed to the conclusion of the notable convention of March 28, 1830, by which, in consideration of the payment by Denmark of a lump sum, all claims of the one government against the other on account of maritime captures were internationally settled and ended. The precedent thus set led to other and similar international transactions. The record of achievement at Copenhagen was later amplified, diversified, and raised to a yet higher level at Berlin. Wheaton became a European figure. Not only did learned societies confer upon him their choicest distinctions, but wherever he went he was welcome and at home in the highest circles, diplomatic, political, scientific, and social.

By contrast with such exceptional renown, the litigation in which Wheaton and his works became involved wears a tragic aspect. His suit against Peters for the infringement of a copyright which he claimed in his Supreme Court reports, while ending in defeat, also seriously depleted his private means. Hardly less unfortunate were the results of the suit which, after he had passed away, William Beach Lawrence prosecuted against Richard Henry Dana on account of the latter's alleged infringement of the former's copyright on his edition of Wheaton's *Elements of International Law*. From the late J. Hubley Ashton, the last of the old and famous Supreme Court bar, who knew both Lawrence and Dana well, I received the impression that this litigation might have been avoided had Dana patiently heard and duly weighed the representations which Lawrence, in personal conference with Dana at the latter's office, sought to make to him. There were aspects of the subject which, though not obvious to the naked eye, sufficed for a contentious lawsuit.

On the make-up of the present volume I cannot forbear to comment. Towards the end, following a detail of Wheaton's writings and the text of a treaty, there are forty-three pages, in fine print, of so-called "Notes", which would, in former times, have been duly attached as footnotes to the text, thus enabling the reader immediately to pursue the reference should he wish to do so. Still worse, they are independently numbered in chapter-groups, with no indication in the text of the page at which the group may be found, thus remorselessly wasting the time of the reader who may be

serious enough to wish to consult them. Following this there is a "Bibliography", listing many indefinite items that, if not properly omitted, might have been compressed into a smaller space. Under "Memoirs, Etc." (p. 387) I find that my collection of Buchanan's works, in twelve volumes, was made by "James" Bassett Moore, a double whom I have never met. On the other hand, in connection with the services rendered by Baron Roenne as umpire of a celebrated claims commission between the United States and Mexico, I find no citation of my *History and Digest of International Arbitrations*. The author states (p. 218) that the United States requested, through Wheaton, copies of Roenne's "decisions". This is an error. The request was for copies of the confidential reports in which Roenne advised his government of the grounds of his decisions. Roenne's decisions, which consisted of formal awards, were officially printed in the public documents of the time. The facts are fully stated in the second volume of the work last mentioned, with the citation of House Executive Document No. 83, 30th Congress, 1st session, as a source. I am decidedly of the opinion that where papers have been embodied in a public document, the document rather than the manuscript source should be cited, unless the print contains an error. I do not object to the citation of both. But, as it is not feasible, even in this airplane era, for students to punctuate their reading with excursions to the national repository of manuscripts, perchance only to be denied access in the particular instance, the omission of the printed source is not defensible.

New York City.

JOHN BASSETT MOORE.

Marcus Whitman, M. D., Pioneer and Martyr. By CLIFFORD MERRILL DRURY. (Caldwell: Caxton Printers. 1937. Pp. 473. \$5.00.)

THIS book traces the careers of Marcus and Narcissa Prentiss Whitman to their tragic ending. It is almost as much a biography of Narcissa as of Marcus, and the title could have properly included her name. There are nineteen chapters of which the first four give an admirable and largely new account of the early years of the two principals. Two others carry on the story to the beginning of the trip to Oregon in 1836. The remainder, about two thirds of the text, covers the eleven years of missionary effort, the gruesome events of November 29, 1847, and an epilogue.

Six appendixes follow. Of these the most important is the last, a letter written by the Reverend H. K. W. Perkins, of the Oregon Methodist mission, on October 19, 1849, to Jane Prentiss, sister of Narcissa, commenting on the causes of the Whitman massacre. A short bibliography and a short index conclude the work.

Mr. Drury discloses a thorough grasp of the external facts relating strictly to the mission history. Appendix I, which is an elaborate index to the letters of the two Whitmans, is evidence of this. There are few byways

of that history which he has failed to explore. On the other hand, his grasp of the background Oregon history, the Oregon question, and contemporary events in the Willamette valley is less secure. The reference to "Rev. George Abernathy" can hardly have been a slip of the pen, and the repeated misspelling of his surname is one of a number of small errors which ought to have been caught in proofreading. On the whole, despite such obvious faults, the facts of the history with which the author is chiefly concerned are presented with exceptional completeness. On that score the book should be heartily welcomed by students of the Oregon mission story.

It is when one probes beneath the surface that doubts arise, for the book represents a peculiar duality in aim. There are many indications that the author accepts the Perkins theory to explain why the Whitmans failed in their work as missionaries. Yet the author's final word about Dr. Whitman is startlingly out of harmony with such a conclusion. He writes: "Perhaps in the new light of his accomplishments, Marcus Whitman may yet be deemed worthy of being included in the New York University Hall of Fame."

Now, the Perkins letter (closely following the above), whose views the author had endorsed in advance (see p. 421), agrees rather with the judgment of William I. Marshall, who pronounced Whitman a "third rate man". Mr. Drury very properly refuses to believe that Whitman had any influence in "saving Oregon". If now, with Perkins, he also withholds from him credit for genuine competency as a missionary, it is hard to see on what ground he could be ranked among America's great men.

Perkins declared of the Whitmans: "They were not adapted to their work. They could not possibly interest and gain the affection of the natives. . . . Had Doctor Whitman given himself up wholly to the interests of the natives [even] with his natural unfitness for the place he occupied, he no doubt would have been *safe*, safe as anywhere in Christendom." There is much more in the letter which stamps it as an out-and-out indictment of the Whitmans in their character as missionaries to the Oregon Indians.

One reads between the lines of the present work, and also of the author's previous work on Henry Harmon Spalding, that his convictions harmonize with the Perkins views. Not that he openly avows them. On the contrary, he strives to keep himself spiritually *en rapport* with the large body of thought and sentiment idealizing Dr. and Mrs. Whitman. Nevertheless, he wants his book to be regarded as the last word in critical historiography, which requires, as he believes, the revaluation downward of Whitman's missionary character and work. He cannot have it both ways: if Whitman was what he, agreeing with Perkins, thinks he was, then certainly he is not a proper subject for inclusion in the Hall of Fame.

On the question of whether the author's (and Perkins's) estimate of Whitman as a missionary is correct, this reviewer does not care to express

an opinion. It might be suggested, however, that a broad line of distinction should be drawn between the Whitmans' earlier years in Oregon, which were a period of hope and faith, and the latter years, a time of waning influence, multiplied discouragements, despair. Perhaps a case could be made for the Whitmans as being admirable missionaries in a period of hopefulness but poorly qualified to carry on under the fear or the consciousness of impending catastrophe.

State Historical Society of Wisconsin.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Horatio Seymour of New York. By STEWART MITCHELL. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xx, 623. \$5.00.)

THE long-standing need for a satisfactory biography of Horatio Seymour makes Mr. Mitchell's volume welcome, the more so since it is comprehensive, scholarly, and at the same time interesting. The book is necessarily a political biography, for the principal activities of Seymour's life, aside from the management of family estates and his enduring interest in canal developments, were largely of a political character. Through the intercession of Martin Van Buren, a friend of his father, Seymour began his public career in 1833 as military secretary to Governor W. L. Marcy and remained his close associate in political affairs until Marcy's death twenty-four years later. The author makes clear the importance of this connection in shaping Seymour's course as a politician and painstakingly leads us through his participation in the factional broils of New York Democracy in the 1840's and 1850's.

Approximately half of the book treats of Seymour's views and activities in the years from the campaign of 1860 to the close of that of 1868, when Seymour himself was the genuinely unwilling nominee of the Democratic party. Seymour is represented in these pages as a calm, reasonable conservative, consistently adhering to Jeffersonian conceptions and exercising a moderating influence in the national counsels of his party on the eve of the Civil War and in the critical years that followed. He supported the candidacy of Douglas in 1860 as the surest hope of preserving peace, then aligned himself with the compromisers in the winter of 1860-61, and when the Crittenden proposals failed in Congress joined in the demand for a popular referendum upon them. If any doubt remains as to Seymour's public or private loyalty, Mr. Mitchell's analysis of the record should serve to dissipate it finally. It shows that while Seymour may have believed secession to be "a right" founded upon abstract principles, he pronounced it revolution (pp. 224-27) and when war came unhesitatingly took his stand on the Union side. Through the governor's words and acts as here set forth we are enabled to see that although he questioned the "effectiveness of coercion", he accepted conquest as "the alternative to compromise" (p. 298) and in his first annual message as war governor (1863) pledged

himself to a prompt response to "all constitutional demands" of the national government (p. 268). His quarrels with the Washington authorities resulted from differences as to what demands were constitutional. Like many others then and since, he could find no constitutional warrant for the Emancipation Proclamation, conscription, or the suppression of civil rights in wartime and bluntly said so, thereby enabling his political opponents to call his loyalty in question. Seymour's side of the case in these matters is cogently presented; Mr. Mitchell demonstrates that the governor was motivated by sincere convictions rather than by petty partisanship, but he observes that "Seymour led men who lacked a sense of reality" (p. 295) and adds that "if Lincoln had kept a strict eye on the Constitution, the North could not have conquered the South" (*ibid.*). He exonerates the governor of the old charge of sympathy with the draft rioters in New York City in 1863 and makes clear the absurdity of the Copperhead label fastened upon him. Mr. Mitchell shows that Seymour's unwavering insistence from the outset upon the restoration of the Union as an indispensable basis for peace made him about as unpopular with that element as his conservatism on war and reconstruction issues did with the radical Republicans.

Although the author has covered admirably the whole of Seymour's career in state and national politics, he has been less successful in portraying the man himself. There has been no lack of effort; time and again he has turned aside from the main narrative to set the man in some familiar environment, but except near the end, when Seymour was in retirement on his farm, he remains a somewhat shadowy figure. The difficulty probably rests with Seymour: he was too moderate; he had none of the colorful qualities of the great politicians of his time and little of their soaring ambition for place and popular acclaim.

Dartmouth College.

A. HOWARD MENEELY.

Dorothea Dix, Forgotten Samaritan. By HELEN E. MARSHALL. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 298. \$3.50.)

THE first complete biography of Dorothea Dix, appearing three years after her death in 1887, was a fairly well-documented and appreciative "life". To this earlier study of Francis Tiffany, Dr. Marshall has now added a richer, more critical, and more sensitively written biography. Miss Marshall adds a good deal to our knowledge of the early schoolteaching years of Dorothea Dix and of her books for children. But her most important contribution, perhaps, lies in her understanding explanation of Dorothea Dix's reasons for her remarkable humanitarian activities. Miss Dix's decision to devote her life to helping those whom society neglected was a logical outcome of her own grim girlhood, her experiences with her prosperous and somewhat social-minded grandparents, her disappointment in love, and her conversion to William Ellery Channing's gospel that no mat-

ter how degraded a human being might be, he was still capable of endless spiritual development. Miss Marshall's treatment of the relationships between these psychological factors and Miss Dix's humanitarian career leaves little to be desired. She might, however, have related more specifically Miss Dix's crusade for the humane institutional treatment of the mentally ill to other efforts to relieve human suffering and to the larger social phases and underlying causes of humanitarianism.

After a painstaking investigation of the treatment of the indigent insane in Massachusetts Miss Dix in 1843 introduced her memorial to the legislature of that state. It became a classic and was followed by an epoch-making series of case studies and state surveys which betrayed similarly appalling conditions throughout the nation. Largely as a result of Miss Dix's indefatigable activity, in which she did not spare her delicate physique, thirty hospitals for the treatment of mental diseases were established in the United States. Like other humanitarian reformers Dorothea Dix operated in Europe as well as in her native land.

Miss Dix, after traveling more than 60,000 miles under great inconveniences, in 1848 inaugurated her lobby in Washington to induce the federal government to set aside 12,225,000 acres of public land, the income of which was to be used as a source of permanent endowments for the state institutional care of the insane, the blind, and the deaf and dumb. While Dr. Marshall describes what these trying years meant to Dorothea Dix, she does not always indicate the relations between the land bills she proposed and general land policies. Nor does she discuss them in the light of the political, sectional, and class tensions of the time.

Although Dorothea Dix encountered much criticism as superintendent of nurses during the Civil War, Miss Marshall's excellent account of this chapter in her life makes it clear that, in view of the complex character of the tasks confronting her, her work was more important than her critics and she herself thought. Without idealizing her subject, without claiming too much in the matter of achievement, Dr. Marshall has given us a biography notable both for its literary merit and its scholarship, a biography, in short, which will take its place as one of the important studies of American social reformers.

Columbia University.

MERLE CURTI.

Lincoln's Rise to Power. By WILLIAM BARINGER. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 373. \$4.00.)

IN choosing a title for his detailed chronicling of Lincoln's career from the nomination for the senatorship in June, 1858, to the election to the presidency in November, 1860, Mr. Baringer has emphasized his thesis that in this brief period Lincoln rose from insignificance to greatness. He credits Lincoln's rise in part to the superb generalship of Lincoln's managers

and Lincoln's own political acumen, in part to chance and political exigencies beyond anyone's control, and in part to hitherto unsuspected qualities of greatness in Lincoln himself. Mr. Baringer describes with thoroughness the building up of Lincoln's prestige through newspaper support. Yet, as a "realist", he relegates the newspaper support to relative unimportance because it is not editorials but delegates' votes that win nominations. The divine intervention theory of Bancroft he casts aside. He shows convincingly that Lincoln owed his nomination to the skillful machinations of Norman B. Judd, Illinois's national committeeman, Judge David Davis, Lincoln leader in the national convention, Richard Oglesby, candidate for governor, Orville H. Browning, Jesse Fell, Gustavus Koerner, and others. Lincoln's own handling of the politics of his campaign outranked that of his able managers.

A series of stratagems contributed to ultimate success. Lincoln headquarters issued counterfeit tickets to organized rooters, who were packed into the places normally held by Seward shouters while the Seward cheerers paraded on the crucial morning. Gubernatorial candidates from doubtful states whispered it about that they would withdraw if Seward was nominated. The ideas that Seward could not carry the doubtful states and that Lincoln was the most "available" of the anti-Seward candidates were skillfully propagated. Finally, a series of deals was made whereby key delegations were won on promise of plums for their office-hungry leaders. Mr. Baringer thinks Lincoln's order to make no commitments was merely the cleverest stratagem of all. He points out that Lincoln must have known his managers would ignore it, as they did, that it publicly cleared Lincoln's skirts of responsibility for bargains without which he could not have been nominated, and that he did keep the promises made. Indeed, Mr. Baringer pronounces David Davis thoroughly unscrupulous and points out that Lincoln knew him too well not to know this. But he excuses the political tricks on the ground that without them good men cannot get into office.

Clever campaigning would have availed little, however, had a series of fortunate circumstances not aided. Indeed, Mr. Baringer calls Douglas Lincoln's Warwick. The 1858 debates gave Lincoln his national audience. Desire to visit his son in New England led to a fortunate Eastern speaking tour. Seward, though the great party leader, might lose votes. "Availability" was more important in the four great doubtful states than capability in office after election. An Easterner could not carry the West. Cameron was a mere boss who could win no votes outside Pennsylvania. Chase was too radical; McLean, too old. Bates was really a Democrat and lived in a state Republicans could not carry. Read of Pennsylvania and Seward were unpopular with the Know-Nothings; Bates, with foreigners because of Know-Nothingism. Lincoln's views were too little known to cause trouble. Douglas's candidacy suggested Lincoln to oppose him.

Seward could not live down his early radicalism; Bates, his conservatism. Lincoln sat happily in the middle of the road. Baringer is, however, no debunker. The Lincoln he pictures is a master of style and argument and a philosopher of parts, well read, honest, courageous, statesmanlike. Out of obscurity a real leader emerges. Without the quality that the crisis brought out in Lincoln, happy circumstance and clever politics could not have raised him to power.

Mr. Baringer has used the available manuscript collections of several of Lincoln's contemporaries. The Lincoln collection is, of course, closed to everyone. He used exhaustively the files of the *Illinois State Journal* and the *Chicago Press and Tribune*, though strangely in an otherwise full bibliography there is no information about the newspapers used. For the most part he has merely employed more exhaustively than his predecessors already printed materials. There is no startlingly new material. His contribution lies in the exhaustiveness of his treatment of this brief but important period and the new interpretations he presents. He is more realistic and less fearful in facing facts hitherto avoided than have been other writers save Sandburg and Beveridge. It is to be hoped that someone will now carry Lincoln through the presidency in this spirit. In spite of the excellence of this study, Mr. Baringer cannot hope to satisfy in this larger task unless he can conquer defects of a style that affects the lack of dignity of a journalist without attaining a good journalist's verve and brilliance. Sometimes the writing is bad, sometimes merely dull. It never attains the simple impressiveness of the Lincoln whom it describes.

The University of North Carolina.

HOWARD K. BEALE.

Jefferson Davis, the Unreal and the Real. By ROBERT McELROY, Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in Oxford University, Fellow of the Queen's College, Sometime Edwards Professor in Princeton University. Two volumes. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937. Pp. xiii, 368; 369-783. \$8.00.)

PROFESSOR McElroy has given us a more liberal view of Jefferson Davis than any other writer has done. Mrs. Davis was naturally partisan, like most others who wrote about Civil War leaders before 1914. Since then a realistic presentation of the problems involved has been more frequent and sectionalism not quite so striking.

The treatment of Jefferson Davis before he became a member of Congress is quite revealing as to his character and patriotism. He is shown to have been a more gentle and forgiving man than one has been disposed to think. The author has not worked out carefully the attitude of Davis to the Robert J. Walker repudiation scheme of 1840-43. He makes it clear that Davis was opposed to repudiation but does not show too much of the details of the struggle over Mississippi's disreputable conduct. Perhaps the evidence has been destroyed.

The treatment of Davis's work in the Senate, his positive but very friendly relations to opponents, and his succession to the Calhoun philosophy and leadership, after the famous struggle of 1850, modifies the traditional view of the man who was to be president of the Confederacy. Davis's opposition to secession after Lincoln's election and his efforts to avoid a war and even get the Southern states back into the Union are clearly treated. But the speeches made on his way back to Mississippi after resigning his place in the Senate, as also his letter of November 10, 1860, to the *Charleston Mercury*—proof of Davis's fear of a long war—are not noted. The chapters, "Farewell to the Senate" and "Drafted into the Presidency", give one a picture of the opportunities and blunders of that era which will help historians of the future to realize how little public men really understand the problems and dangers with which they must deal.

The critical four years in Richmond are described in most interesting chapters. The blunders of Lincoln, the military character of Joseph E. Johnston, and Robert E. Lee's leadership are carefully treated; but Lee's statement that an error of his own lost the battle of Gettysburg is not noted. However, the author makes it clear that Southern victory might have been won if Atlanta had not been captured before the election of 1864. This was the fault perhaps of Davis, who removed Joseph E. Johnston upon the urge of Georgia politicians and put a man in command who quickly risked everything in a battle against Sherman.

When Lee was about to surrender at Appomattox, the Confederate president undertook to escape and hurried off to Danville and then Charlotte, hoping to collect an army west of the Mississippi, where he might prolong the struggle till England should recognize the South—a hopeless undertaking, as Johnston, once more in command, in North Carolina, urged. He and Sherman were ready to settle things in the generous way Lincoln had proposed a few days before. But the President of the United States was assassinated, and the people of the North were ready to execute Davis if he could be caught. It was a critical moment for a leader who had been engaged for four years in a war which he had opposed. In a few days he was captured and carried to Fortress Monroe, where he was held in prison more than two years.

The author treats these events and their causes in three of his most interesting chapters: "The Scapegoat", "Second Year of Prison Life", and "Why Davis was Never Tried". It was at the end of the most terrible war the United States had ever known. Sectional hatreds, factional controversies, and arbitrary conduct marked this era, and Davis was lucky to escape execution for a crime which he had never dreamed of encouraging. He had actually imprisoned a man who had suggested Lincoln's assassination.

When the Supreme Court released Davis in 1869, he was free to go back to Mississippi, where he might try farming again. He went, however, on

a visit to Europe and upon his return became president of an insurance company operating in the South. Later his Brierfield estate was restored to him, and while there he wrote his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*, a work not unlike Nicolay and Hay's *Life of Abraham Lincoln*. He later went to Beauvoir, Mississippi, where the last years of a tragic career were spent.

The University of Chicago.

WILLIAM E. DODD.

The Civil War in the United States. By KARL MARX and FREDERICK ENGELS.

Edited by RICHARD ENMALE. (New York: International Publishers. 1937. Pp. xxv, 325. \$3.00.)

Reconstruction: The Battle for Democracy, 1865-1876. By JAMES S. ALLEN.

[A History of the American People, Richard Enmale, Editor.] (*Ibid.* Pp. 256. \$2.00.)

THAT Karl Marx and his famous associate were keen commentators upon the events and issues of the Civil War is evident from this compilation of articles written from September, 1861, to December, 1862, for the New York *Tribune* and the Vienna *Presse* and of selections from the correspondence which the two men carried on with each other throughout the war. The articles, officially credited to Marx, were prepared with the close collaboration of Engels; they represent an effort to explain, on the one hand, the Anglo-American complications of the struggle to an American audience and, on the other, the issues and developments in the contest to an Austrian public.

The seven *Tribune* items undertook to refute the pro-Confederate position of the politically dominant forces in England. Marx boldly proclaimed the natural sympathies of the English working class for "the only popular government in the world" (p. 48); he challenged the hypocrisy of the "yellow plushes" of the London press in demanding an explicit abolitionist war; and he admitted that the Trent affair was "an international blunder the vindication of which might realize the boldest hopes of the rebels" (p. 41). His *Tribune* articles close on February 1, 1862, with the declaration that "an English war for the slavocrats" was "now out of question" (p. 54). Marx had an adequate idea of the relative significance of cotton and corn in Anglo-American relations but—strangely enough—not of the importance of British investments in the United States and of the trade which, he points out, experienced little tariff obstruction before 1861.

The material in the thirty-five *Presse* articles, with much duplication, was probably more basic, explaining the issues in and behind the Civil War and the chief developments in the struggle. To Marx it was "a war of conquest for the extension and perpetuation of slavery" (pp. 73, 79), waged by a section that could claim neither an adequate geographical "nor a moral unity" (p. 72) and that was bent, under the leadership of a slaveholding oligarchy, upon "not a dissolution of the Union, but a reorganiza-

tion of it . . . on the basis of slavery" (p. 80). The personal correspondence of Marx and Engels suggests a livelier tempo of interest reflecting careful study of all the newspapers—including Southern—they could get at the London coffee houses. Engels keenly observed military movements and strategy and, gauging developments in these terms, had many periods of gloom, if not despair. Marx, however, persisted in his optimism, making allowances for how a war would be conducted by "a *bourgeois* republic" (p. 255). "In the end", he declared, "the North will make war seriously, adopt revolutionary methods"; he suggested that a single Negro regiment "would have a remarkable effect on Southern nerves" (pp. 252-53). In this and other particulars time showed him to have been a good prophet.

If the editor of the Vienna *Presse* felt it necessary in January, 1862, to ask Marx "to take into account an Austrian bourgeois public", the same sort of suggestion might more pointedly have been offered to Mr. Allen—but then the whole point to his book would have been lost. His study of Reconstruction is a frank attempt "to reevaluate the subject along Marxist-Leninist lines". In this he seems to go far beyond his master. After one gets over the strain of identifying well-known forces under the terminology of the modern Marxian, one begins to wonder just what has been contributed that the scorned "liberal" has not included in his picture. The battle for democracy for the Negro is slightly illuminated, with greater justice to a race that has too often—perhaps even here—been appraised under emotional stress. But the shifting of classes and of sectional groupings during this dynamic period is largely presented from the fruits of historical scholarship that lack the approved terminology. If there are those who will take their historical medicine only in the form of red-coated pills, one should perhaps encourage those who provide the prescription.

Western Reserve University.

ARTHUR C. COLE.

Johnson Newlon Camden: A Study in Individualism. By FESTUS P. SUMMERS. (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons. 1937. Pp. xi, 605. \$5.00.)

THE career of J. N. Camden (1828-1908) is to be understood in terms of the remarkable growth of business enterprise beginning with the Civil War. In West Virginia he had a virgin field, industrial and political, for his exploitation—a new commonwealth possessing rich and varied natural resources. Camden helped to prepare the way for and participated in the era of "big business". In oil, coal, lumber, and railroads he began projects which later entered consolidations under the aegis of others. Following the absorption of his own operations, he became the West Virginia lieutenant of Standard Oil. He was an active agent in the kind of maneuvers which afterwards provoked antitrust legislation—merging of competing companies, negotiation of rebate agreements with railroads, lobbying at Washington.

One may learn much about the period of industrial expansion by reading this record of a single resourceful participant. Most of the material has been drawn from the Camden papers in the West Virginia University Library, estimated at some hundred thousand pieces. It is not hard to understand the economically unmoral character of such a figure. It is improper to apply too rigidly to him and his colleagues the wisdom of hindsight. They were pioneers. Though with methods none too scrupulous, they did explore resources and contrive means of exploiting them. There was waste of valuable materials, some of which will never be restored. The waste in the initial phase of unco-ordinated effort these enterprisers succeeded in reducing through consolidation which many times became monopoly. Subject to limitations, they were in their way economic planners, and it is surprising in what degree pursuit of profit coincided with public advantage. These men acquired a notion of the technical advantages of co-operation. We may say that they were guilty of collusion, but it was generally collusion for sensible economic ends. The conscientious people who at present are saying that large-scale enterprise should be broken up could take economic lessons from the business buccaneers of fifty years ago.

Mr. Summers has made good use of the economic material in the collection of papers which he had at hand. He might have drawn more upon the economic history of the period and upon the careers of Camden's contemporaries in order to place his subject in perspective. The wealth of accurate detail involved an immense amount of work, but there is too little by way of estimate and comparison.

Far too many pages are devoted to politics, for Camden's inveterate activity in campaigns and his history in the United States Senate were undistinguished, unless the latter is dignified by his agency in the long-and-short-haul clause of the Interstate Commerce Act. The lengthy accounts of local elections are tiresome and lead nowhere. The literary style of the book is uneven; in some stretches it is loose and stilted, and in others compact and rapid.

The Johns Hopkins University.

BROADUS MITCHELL.

The Monroe Doctrine, 1867-1907. By DEXTER PERKINS, Watson Professor of History in the University of Rochester. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1937, the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 480. \$3.50.)

THE previous two volumes by Professor Perkins on the Monroe Doctrine, describing its diplomatic origins and its history until 1867 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXIII, 416; XXXIX, 140), made him the acknowledged authority on that subject. In those volumes he was able by laborious multiarchival research to make important contributions to history, particularly in dem-

onstrating, from their hitherto unexploited archives, that the powers of the Holy Alliance were too divided in their own interests to make any joint intervention possible in the New World to sustain Spain's sovereignty over her colonies, and that the only possible danger, from France, was stopped by Canning's ultimatum in 1823. For the period covered by the present volume the foreign archives were too restricted for historical research to make possible any notable contributions to historical knowledge. With one exception—that of the Venezuela debt crisis of 1902-1903—Professor Perkins had to content himself with interpreting well-known facts and pronouncing his opinions on them. The opinions of such a distinguished historian, weighed carefully after a judicious review of evidence (including the published and unpublished archives of the United States government), will stand, this reviewer is convinced, in nearly all of their broad generalizations—that by 1907 the Monroe Doctrine had come to mean, in addition to its pristine dicta, a veto on all transfers of territory in the New World to non-American powers; to justify American control of an Isthmian canal; to compel arbitration of a boundary dispute between a European and an American power; to condemn American diplomatic activity outside the American continents; to be regarded as “unhappily” a reservation to an international instrument (the Hague Peace Convention) for the consolidation of international peace; the basis (from 1904) for American intervention in the affairs of states of the New World; and above all, “a cherished, an indispensable political formula”.

These conclusions are not new, but they are well derived and superbly written. Except for quite a touch of sarcasm, the chapters read like lectures in the best English tradition and not like the polished mosaic of documentary research that characterized the first and to a certain extent the second volume. As has been said, this difference is inevitable from the nature of the materials available. In dealing with the Venezuela crisis of 1902 the author seems to have secured a limited use of German and British archives for a period of a few months in 1902-1903. In Berlin he picked up a few documentary crumbs not gathered even by Alfred Vagts, material which does not change the picture presented by that author's “monumental researches”, as Perkins rightly calls them. In Canterbury he was able to dip into the dispatches of the British embassy in Washington for these months and to present a valuable conclusion: that European, particularly British, diplomacy suggested the Roosevelt Corollary to the Monroe Doctrine. The student of American diplomacy may therefore conclude, at least this reviewer does, that the two most embarrassing formulas of American diplomacy, the Open Door and the Roosevelt Corollary, were prompted by shrewd British suggestions.

As is the case in any excellent book full of opinion and interpretation—there is too little of the latter in contemporary American historiography—

some points, many points, will provoke dissent. The reviewer, for example, feels some doubt about these words of Mr. Perkins: "it is a fact which can be stated with some degree of assurance that it [the German government] harbored no aggressive designs in the New World". "Attempted" would be safer than "harbored", as the material reviewed on pages 301-18 and the phraseology on page 463 suggest.

The author persists in calling the Monroe Doctrine "the great American shibboleth". Many Americans in both continents will continue to believe in the Monroe Doctrine as a fundamental concept of American foreign policy—the dogma of independence in the New World. If liberty itself is a shibboleth, the author has the right name for the Monroe Doctrine.

Yale University.

SAMUEL F. BEMIS

The Origins of the Foreign Policy of Woodrow Wilson. By HARLEY NOTTER. [The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1937. Pp. vi, 695. \$4.50.)

WOODROW Wilson believed himself so much better prepared to deal with domestic than with international issues that he remarked to a friend, while President-elect, that it would be "the irony of fate" if his administration had to deal chiefly with foreign affairs. The problems of foreign policy which soon crowded upon him were certainly as novel and as varied as those faced by any of his predecessors. Yet it is Mr. Notter's thesis that "all the essential elements of thought governing Wilson's foreign policy were determined, and in several instances specific policies were formulated, before he took the oath of office as President of the United States" (p. v). To substantiate this view he first carefully analyzes Wilson's thinking before he assumed the presidency and then proceeds to a more detailed study of the development of his foreign policy from 1913 to our entry into the World War. The result is a substantial and well-written contribution to the literature both of American diplomacy and of American political thought.

The work derives its importance not from extensive publication of new documents but, as might be expected, from a painstaking and lucid analysis of the large body of material already in print. Although Mr. Notter served for two years as assistant to Mr. Ray Stannard Baker, the President's authorized biographer, the new material drawn from the Wilson files is confined to certain early writings of minor importance. Good use, however, has been made of some interesting new documents from the House papers.

In Mr. Notter's view, three elements dominated Wilsonian policy: morality, as an absolute and immutable principle; belief in the capacity and the right of people to rule themselves; and the conception that the United States had a special mission to realize an ideal of liberty and to work for peace and the happiness of men everywhere (pp. 651-54). Wilson "entered

office with an intention to produce a radical reform of foreign policy which would give America world leadership in standards and policy, lift her diplomacy to the best levels for mankind, cause her to act for the progress of mankind, and advance American ideals rather than the contracts of a narrow circle of financiers" (p. 228). Until after the World War began, however, "he had not expressed a belief that world peace must rest upon physical force; he had seemed to rely wholly upon enlightened opinion" (p. 654). Nowhere was the effect of war experience upon his thought more striking than with regard to force. He became the first of American Presidents to demand a navy "incomparably the most adequate" in the world.

In the evolution of Wilson's thought his debt to England and to English thinkers is frequently apparent, especially to Burke and to Bagehot, to the latter of whom, Mr. Notter suggests, was due Wilson's preference for informal channels of contact in foreign policy (p. 19). He takes pains to stress the shortcomings of this informal diplomacy, especially where Colonel House is concerned, and to point out the extent to which the roving Texan was dominated by British influences and the important differences between his views and conduct and the wishes of his friend the President (pp. 467, 491-94, 574).

In his well-balanced account of American diplomacy during the war Mr. Notter justly observes that both the President and the American people had become admittedly partisan within the first six months, "while the dominant dispute in their foreign affairs was over the British trade restrictions, and *before* any major controversy developed over German naval policy" (p. 382). Nowhere are his caution and good judgment more apparent than in the discussion of the difficult question of how far economic ties were instrumental in forcing Wilson to make war. To this, he says, "no definite answer can be given" (p. 645). The financial plight of the Allies "may have exerted influence,—on the question of *when* to go to war rather than on the question of *whether* to go to war" (p. 635). Economic interest was involved in the decision for war "but was not by itself accepted by Wilson as a sufficient basis for war" (p. 646).

Williams College.

JAMES P. BAXTER, 3D.

The Origins of American Intervention in North Russia, 1918. By LEONID I. STRAKHOVSKY, Professor of European History at the University of Maryland. With a Foreword by James Brown Scott. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 140. \$2.00.)

THE history of the Allied intervention in Russia, both in its diplomatic and its military aspects, has not as yet received the attention its deserves. Compared with some other phases of the Russian Revolution, it has been treated in relatively few works of real value. In his well-written and amply documented book Professor Strakhovsky has made a welcome contribution to the literature of the subject. He has limited himself to a monographic

treatment of American intervention in North Russia in its initial stages and with regard to the Murmansk region only. But within these limits he has made full use of the available evidence, including some unpublished material such as the papers of Lieutenant Commander Vesselago and of the late Colonel Riggs.

The principal contention of Dr. Strakhovsky, that the Allied intervention in North Russia was dictated primarily by military considerations, is presented in a thoroughly convincing fashion. His study also shows that in this earlier period military considerations were of equal importance to the other side as well. And yet, would it be too much to suppose that, both in the case of the Allies and the Bolsheviks, the mutual incompatibility of the respective "political philosophies" they stood for had something to do with their inability to come to an agreement?

Dr. Strakhovsky emphasizes the fact that the Murmansk soviet invited the Allies to help them to resist the anticipated German attack, and this, no doubt, was one of the peculiarities of the local situation. But one wonders whether it should not have been stressed that the Murmansk soviet itself was of a somewhat peculiar nature. Headed as it was by a lieutenant commander of the imperial navy, a major general of the imperial army, and a revolutionary who was not a communist, to what extent was it really representative of the sentiment of the local population? At least two observers from the anti-Bolshevik side, whose memoirs could be added to Dr. Strakhovsky's bibliography (S. Dobrovolsky in *Arkhiiv Russkoi Revoliutsii*, III, and V. Marushevsky in *Beloe Delo*, I-III), are inclined to give a negative answer to this question.

In his conclusion Dr. Strakhovsky states that the American participation "had tied somewhat the unscrupulous hands of France and Great Britain" (p. 107), and yet we learn from his own study that both the French and the British exercised strong pressure upon the American government to induce it to take part in the intervention. The contradiction might be more apparent than real, but it is a point that could bear further elucidation. Moreover, even if one accepts Dr. Strakhovsky's theory of the "Franco-British plot to dismember Russia" (and in my opinion he tends to exaggerate the significance of the agreement of December 23, 1917), would it not be more logical to conclude that the "plot" was frustrated by the ultimate collapse of the intervention rather than by the American participation in it?

While expressing my doubts on these controversial points, I realize that they do not detract from the value of Dr. Strakhovsky's able study. Let us hope that he will extend his research to some other phases of the intervention policy.

Harvard University.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Fornvännen; Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien.

Under Redaktion av SIGURD CURMAN. 1937. Årgång 32. (Stockholm, Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt, 1937, pp. 380.) Most of the articles in the 1937 volume of *Fornvännen* are of concern to the archaeologist and the antiquarian, but four of them have a wider appeal. From studies of remains of Roman glassware in the Scandinavian North, Gunnar Ekblom contends that the source of most of that ware was not Italy or Gaul but the lower Rhine to the southwest and the Black Sea to the southeast. Ernfrid Jäfvrt contributes a lengthy article on shoes and shoemaking technique in medieval Sweden (very fully illustrated). In the medieval Västgöta provincial law there is a passage, "taga och vräka konung", the meaning of which has been much disputed; Gustaf Holmgren here argues that it has reference not to the legal actions abstractly considered but to the ceremonial procedures attending the hailing or dethroning of a king. Sven Tunberg cites evidence to show that the word Hälsingland, now restricted to a single Swedish province, once included the whole region on the west side of the Gulf of Bothnia; that is, it loosely designated all the new settlements beyond the country of the Svear.

O. J. FALNES.

The Origin and Nature of Constitutional Government. By HUGH McDOWALL CLOKIE. (London, Harrap, 1936, pp. 156, 5s.) Professor Clokie's little book sets out to clear the ground preparatory to a critical study of parliamentary government and of its recent rivals. He also has in preparation a history of party organization and practices in Great Britain. Here he provides a rapid summary of what seem to him the more important popular errors concerning parliamentary origins, bicameralism, the two party system, and the evolution of the cabinet, along with a recital of their correction by scholars since Stubbs (oddly enough, omitting the work of L. B. Namier). He then proceeds to an elaboration of his own definition of constitutionalism as government according to popular law and concludes with a summary of the spread of constitutional government in the world. The book would be a helpful guide for beginning students and politically inquisitive general readers.

J. B. BREBNER.

Kings' Daughters. By JANETTA C. SORLEY. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. 287, \$2.50.) The kings' daughters of Janetta C. Sorley are "seven women whose pleasure it was to endow learning by benefactions to Cambridge" from the thirteenth century through the sixteenth. Beginning with Eleanor of Castile, queen of Edward I, who made the modest gift of fifty marks to the university, the author has traced the succession of some who were spiritually, some actually, her descendants: Elizabeth de Burgh, the lady of Clare; Marie de St. Pol, countess of Pembroke; Margaret of Anjou, queen of Henry VI; Elizabeth Wydeville, queen of Edward IV; Margaret Beaufort, countess of Richmond and Derby; Frances Sidney, countess of Sussex—their gifts resulting in the establishment of the new colleges of Pembroke and Sidney Sussex and in the re-establishment of old foundations on a different basis, as happened with the colleges of Clare, Queens',

Christ's, and St. John's. The author's concern has been "to inquire not only what manner of persons these were but also what prompted them to this special form of 'personal munificence'"; and it is in this approach that her chief contribution lies. The separate accounts of the benefactors are valuable as sources of information, especially the chapters on Elizabeth de Burgh and Frances Sidney. The reviewer was sorry to find in this latter story a further perpetration of the confusion about the Haringtons of Exton and Kelston. Frances Sidney's nephew and executor for the founding of Sidney Sussex College was John Harington, of Exton, not the translator of *Orlando Furioso*, John Harington of Kelston. But that is a minor detail. The accounts on the whole are accurately and sympathetically given in a style somewhat reminiscent of the old chronicles. The lack of notes and references will be regretted by those readers who would like to follow up sources.

RUTH HUGHEY.

New England and New College, Oxford: A Link in Anglo-American Relations.

By DAVID OGG. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 24, 85 cents.) This is a succinct and charming account of the history of New College, Oxford, of William of Wykeham its founder, and of a distinguished graduate of the college, the Puritan worthy John White of Dorchester, projector of Massachusetts. In White Mr. Ogg rightly sees a seventeenth century link between two Englands, the Old and the New. It is a subject for at least faint regret that in the course of his pages Mr. Ogg did not avail himself of the opportunity to refer in passing to Mrs. Rose-Troup's comprehensive biography of White, the scholarly contribution to which we are obligated for our knowledge of the creative personality whom Mr. Ogg justly honors.

FULMER MOOD.

The University of Prague: Modern Problems of the German University in Czechoslovakia. By GRAY C. BOYCE and W. H. DAWSON. (London, Robert Hale, 1937, pp. ix, 117, 2s. 6d.) This monograph is timely in view of the world interest in the struggles in Czechoslovakia. It portrays the colorful role which the University of Prague has played in the cultural and educational development of Bohemia during the past six centuries. The problem of nationalities was an old one to Prague but became increasingly acute during the nineteenth century, culminating in the founding in 1882 of the dual Karl-Ferdinand University. The treaties following the World War disrupted the amicable relations thus established, and the authors' story of the humiliations heaped upon the German branch by the victorious Czechs throws light upon the present conflict of races in Czechoslovakia. One feels, however, that Czech abuses are overstressed while possible German offenses are dismissed rather lightly in a closing paragraph by the statement, "there was a time when . . . the Germans themselves were not slow to follow the policy of ascendancy in Bohemia". Such episodes as the exodus of the Germans en masse in 1409, after they had set fire to the theological college, should not be passed over so lightly. The book is readably written, impartial on the whole, and should be useful in the college library.

E. G. SCHWIEBERT.

Les sultans poètes, 1451-1808. By A. NAVARIAN. (Paris, Geuthner, 1936, pp. 148, 30 fr.) In the preface the author recalls Voltaire's remark that he distrusted the Turks because they had no poets, a statement which may be taken as a reflection of either the malice or ignorance of the great propagandist. M. Navarian proposes to counteract the view of Voltaire and show that many of

the sultans, from Mohammed II to the present pretender, not only patronized poets but wrote poetry themselves. Compared with Gibb's monumental work on Ottoman poetry, which he ignores, his essay is of no importance. It is really nothing more than a loose collation of anecdotal material on the various sultans, interspersed with a few samples of their own poetry and of that of their contemporaries. Countless poets are mentioned, but the uninitiated would have a hard time in deriving from the book any clear idea of the aims and methods of the Asiatic School. Endless digressions in the footnotes, on sufism, the shia, the caliphate (a tissue of misstatements), and kindred subjects, serve merely to divert and confuse the reader. The subject of the book is inspiring and important, but the treatment of it is almost worthless. W. L. LANGER.

The Treatment of Ancient Legend and History in Bodmer. By ANTHONY SCENNA. [Columbia University Germanic Studies.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 168, \$2.50.) Bodmer's treatment of ancient legend and history in his dramas has hitherto been neglected in the study of the Swiss professor's literary activity. A careful analysis of every play, its ancient sources and Bodmer's changes and departures from the originals, brings forth the cogent conclusion that Bodmer, who distinguished little between ancient history and legend, emphasized in particular those political and ethical ideas of the Greeks and Romans which coincided with his own views on democracy and eighteenth century autocracy. Types drawn from ancient history became in his hand a weapon both to champion political democracy and to assail despotism and autocracy. In connection with the source material, one political drama, *Julius Caesar*, presents some difficulties (p. 123). Even Bodmer himself left no statement concerning the sources. But since the play is full of Caesar's scornful diatribes against the republic and liberty, the reviewer ventures to suggest Lucan's *Pharsalia* as a possible source. It would be curious, indeed, if Bodmer, who was well versed in classical literature, had not been familiar with a popular poem characterized by an almost rabid republicanism and anti-Caesarian bias, a poem in which Caesar is painted as a monster and a villain. Dr. Scenna's study is well written and well documented.

JACOB HAMMER.

America in English Fiction, 1760-1800: The Influences of the American Revolution. By ROBERT BECHTOLD HEILMAN. [Louisiana State University Studies.] (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1937, pp. ix, 480, \$3.00.) In the making of this book Professor Heilman's chief problems were two: the reading and analysis of the vast body of English fiction written during the last four decades of the eighteenth century; and the segregation and criticism of basic points of view toward America. The first problem he has solved, I believe, with finality. His patience in assembling all possible evidence is worthy of praise. The classification of his data is more questionable. I think that at times he complicates some rather simple verdicts of English fiction concerning America. To cite only one example, the distinction in chapters iv and v between fiction dealing with the Revolution merely as narrative and fiction dealing with it as narrative but also including opinions seems to me an over-refinement. The reader appreciates Professor Heilman's careful separations of the various attitudes, but from such partitions of thought there often results an air of repetition and overlapping. In all fairness, I must mention this fault, but the final impression remains: a difficult task thoroughly and competently done for all time.

STANLEY T. WILLIAMS.

Travels in the Interior Inhabited Parts of North America in the Years 1791 and 1792. By P. CAMPBELL. Edited, with an Introduction by H. H. LANGTON, and with Notes by H. H. LANGTON and W. F. GANONG. [Publications of the Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1937, pp. xxi, 326, xii.) This fine new edition of a rare, expensive work contains the shrewd and interesting observations of a Scottish investigator as to lands examined for their agricultural potentialities in the course of a circuit from New Brunswick overland to Quebec, thence through Upper Canada to Niagara and the Grand River valley, across the Genesee country to Albany, down to New York and neighboring New Jersey, and back to New Brunswick by sea. Everywhere he went he found brother Scots whose hospitality he enjoyed and whose candor aided him greatly. His report throws useful light on why the Canadas were more attractive than New York to North American westward migrants at this time, on the character of American frontier agriculture, on the strenuous selective processes to which their migrations subjected the loyalists of the American Revolution, and on the Iroquois after their removal to Canada. The editorial additions are excellent.

J. B. BREBNER.

✓ *The Private Letters of Princess Lieven to Prince Metternich, 1820-1826.* Edited and with a Biographical Foreword by PETER QUENNEL, assisted in translation by DILYS POWELL. (New York, Dutton, 1938, pp. xxii, 386, \$3.75.) This volume substantially strengthens the claim that its author, Russian ambassadress in London, surpasses any unofficial female diplomatist of the modern age. It possesses interest for the student of English history and for the historian of the diplomacy of the post-Napoleonic era. Madame Lieven dutifully reported to her chief Continental lover, the self-styled coachman of Europe, what she saw, heard, and thought. English cabinet politics and trends in popular opinion are sandwiched in with bits of authoritative diplomatic information and gossip. Little new light is shed on her famous mission of 1825 to Russia, though she penetrated deeply into Alexander I's political plans, which she intended to share with Metternich but never did. References to economic affairs and plebian social life are disappointingly rare. She wrote with an eye to posterity. "My letters have been a most faithful record of everything that came to my knowledge" (p. 375). She deserves well of the historical fraternity. From these letters emerges, too, a fuller understanding of her own personality: her bluntness and arrogance, her genius for conjugal infidelity, her lively interest in music and contemporary literature. The editor has performed his exacting task admirably. In a gayly written foreword he presents a sharply etched portrait of the writer and reveals how he came into possession of the fragile notebooks containing excerpts from her correspondence with Metternich. In doing the letters into English from Madame Lieven's French he has endeavored to preserve the original style. Pithy summaries, sometimes a trifle misleading, introduce each of the four sections into which the correspondence is divided. How, apart from internal evidence, Mr. Quennell determined the authenticity of the manuscripts is not disclosed. ARTHUR J. MAY.

1848. By FÉLIX PONTEIL. (Paris, Colin, 1937, pp. 224, 15 fr.) This small volume is decidedly worthy of careful reading. Taking France as the focal point of the revolutionary preparation, Professor Ponteil attempts successfully to make a survey of the events and results of the insurrections of 1848. He lays greater emphasis on the importance of the clubs than has been done hitherto. He also contrasts the changes in ideas which distinguished the previous revolutions

from the movements of 1848. Of these, he asserts, the greatest was the addition of "l'égalité des jouissances à l'égalité des droits". Different in their aims, the various uprisings of 1848 sought for liberty and unity. Unity France already had; liberty she believed she had acquired. Germany, Italy, Austria desired both. The failure of the social revolution in France Professor Ponteil attributes to the fact that the revolutionaries were not in accord. This is true, but is it not equally true that the discordant revolutionary sects lacked really capable and experienced leadership? And in spite of failure, 1848 was not entirely without effect. The "quarante-huitard" became the man who built the basis for the future triumph of democracy. In other words, 1848 was a step and not a lost effort; it rid revolutionary theory of many of the out-worn ideas of what revolution should be; it showed revolutionists the need for practical action as well as philosophic basis. Out of it came many of the convictions which led to the success of 1870 in France and in Italy. J. M. S. ALLISON.

The Influence of Border Troubles on Relations between the United States and Mexico, 1876-1910. By ROBERT D. GREGG. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 200, \$2.00.) This is a doctor's dissertation, thorough, well-documented, and heavy, written upon a topic already familiar to three or four specialists in the field—a subject, moreover, which cannot be detached from the other issues arising in United States-Mexican relations during the period: the promotion and protection of American commerce and investments. The research project, therefore, was not a happy choice and tends to illustrate the futility of some of our academic exercises. For this, however, the author is less responsible than the professor who assigned him the task. Dr. Gregg discovered a few new sources of evidence and cast several small rays of light on the familiar theme of frontier lawlessness, weaving his story into the broader story of the relations between the two countries for the period under consideration. The beginning and end of his narrative could have been improved by an examination of two topics which he neglected: (1) the revolutionary operations of Porfirio Díaz in the United States before 1876 and (2) the activities of his bitter enemies in the United States after 1908—both topics rather closely connected with the border. The task of the reader could have been lightened by subdivisions within the long chapters, such as appear in the first chapter but were discontinued thereafter. J. FRED RIPPY.

Europas Diplomatie am Vorabend des Weltkrieges: Eine Bilanz der Wissenschaftlichen Forschung über die Vorgeschichte des Weltkrieges und die Juli-krise 1914. By ERNST ANRICH. (Berlin, Quaderverlag August Bach, 1937, pp. 85, 2 M.) Anrich is already known to students of prewar diplomacy for his substantial study of the Yugoslav problem and his monographic treatment of British policy in July, 1914. The present brochure is based in large measure on these works and is intended to be an essay in synthesis designed for teachers, journalists, and others who ought to have some knowledge of the findings of modern research. The emphasis is placed less on details or even narrative than on the larger lines of development. If anything, it is rather too metaphysical, though the basic argument, that England, which ought to have assumed the leadership in the organization of Europe for peace after the collapse of the Bismarckian system, allowed itself to become enmeshed in the dangerous policies of the Franco-Russian Alliance, is well reasoned. The discussion of the political implications of the Moltke Plan, which rests upon

some illuminating recent German studies, is also of considerable value. Altogether the author has succeeded in his purpose and has kept himself free from the distortions characteristic of many writings on the subject. W. L. LANGER.

Malaysia: A Study in Direct and Indirect Rule. By RUPERT EMERSON. [Bureau of International Research, Harvard University and Radcliffe College.] (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xii, 536, \$5.00.) Dealing with important areas to which competent scholars have given too little attention, this volume is a valuable addition to the literature of colonial administration and policy. The author's chief purpose was "to explore the history, structure, and working of the political systems established by the British in the Malay Peninsula and, in a comparative fashion, to give at least some indication of the very different systems of the Dutch in the neighboring Indies" (p. 8). He has made extensive use of printed materials, official and secondary, and a year's residence in changing Malaysia afforded opportunities for fruitful observation. Unfortunately, none of the available unpublished sources were consulted, a fact which accounts for the relative lack of originality in the earlier historical sections of the book. The footnotes give many references, but there is no bibliography. The author is most at home in describing the various political systems of British Malaya. Following an involved introduction and two brief chapters on British expansion are four excellent, substantial ones treating the Federated Malay States, the so-called independent states, the Straits Settlements, and the important developments of the past decade. Much of this treatment is historical in character; it is objective, critical, and discerning. To the Netherlands Indies only two sketchy chapters are devoted. In a stimulating final section attention is given to the broader aspects of European rule. Although the author considers that the period of Western domination has been both necessary and beneficial to the Malaysian peoples, he states that neither the British nor the Dutch have shown much regard for their welfare. Despite interesting variations in form and method, there is basically little difference between direct and indirect rule. The Dutch, however, have done more than the British to prepare the inhabitants for a measure of political independence.

G. LEIGHTON LAFUZE.

Handbook of Latin American Studies: A Guide to the Material published in 1936 on Anthropology, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language, and Literature. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1937, pp. xv, 515, \$4.00.) The 1937 edition of this handbook is a welcome addition to the general bibliography on Latin America. Covering in general the same field as the 1936 edition, it is fuller and more inclusive. Of special interest are the articles at the end of the volume. The contribution of Robert S. Chamberlain on the archives of Guatemala and that of Roscoe R. Hill on the national archives of Latin America will be especially appreciated. The article by Henry J. Bruman, "The Russian Investigations on Plant Genetics in Latin America and their Bearing on Culture History", should be noted.

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

Scandinavian Archaeology. By HAAKON SHETELIG and the late HJALMAR FALK. Translated by E. V. Gordon. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 435, \$7.00.) In the development of modern archaeology the Scandinavian North holds no mean place. Just over a century ago it was a Dane, C. J. Thomsen, who introduced a measure of orderliness into the youthful discipline with his clear-cut distinction between the stone, the bronze, and the iron ages, and with his suggested correlations between human remains and the fauna, flora, and geological strata in which they were uncovered. Our knowledge of man's prehistory, moreover, owes not a little to archaeological finds of Scandinavian provenance. For a number of decades Scandinavian scholars have been publishing many of the results of their fruitful investigations. It is a voluminous literature but in the main highly specialized and scattered. The English reader is fortunate in that there is now made available to him a reliable synthesis covering the whole field of Scandinavian archaeology prepared by one of Norway's foremost archaeologists who himself has made many contributions to the wealth of material he is summarizing. As here presented, the synthesis is of fully as much interest to the historian as to the archaeologist. For some time to come this work must remain a standard reference for English readers.

Tax Rolls from Karanis. Part I, Text. Edited by HERBERT CHAYYIM YOUTIE, with the collaboration of VERNE BRINSON SCHUMAN and ORSAMUS MERRILL PEARL. [University of Michigan Studies.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1936, pp. xvi, 437, plates iv, \$5.00.) This volume contains the texts of three tax rolls from the village of Karanis in the Fayûm, dating from successive years in the reign of Marcus Aurelius. A description and explanation of the volume is given by Youtie in *Classical Weekly* (XXX [1937], 199-201), and this will be useful before the publication of Part II, which will contain the introduction, commentary, and indexes for the texts of Part I, as well as twenty additional fragments of Greek text. The rolls give almost complete records of the daily collections of taxes assessed in money, and it will be possible to gather much important evidence for the population and total revenue of the village and particularly for the methods of assessment and collection, for there are numerous notes of the collectors in the margins and on the verso of these rolls. Youtie and Pearl's *Note on P. land. VII, 141* (*A.J.P.*, LVII [1936], 465-69) is an indication of the valuable evidence in these rolls for special problems of the difficult currency used in Roman Egypt. Therefore we await eagerly the publication of Part II of this work; meanwhile we have only praise for an almost perfect publication of a text which totals 13,371 lines, a Herculean labor of decipherment.
S. L. WALLACE.

Der Gott der Makkabäer: Untersuchungen über Sinn und Ursprung der Makkabäischen Erhebung. By ELIAS BICKERMANN. (Berlin, Schocken, 1937, pp. 182, 6 M.) In this work Dr. Bickermann carries a step further his significant researches in the history of the Seleucid Empire and the Maccabean revolt. It is based upon an independent evaluation of the sources, especially those contained in the biblical books of Maccabees, to which besides the numerous notes are devoted four lengthy appendixes of some forty pages. Special attention is paid to the complex problems of chronology—the author deviates in many important details from the hitherto accepted dates—and to the authenticity of several original documents preserved in the books of Maccabees and in Josephus. In the maze of available records Dr. Bickermann detects five distinct strains, each representing a different version of the events preceding the outbreak of the revolt, which, even in the second century B.C., were the subject of extended controversy. In a fascinating chapter (pp. 36 ff.) the author shows how these conflicting versions deeply influenced medieval and modern Christian scholars and publicists—the shades of interpretation in the subsequent Jewish tradition are not mentioned—and also served to justify both revolutionary and counterrevolutionary biases. His own interpretation is to demonstrate that the persecution originated “neither from an historic accident nor from the spirit of heathendom . . . but from a party among the Jews which desired a reform of the religion of their forefathers in deviation from the monotheistic creed” (p. 8). Two maps and five illustrations effectively supplement the discussion, but the half-page index is too brief to serve any useful purpose.

SALO W. BARON.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

The Medieval Latin and Romance Lyric to A.D. 1300. By F. BRITAIN. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xiii, 273, \$4.50.) The study of medieval poetry is essential to any full comprehension of medieval civilization. Mr. Britain's book, handsome in format and binding as such a volume should be, is a convenient collection of over one hundred selections of poetry in medieval Latin and various Romance languages. Each selection is preceded by a brief comment, and the whole collection is introduced by an essay of some sixty pages. Although references are given to many works where English translations of some of the lyrics may be found, the reviewer is, nevertheless, somewhat perplexed by the book as a whole and is at a loss when trying to determine the exact audience for which it has been written. Specialists will probably not be in entire agreement as to the selections included in the book, the sequence of the arrangement of Latin and vernacular poems, and what are of necessity the obiter dicta of the brief introduction; they must perforce resort to the standard editions rather than depend upon an anthology. The nonspecialist will find in most instances linguistic barriers that he cannot leap. His knowledge of medieval Latin may be satisfactory, but that of his medieval French is likely to be "extensive rather than exact" (to use Professor Sidney Painter's happy phrase), and his Provençal, Castilian, Galician-Portuguese, and Italian weak—at least in spots! For him the introduction will prove informing and interesting but at the same time somewhat confusing. The technical vocabulary of prosody can no longer be assumed as a common possession of educated men, and where its use is essential to the argument the meaning of the technical term should be given. In short, the introductory essay seems to give either too much or not enough.

Virgilio nel Medio Evo. By D. COMPARETTI. Edited by GIORGIO PASQUALI. Volume I. (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. xxxiv, 291, 26 l.) This is a new edition of Comparetti's book, which first appeared in 1872. Professor Pasquali, the eminent classicist of the University of Florence, justifies in his preface the republication, on the ground that the work was "the first and remained the only Italian book of Classical philology in the nineteenth century". Moreover, he tells us, notwithstanding the author's bias against the clergy and the church, which reveals itself throughout the work, and in spite of his conception of the Middle Ages, now no longer tenable in all its details, the book still retains its scholarly usefulness. Professor Pasquali discusses in detail an aspect of the work which appears to him unsound, namely, Comparetti's insistence on a popular Virgilian tradition which had developed in Naples antecedent to and independent of the writings of the more learned authors. He also adduces an important text unknown to Comparetti and to Spargo, which shows that in the fourth or fifth century Virgil was already looked upon as a prophet of Christianity by populations which were speaking not the Latin but the Greek and Coptic languages. Professor Pasquali has revised most of the notes and quotations with the aid of Comparetti's library.

DINO BIGONGIARI.

Inventaire des Sceaux Vaudois. By D. L. GALBREATH. [Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande.] (Lausanne, Payot, 1937, pp. xix, 340, plates xxiv, 30 fr.) This large quarto volume is devoted to a list of seals used in the territory of Vaud in Switzerland from the time of Otto II to about 1536. The book is about equally divided between lay and ecclesiastical seals, those described numbering about twenty-six hundred. The former include those of emperors, dukes, seignorial families, municipalities, courts, and minor officials who were entitled to use these wax symbols. Among the latter are those of popes, patriarchs, bishops, archdeacons and their officials, chapters of cathedral churches, and parishes. Seals of universities, professors, doctors, priests, and chaplains also have their place. Abbeys and priories include Benedictines, Cluniacs, Augustines, Cistercians, Premonstratensians, and Carthusians. The mendicant orders and the convents of women include Cistercians, Dominicans, and Franciscans. Hospital orders include the groups of St. Anthony and St. John and the attendants of the institutions which they served. Many of the seals described are but fragments, and the inscriptions must be completed from other specimens or by inference from the remaining pieces. The author has been studying seals for many years and has published, among other works, *Seals of the Bishops of Lausanne*, an *Armorial of Vaud*, and a handbook of heraldry. The index of this book is very carefully prepared, and a list of the ateliers where these seals were made covers the period from about 1300 to 1540. A bibliography of works on the seals of Switzerland and adjacent rulers of that period adds to the usefulness of the book. This volume is published in celebration of the hundredth anniversary of the Société d'histoire de la Suisse romande and is dedicated to the founders of the association, who renewed in that country a respect for authentic documents.

J. M. VINCENT.

The Greatest Norman Conquest. By JAMES VAN WYCK OSBORNE. (New York, Dutton, 1937, pp. xvi, 504, \$5.00.) This book is intended to give the general reader a readable and authentic account of the Norman conquest of South Italy and Sicily. It is open to doubt, however, whether so detailed a narrative, colorful and full of action as it is, will hold the interest of the general reader,

while for the student of the Middle Ages a narrative⁴ that elucidates no particular points and shows inadequate understanding of medieval conditions beyond the immediate topic will be of little value. In general Mr. Osborne follows closely and correctly the narrative sources, especially Malaterra (misspelled throughout), William of Apulia, and Amatus, checking them but little by the work of modern scholars other than the obvious Chalandon. At times, however, without warning he leaves the guidance of medieval writers and of scholars to depict imaginary scenes. Historical students will regret having fuel added to prejudices new and old. "Nordic courage and the Nordic sense of directness and honesty towards life" are set off by the outworn contempt with which Greeks and Saracens are treated. Yet Mr. Osborne grossly exaggerates the part played by the Sicilian principality in the development of both medieval and renaissance culture. The wantonly contemptuous tone, sometimes more than verging on the burlesque, used of the clergy, especially of the regular clergy, is offensive. It is regrettable that Mr. Osborne should not have corrected and polished his writing with more care. References are given or withheld with no apparent discrimination, given sometimes in full, often inadequately or erroneously. Mistranslations, especially from the French of Aimé, are frequent. Doubtless because of haste, misspelled and misused words are numerous. The writing of a successful historical book for the general reader is not an easy task. To be of value it is not enough that it should be based on contemporary sources; it should interpret the particular subject with understanding of the wider field.

J. M. TATLOCK.

Zolotaya orda [Golden Horde]. Edited by V. BYSTRYANSKI. (Leningrad, Gos. sozial'no-ekon. izd., 1937, pp. 204, 2.40 r.) This volume contains two studies, one on the Golden Horde by A. Yakubovski and the other on the Golden Horde and Russia by B. Grekov. Together they constitute a brief political and social history of the Tartar state in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, intended for students and the general public. There are sixteen plates showing remains of the material culture of the Tartars.

A. YARMOLINSKY.

John of Gaunt's Register, 1379-1383. Edited by the late ELEANOR C. LODGE and ROBERT SOMERVILLE. Two volumes. [Camden Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1937, pp. 1-234; vi, 235-489.) This is a companion to *John of Gaunt's Register*, published in the same series in 1911 under the editorship of Sir Sydney Armitage-Smith. The original of the present register is preserved among the Duchy of Lancaster records at the Public Record Office. The work of editing it had been nearly completed by Dr. Eleanor Lodge at the time of her death in 1936, and for what remained to be done, including the preparation of an index, Mr. Somerville made himself responsible. Owing to the length of the manuscript, entries which are in a standard form, such as indentures of service, are calendared. The register is of especial importance for the light it throws on the Duchy of Lancaster, the organization and management of its estates, the officials connected with it, and the duke's household and governmental system, revenues, and administration of justice.

Chartes confisquées aux bonnes villes du pays de Liège et du comté de Loos après la bataille d'Othée, 1408. By ÉM. FAIRON. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1937, pp. xliv, 504, 60 fr.) It has been the particular good fortune of M. Fairon to rediscover in the Lille archives a complete set of copies of municipal documents relating to Liège and the surrounding district which there was every reason to believe were lost forever

after their confiscation in 1408. The find in itself is important enough. Its significance for general municipal history is to help to establish a saner and more correct view of the slow democratization of Liège. We note furthermore the unusual variety of materials for the study of the gilds. The constitutional historian will welcome the reconstruction of the charter of liberties granted to Huy in 1066 by Bishop Theodwin of Liège. As similar documents are rare all through northwestern Europe during the eleventh century, it has a fair claim to careful attention. It shows the basic reciprocity of all these constitutive grants: they were more or less contracts between a lord and his burgesses, not one-sided acts of the lord. This charter has indeed preserved the kernel of "customs" intact. It sets out to describe a body of self-appointed municipal rules of immemorial age, probably referring partly to the earliest stages of independence, when the burghers drew up clauses in self-defense against outside lords and competing strangers. That required the confirmation of the bishop, and a few allusions in these "customs" show the necessity of securing the co-operation of the bishop as lord and protector. That he valued a faithful town is proved by the concession of the first clause belonging to 1066, that the burgesses are in charge of the castle of Huy during a vacancy of the see of Liège.

MARTIN WEINBAUM.

- The Sagas of the Kings (Konunga Sögur) and the Mythical-Heroic Sagas (Fornaldar Sögur): Two Bibliographical Supplements.* By HALLDÓR HERMANNSON. [Islandica.] (Ithaca, Cornell University Press, 1937, pp. vii, 84, \$1.00.) Too frequently Icelandic studies are thought of as complements to Old Norse or to Anglo-Saxon. But this latest bibliography of Professor Hermannsson, like a number of his earlier studies, should be fully as much the concern of the historian as of the philologist, for the author has included the titles of many articles and studies which bear not so much upon the sagas as upon the life and societies for which the sagas are among our sources. It supplements earlier issues of *Islandica* (Volumes II and V) and is a companion to Volume XXIV. The four volumes taken together provide the basis for a somewhat detailed index of authors, reviewers, etc., which is a very commendable feature of the present volume.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

The Place of Sir Thomas More in English Literature and History: Being a Revision of a Lecture delivered to the Thomas More Society. By R. W. CHAMBERS. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. vii, 125, \$2.00.) Saint Sir Thomas has been lucky in his biographers. The sketch of him by Erasmus

is as perfect a pen portrait as exists in literature. The life by Roper is the first great English biography. And the most recent biography, by Professor Chambers, ranks high in scholarly achievement and in literary charm. In one respect only does Mr. Chambers seriously warp the truth of history. Having fallen in love with his subject, he tries to endow him with all the virtues, including that of tolerance. In the lecture now under review he defends his previous position against the many criticisms of it and tries to turn the tables on the historians, beginning with Foxe and Burnet and going down through Froude, Creighton, and Acton until he comes to his own contemporaries. With all possible submission, the historians can only reply that in this particular Professor Chambers is wrong. More, though a great genius and a good man, was really deeply tainted, in his later years, with the vice of a persecuting and intolerant age.

PRESERVED SMITH.

▷ *Catherine of Braganza*. By JANET MACKAY. (London, John Long, 1937, pp. 319, 16s.) This is not an important historical work. It is typical of the more evanescent court narrative in purple jacket and gay heraldry which publishers can sell in reasonable quantity to the reading public of today. The period of the English Restoration with its Jacobite residue has furnished subjects for scores of such biographies during the last twenty years, and it is now well combed, as is indicated by the fact that two works have recently appeared on Catherine of Braganza, a dull, homely, uninteresting, and unimportant queen. Miss Mackay is a Canadian barrister whose previous literary accomplishment was *Interlude in Ecuador*. She writes with ease and grace and has read a few standard works, mostly old ones. None of the many recent scholarly treatments of the period is cited in footnotes or bibliography, both of which are too general or indefinite or misspelled to be of use or to command confidence. There is frequent reference to sources obviously used at second hand. Much is drawn from the undependable *Historia Genealogica, Casa Real Portuguesa*. Sir Frederick Pollock would not be flattered by confusion with John Pollock, whose *Popish Plot* is scarcely worthy of the great legal authority. Miss Mackay is adept in the realm of unspoken thoughts, where most of us have difficulty. There are occasional relieving bits of social scenery. Catherine's long widowhood in England, where she was too foreign, and in Portugal, where she was too English, is of some interest, and few perhaps know that she served as regent of her warring state in 1704, on the last day of which she died.

CLYDE GROSE.

✓ *Science and Social Welfare in the Age of Newton*. By G. N. CLARK. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 159, \$2.50.) In this suggestive little book Professor Clark extends the Age of Newton from the reign of Charles II to that of Queen Anne. The first four of the five chapters, delivered originally as lectures in the University of London, deal successively with science and technology, the economic incentives to invention, social and economic aspects of science, and social control of technological improvement. The third and fourth lectures have appeared as articles in the *Economic Journal* and the *Economic History Review*, respectively. The author treats of the interaction of the economic or other social forces and scientific curiosity in promoting invention and with the problem of technological unemployment that usually followed the introduction of new machines. In the third chapter he is critical of Hessen's view that Newton's scientific work was inspired chiefly by economic utility and suggests that other conditioning factors influential at the

time were the fine arts, medicine, and theology. He feels indeed that the "disinterested desire to know" may even have been "an independent and unique motive". In the fifth chapter, on social science, Professor Clark traces briefly the history of the early efforts to apply quantitative methods in a study of social and political facts. A brief appendix, reprinted from the *English Historical Review*, is devoted to William Fleetwood's *Chronicon Preciosum*.

W. T. LAPRADE.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series, of the Reign of William III, 1 April, 1700-8 March, 1702. Edited by EDWARD BATESON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937, pp. iv, 859, \$11.75.) The present volume completes the calendar of the state papers of this series for the reign of William III. In contents it is not remarkable, being mainly composed of warrants, dockets, bills, and commissions derived from entry books or their equivalent. The documents calendared have yielded only a slender store of information, possibly because William was absent from England for a considerable portion of the time. Those pertaining to the office of Mr. Secretary Vernon are the most notable. They include incoming missives from the elder Methuen relating to a variety of Irish matters and frequent communications with the admiralty. The latter assume added interest as the outbreak of war becomes imminent and display a special concern for French naval preparations and for measures to meet them. Instructions to Rooke and Benbow and Marlborough's commission of June 1, 1701, appear, as do scattered items regarding routine matters in Scotland and the difficulties occasioned by pirates off the Virginia coast and in the East Indies. The financial troubles of the admiralty and of other officials are frequently in evidence, but there is hardly any trace of diplomatic or parliamentary activities. An appendix contains documents whose conjectured dates cover the decade 1689-99. The editing is of a high order.

R. H. GEORGE.

A Bibliography of British History, 1700-1715, with Special Reference to the Reign of Queen Anne. Volume II, 1708-1715. By WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN, assisted by CHLOE SENER MORGAN. (Bloomington, Indiana University, 1937, pp. vi, 684, \$6.00.) For the eight years covered by this volume Professor Morgan has listed some 5700 items, nearly all of them bearing on the transcendent, inseparable political, religious, and economic issues of the time. Appeals to a literate public opinion poured from the press as never before in English history—appeals on every intellectual level, in every temper, and in a striking variety of forms. The greatest publicists who have ever used the English tongue carried on a ceaseless warfare of pens. The average of Defoe's contributions for this period is about twenty publications a year; of Swift's, about ten. Even in our own age of propaganda it is impressive to learn that the sale of Defoe's *True-Born Englishman* reached 100,000 copies and that more than 10,000 copies of Swift's *Conduct of the Allies* were sold in a month. This was the ineluctable result of the events of 1688, which made prerogative and government answerable to the nation at large. The sound bibliographical standards set by Professor Morgan in the first volume of this work are here maintained. There are imperfect citations, as he freely admits. Collation of versions of the same tract has been in some cases impossible. The smoke screen of anonymity which sheltered pamphleteers in their dangerous calling is often impenetrable. Pirating printers have made thorny and sometimes hopeless the identification of editions. There will be readers to complain of the inclusion

of this, or the exclusion of that, and some who will dissent here or there from interpretations of events found in the several prefaces. But all students of the period will recognize the gallantry of the undertaking and the value of its achievement.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Governors of Jamaica in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century. By FRANK CUNDALL. (London, West India Committee, 1937, pp. xxxi, 229, 18s.) This book, the second volume of a trilogy based on a lifetime of research, was published shortly before its distinguished author's death. Like Volume I, *The Governors of Jamaica in the Seventeenth Century* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 822), the present study is a happy blending of history and biography and meets the highest tests of scholarship. It embraces thirteen administrations, from William Selwyn's (1701-1702) through John Stewart's (March-April, 1742). Each section contains voluminous excerpts from contemporary documents and literature. The historical outline of the period serves to orient the layman, while the long list of island officials and colonial agents is of inestimable value to the specialist in expansion. Numerous excellent illustrations add materially to the usefulness of the book, and it is a typographic gem. The manuscript of Volume III was undergoing final revision just before Mr. Cundall's death and will appear shortly. No other colony has been more fortunate in its chronicler. Frank Cundall will always be remembered as "the historian of Jamaica".

LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

Crown, People, and Parliament, 1760-1935. By WILLIAM EDWARDS. (London, Arrowsmith, 1937, pp. 256, 8s. 6d.) This manual is an exposition of the workings of the British government under the main headings indicated in the title. The commonplaces of the British system are treated in a topical fashion with abundant illustrations from the experiences since 1760. The supplying of so "many instances" has pushed into the background the avowed purpose of pointing out the "defects in its workings". The racy treatment of the earlier Hanoverians and the use of amusing instances in the relations of the sovereign and parliament and cabinet may stimulate an interest in the "neglectful voter" and aid "historical students for the Higher Certificate". If so intended, however, the volume should be checked over for numerous inaccuracies. Well-known quotations are in need of correction (pp. 45, 69, 223), and there are a good many erroneous statements (e.g., pp. 68, 126, 205, 231, 245). The footnotes cannot be checked, for the editions used are not indicated, even in references to Erskine May, Medley, and Taswell-Langmead. The bibliography is an aggravation. There are sins of omission as well as of commission. The treatment of the cabinet should include the World War developments; the troubles growing out of the Hoare-Laval agreement throw light on the matter of collective responsibility; and the success of A. P. Herbert's "Marriage Bill" would seem to show that an important reform can be secured by an independent (p. 210). Any consideration of recent trends should include the development of administration and of administrative law since the World War.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

Some Political & Social Ideas of English Dissent, 1763-1800. By ANTHONY LINCOLN. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 292, \$2.50.) This little volume is commendable as a prize essay. As a youthful academic exercise it shows distinct promise, but as serious history it scarcely deserves attention. The author read widely in appropriate places and collected a variety of apposite matter. Some of the things he says are penetrating;

others, almost naïve. In the first brief chapter Mr. Lincoln describes his book as "a study in opinion" which "endeavours to assess the reactions of a large and peculiarly situated group of men and women to the many revolutions, political and intellectual, which mark the momentous years between 1763 and 1800". His second chapter is an essay on what he calls the "Dissenting Interest"; in his third, entitled "Education and Politics", he seeks to relate the work done in the Warrington and Hackney schools to certain political writers of the previous generation. The fourth chapter is devoted to the ideas of Richard Price, and the fifth to those of Joseph Priestley. The sixth and final chapter deals with a variety of things under the title "Toleration and Rights". A discriminating reader may learn much from these essays, but they give neither an adequate nor an accurate impression of the ideas that characterized English Dissenters in the last half of the eighteenth century.

W. T. LAPRADE.

Scotland's Shifting Population, 1770-1850. By D. F. MACDONALD. (Glasgow, Jackson, Son and Company, 1937, pp. vii, 172, 7s. 6d.) While professing to do for Scottish history what Redford's *Labour Migration* does for English, these well-documented pages may perform two additional services. They should provide the student of emigration with a long-needed analysis of migration made from parish records and offer to modern pamphleteers a new version of the old grievances—the Highland clearances and rural depopulation. Impersonal forces, mainly the agricultural revolution and industrial concentration, rather than rapacious landlords appear as the principal causes drawing a majority of the population into a small minority of Scotland's area. Chapters on Irish immigration, the health of the towns, and poor relief tell vividly enough what befell the Scottish migrant in that region of concentrated competition. One might quarrel with details of the study: puzzle over the delimitation of the period, 1770-1850, when 1750 and 1860 or 1880 seem to be more clear-cut boundaries; question minor deviations from Grant's or Hamilton's interpretation of the relation between English and Scottish labor or the textile and the metal industries; pounce on errors in reference like those on pages 9, 57, 71, and 128 from J. R. McCulloch and from Sir John Sinclair's voluminous statistical account; or even weary of the persistent reweighing of evidence and long for a Johnsonian outburst. But in the end one must commend the work for its precision and restraint. Few historians could describe the removal of the crofters to the coasts (p. 42) or the government made-work on the Caledonian canal (p. 82) without pointing a lesson at modern times. HELEN I. COWAN.

✓ *Trade in the Eastern Seas, 1793-1813.* By C. NORTHCOTE PARKINSON. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xii, 434, \$5.00.) It is rather hard to evaluate this book. It presents little that is unknown to a student of the East India Company's affairs, but, on the other hand, it brings together in excellent form a mass of material which is otherwise widely scattered. Its failure to present really new material arises chiefly from the fact that much of the book appears originally to have been intended as introductory to a study of naval history in the eastern seas between 1803 and 1810, which was based on manuscript records in the admiralty office. As introductory material to such a study it is superb, but as an independent work it lacks thoroughness and completeness. It is based almost entirely on contemporary printed accounts and records and a few later collections of documents. As such, it does not utilize a mass of manuscript material in the India office relating to the court

of directors, the shipping business of the company, the private trade, and the activities of the various committees of the company which should have been used if a definitive study of the subject were to have been written. Despite this weakness the general picture which it gives is accurate, and it is a definite addition to the literature dealing with the company and with the British in India. It is forcefully and interestingly written, and the point of view is often new and refreshing. Its conclusions are clearly presented so that in the future no one should have an excuse for misunderstanding the true nature of the company and of British connections with India during this period. The work is well illustrated and beautifully printed. It is generally free from slips of the pen, although on page 56 the date 1557 would be more nearly correct than 1586, the date 1785 on page 93 should be 1784, and on page 122 the date 1588 must be a misprint. The book has some useful notes, a bibliography, and an index.

EARL H. PRITCHARD.

Letters from William Cobbett to Edward Thornton, written in the Years 1797 to 1800. Edited with an Introduction and Notes by G. D. H. COLE. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xlvii, 127, \$3.00.) Historical scholars know that Cobbett spent two periods of exile in the United States, 1792-1800, and 1817-1819. Mr. Cole, the author of *The Life of William Cobbett* (1925) and *The Life and Adventures of Peter Porcupine with other Records of his Early Career in England and America* (1927), has rendered a valuable service in carefully editing these twenty-three letters and an extract from a pamphlet. A comprehensive introduction and notes give the setting and furnish the necessary identifying details for each letter. Pro-French and pro-British feeling ran high in the United States at this time. Cobbett, for example, denounced not only Joseph Priestley as an English traitor but also such leading Democratic politicians and statesmen as Thomas McKean, for the "murder" of two Quakers during the American Revolution, and Dr. Benjamin Rush, as a medical fraud during yellow fever epidemics. Indeed, it is difficult to see why he was permitted to remain in the country so long except that French propaganda and intrigue were equally offensive. In this tense atmosphere, as Mr. Cole cleverly points out, Cobbett felt at home: "he vastly preferred being fined \$5000 to having too many friends" (p. xxxix). Although the book was designed primarily for the British reader, accounts of American politics and notices of well-known figures might have been shortened, as in the case of Hannah More (pp. 10-12). On the other hand, Mr. Cole is to be commended for his zeal in identifying characters and explaining obscure episodes. An index of persons completes the volume.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Formation of Canning's Ministry, February to August, 1827. Edited from Contemporary Correspondence by ARTHUR ASPINALL. [Camden Third Series.] (London, Royal Historical Society, 1937, pp. lvii, 327.) Documents selected from collections of manuscripts in the British Museum, the Public Record Office, at the University of Michigan, and in private possession are preceded by a detailed study of the change of government in England in the spring of 1827.

Parlamentarism och demokrati i England. By GUNNAR HECKSCHER. (Stockholm, Hugo Geber, 1937, pp. xii, 342.) The author, a son of the distinguished economist, professedly intended this work as an advanced textbook. But his treatment in many passages, especially in the second half of the book, moves on the level of a mature treatise in English constitutional government. He sharply distinguishes between the parliamentary system and democracy. The

former arose in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in an aristocratic setting, and it by no means implied a democratic political system. The transition to democracy came only toward the close of the nineteenth century, obviously marked by the extension of the suffrage to the masses and, less conspicuously, by the changes in the rules of the house of commons, changes occasioned in the first instance by the interminable Irish question. After the turn of the century the parliamentary system, for the first time, had a chance to function in a democratic order. Whether or not it is a commendable system will depend on how it actually works in particular circumstances; as the writer of this study sees it, democracy is certainly not dependent upon it and may function under other political forms as well.

O. J. FALNES.

The English Coöperatives. By SYDNEY R. ELLIOTT. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 212, \$3.00.) This book, written by a young English co-operative editor, may be classed as a companion volume to Marquis Childs's *Sweden, the Middle Way*. It is a graphic, discerning account of the rise of the British co-operative movement. The author's main theme is that Englishmen, while outshouting the world in their devotion to laissez faire, developed during the nineteenth and first quarter of the twentieth century an extensive and highly perfected system of industrial monopoly and of price-fixing practices which met its only substantial challenge in the rising co-operative movement. The British co-operatives have reached a membership of 7,500,000 and a sales volume in excess of £200 million. Others have more adequately surveyed and documented the British co-operative development. No one, however, has so clearly dramatized the conflict between the co-operatives and their state-assisted private competitors. The co-operative coal mines cannot exceed legal production quotas, established in the interest of maintaining coal prices. It is difficult for the co-operatives to secure the licensing of additional trucks for hauling their goods, so great is the opposition of railways. Many standard trade-marked goods cannot be bought by co-operatives except upon the promise not to pay rebates. In many other fields the co-operatives have found supply sources monopolized. In recent years the co-operative earnings, or more accurately savings, have been subjected to taxation. The author concludes that such restrictive and discriminatory practices have allied the co-operative and labor movements into a united political program. "The race is between economic collapse . . . and the rise of a united democratic movement with a practical program of far-reaching social change, and the will to make its program effective against the vested interests now rallying in defense of their privilege. The side on which the co-operative movement will stand in that struggle is not in doubt" (p. 198).

COLSTON WARNE.

Moments of Memory: Recollections and Impressions. By HERBERT ASQUITH. (New York, Scribner's, 1938, pp. 382, \$3.50.) This delightful sketch makes no pretense to being a full-length biography. It may be regarded rather as a predella to the portrait of Asquith presented in J. A. Spender and Cyril Asquith's *Life of Lord Oxford*. It is a son's tribute, though without a trace of filio-pietism, to the genius, the courage, the sincerity, and the perfect gentlemanliness of a man who had heavy burdens to bear during years of great anxiety. Perhaps the qualities of Asquith which emerge from these pages are chiefly his utter loyalty to his colleagues in the cabinet (in contrast to the maneuvers of Lloyd George to step into his shoes) and his patience in the face of attacks by Irish malcontents and hectorings by militant suffragettes. The vast and varied intel-

lectual interests of the man, as revealed in his major writings, tempered by his escape from distraction in the refuge of his garden, may have, unfitted Asquith, as his critics claim, for the stern duty of prosecuting the war with relentless vigor; but whether or not the indictment be true, we feel as we read this book that we would not have Asquith other than he was—the finest type of English gentleman. The substitution of Lloyd George for Asquith undoubtedly “speeded up” the war; but, as the author remarks, the consequent absence of Asquith and Grey from the peace conference, where their moderating influence would have probably given hearty support to President Wilson, “may well have had profound results on the future of which we have not yet seen the end”. Half of the author’s chapters are devoted to his own experiences in the World War, where he fought almost continually from February, 1915, to the spring of 1918. His descriptions of military operations are among the most vivid in all the literature of the war.

D. S. MUZZEY.

Bibliography of Irish History, 1912-1921. By JAMES CARTY. [National Library of Ireland.] (Dublin, Stationery Office, 1936, pp. xxxviii, 177, 6s.) The National Library of Ireland has acquired an enviable reputation not only for the wealth of its material relating to all aspects of Irish life but also for the courtesy and freedom from restriction with which these are made available to the student. In 1913 it published a *Bibliography of Irish Philology and of Printed Irish Literature*, prepared by Dr. R. I. Best, now director of the library, which, although designed primarily to serve the student of the Irish language and its literature, has proved to be an aid of inestimable value to the historian. Now it is proposed to publish in sections a general bibliography of Irish history. “It has been thought best to begin with recent history, the period immediately preceding the establishment of the Free State, as being that upon which attention is at present largely directed, and for which consequently the need of accurate and detailed information is most felt. This will be followed by the period 1870-1911, covering the Home Rule and other movements.” The present work contains, besides the bibliography proper, a preface, introduction, chronology, and index. The introduction and chronology between them give, as a setting to the publications listed, a useful “explanatory guide” to the political history of the period. The index appears to be adequate. The bibliography is “restricted to constitutional and political questions”. It is also restricted to publications in the National Library, but that collection is so extensive that omissions are in general unimportant. The book is especially valuable for the information it gives regarding pamphlets, magazine articles, and the many ephemeral periodicals of the period. There are some evidences of deficiencies in proofreading, especially in regard to punctuation and uniformity of style.

JAMES F. KENNEY.

✓ *King Edward VIII: An Intimate Biography.* By HECTOR BOLITHO. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1937, pp. 328, \$3.00.) This biography was one of many written on the eve of the coronation planned for Edward VIII. It contains an interesting sketch of Edward’s career as prince of Wales. His travels in all parts of the world are, however, unduly emphasized. The author stresses throughout the universal appeal of the prince and his insatiable curiosity about the vast dominions over which he eventually reigned for a year. He certainly overdoes the prince’s physical activity. The World War, coupled with his missions as Britain’s Commercial Traveler No. 1, helped to unfit him for the routine duties of a king. His head was eventually turned by the adulation heaped upon

him, and he withdrew from the salutary influence of his father and mother, seeking relief from his arduous social obligations as heir apparent in the company of the "fast" set. In the final scene he preferred his personal happiness to unselfish service as British sovereign. The larger portion of the work praises his unselfishness, but the latter part turns from panegyrics to criticism. Beyond stressing Edward's great interest in social reform, the book sheds little light upon his work as king. We should welcome something more about his personal life, his boon companions, and more evidence of his serious interest in national affairs. George V is praised far beyond his deserts as "the greatest of the essentially *English* sovereigns". The work could have been shortened to advantage. It is an interesting but discursive biography which will not enhance Mr. Bolitho's literary reputation. He has had unusual opportunities for observation, of which he here makes little use.

W. T. MORGAN.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Citizen of Geneva: Selections from the Letters of Jean-Jacques Rousseau. By CHARLES WILLIAM HENDEL. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xi, 405, \$3.50.) This anthology is based on the twenty volumes of *Correspondance générale*, issued from 1924 to 1934 through the aid of the Institute of France, and is preceded by a biographical sketch, one third as long as the letters themselves, explaining the circumstances under which each was written. It would have been more satisfactory had a brief introduction preceded each letter. The

sketch, which is well done, contains selections from other letters than those included in the body of the work and, on a somewhat peculiar principle of the editor, is more impartial than the anthology. Indeed, if one is to be guided by the latter, one finds a different Rousseau from the half-crazed, suspicious neurotic to whom one is accustomed. This Rousseau is a sensible, well-balanced person, who writes with much charm and natural gayety, a lover of fun and quiet happiness. Music, botany, and education are his delights; he is devoted to the welfare not only of the "poor girl" who is his housekeeper but also of his dog, his cat, and his hens. No doubt there are pages of complaints about irritating people and his bad health, but the net impression is of a man profoundly good, basically an optimist, and happy in the tranquil enjoyment of little things. He is truly the moral teacher and the citizen. From the standpoint of those interested in Rousseau's influence on the French Revolution, he reveals himself as a republican and a hater of kings in theory but in practice quite as willing to be the recipient of Frederick the Great's protection as Voltaire himself and as submissive to the laws of princes. Where the laws touch his writings, however, Rousseau will stand and fight, or rather run and fight, seemingly bewildered by the wrong interpretations malicious folk place on the innocent thoughts of a truly virtuous man. EUGENE N. CURTIS.

Un célèbre méconnu: Le Duc de Lauzun, 1747-1793. By Comte R. DE GONTAUT BIRON. Preface by Général Weygand. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. vi, 375, 25 fr.) The Duc de Lauzun was one of those great nobles of the *ancien régime* who divided their time between the boudoir and the camp. Posterity remembers him chiefly as a famous lover and a lavish spender. Count Biron freely admits Lauzun's faults but also pictures him as an able soldier faithfully serving his king and country. He fought with distinction in Corsica in 1769, commanded the expedition which recovered Senegal from Great Britain in 1779, and served under Rochambeau in America. After his return to France he joined the opposition circle of the Duc d'Orleans. Lauzun's role in the estates general and the national assembly was inconspicuous, but unlike most of the nobles he remained faithful to the constitutional monarchy and the republic. He fought successively on the Belgian, Rhine, and Italian frontiers, and finally in the Vendée. Unjustly condemned in 1793, Lauzun went to his death with the courage of a soldier. The chapters treating the last two years of his life, which comprise over a third of the volume, are unusually well documented from the Paris archives and constitute a contribution to the military history of the French Revolution. The book is a work of research, in which most of the author's conclusions are substantiated. E. WILSON LYON.

Anti-Slavery Opinion in France during the Second Half of the Eighteenth Century. By EDWARD DERBYSHIRE SEEGER. [The Johns Hopkins Studies in Romance Literatures and Languages.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 238, \$2.50.) "The anti-slavery movement in France, particularly in its political aspects, has been the object of many studies, none of which, however, has revealed the growth of the idea of anti-slavery in the diversified literature of the eighteenth century." This sentence, quoted from the preface, indicates the nature and purpose of the present study. Professor Seeger has read the accounts of travelers in Africa and the French colonies, the works of essayists, novelists, poets, playwrights, philosophers, and propagandists, and has made note of the references to the Negro race. The six hundred or more titles in his bibliography bear testimony to the wide range of his research. Montesquieu,

he finds, was the first important writer to make a vigorous and concentrated attack on slavery. Here, then, was a good starting point. From Montesquieu he traces the increasing interest in the Negro until the latter emerges early in the nineteenth century as the glamorous hero of fiction and drama. The study ends with the *Génie du christianisme* by Chateaubriand. The author conforms to the best canons of historical scholarship. My chief criticism, more querulous perhaps than serious, is that roughly one third of the text is in French. Where excerpts are of considerable length, this practice may be easily condoned in view of the purpose of the book; but the insertion of simple French phrases in the middle of English sentences, which occurs plentifully on every page, seems to me to be out of accord with good literary taste. While in a captious mood, I would also point out that the bibliography could have been improved by listing the secondary authorities in a separate section, with a critical note under each title. Fundamentally, however, the book is a sound piece of scholarship and a valuable contribution to social and literary history.

MITCHELL B. GARRETT.

Louis XVI and Marie Antoinette before the Revolution. By NESTA H. WEBSTER.

(New York, Putnam's, 1937, pp. xv, 319, \$3.75.) Mrs. Webster is at her best in this book. Her best is, indeed, so different from what academic historians of the French Revolution usually concern themselves with that it is unlikely to impress them. Yet Mrs. Webster has her place in the historiography of the subject. She is an extreme, a rather jittery, English Tory, as incapable of attaining objectivity in the study of the French Revolution and its antecedents as was, from an opposing position, the late M. Aulard of the Sorbonne and the *Quotidien*. Her jitters come out in her acceptance of the most melodramatic phases of the *théorie du complot*, an acceptance which invalidates most of her volume on *The French Revolution* and all of her *Secret Societies and Subversive Movements*. But the greater part of this sympathetic study of Louis XVI and his queen is a not by any means unnecessary antidote to the conventional treatment these rulers have received from historians and biographers—especially Freudian biographers. Mrs. Webster has good English Tory notions of what a king and a queen should be, and such notions applied to Louis and Marie Antoinette can, for the discerning reader, throw a good deal of light on important aspects of pre-revolutionary France. After all, the English ruling class has ruled too long not to have handed down even to its more excited members a good many sensible habits of mind. Equipped with these, Mrs. Webster succeeds notably in making Marie Antoinette a real and plausible person. The book is well documented and makes good reading. It reeks with prejudices, but with prejudices so different from those to which most American students in the field are exposed that it might well be recommended reading for many of them.

CRANE BRINTON.

Le marché des changes de Paris à la fin du XVIII^e siècle, 1778-1800, avec des graphiques et le relevé des cours. By JEAN BOUCHARY. [Commission de recherche et de publication des Documents relatifs à la vie économique de la Révolution.] (Paris, Paul Hartmann, 1937, pp. 183.) This little book will save much labor to those working on the financial relations of the French during the Revolution with the chief markets of ~~Europe~~. Its principal purpose is to tabulate (pp. 107-83) the daily fluctuations of exchange. Other parts of the volume are introductory. The markets represented are Amsterdam, Hamburg, London, Cadiz, Madrid, Genoa, and Leghorn. From January 1, 1789, to April

1, 1793, the data are complete, and the author draws his quotations from the *Journal de Paris*, but after the Convention penalized trade in coin the newspapers ceased to publish rates, and other sources of information are fragmentary. The vicissitudes of the general war also lessened the number of markets. During the height of the struggle Basel becomes a principal market. After August 18, 1795, the *Journal de Paris* resumed publication of rates. A little later the quotations given in the announcements of the "Chambre syndicale des agents de change" are official. For the last four years prior to 18 Brumaire (as also for 1778-88) the author's lists present only semiannual or annual maxima and minima, but here daily quotations are not as important because the assignats had disappeared and inflation was over. Besides the lists there are graphs for the markets of Amsterdam and Hamburg, and these reveal the vertiginous plunges of exchange during the period of extreme inflation. As a preface to the graphs and lists the author gives a chronological review, suggesting causes for the more notable variations. The first part of the book, which explains the technique of exchange, will be especially helpful to laymen.

HENRY E. BOURNE.

Mon ambassade en Russie, 1903-1908. By MAURICE BOMPARD, ambassadeur de France. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. xlix, 335, 40 fr.)

Paul Cambon, ambassadeur de France, 1843-1924. By Un Diplomate. (*Ibid.*, pp. 325, 40 fr.) Coming well after the publication of the great collections of diplomatic documents, these two volumes add no vital information. Much of Bompard's narrative is based upon these documents. His lengthiest diplomatic description relates to the treaty of Björkö. It is interesting to contrast what he has written with the little he knew of it at the time (pp. 141, 179, 239). The biographer of Cambon, sketching an entire lifetime, had to be content with general strokes. Yet it becomes wearisome to read time after time that Cambon interceded with profit to France in many affairs with which he was not directly concerned. In the chapter on his mission in London during the war new material might well have come to light, but the chapter is too brief, a dismaying chronicle of political and military indecision while lives were being lost on the field of battle. The reader would never know that American soldiers had come to France and might not be surprised to discover that Cambon lodged a protest with the British government when it advised the United States, without the prior agreement of France, that Turkey had signed the armistice of Mudros (p. 298). The few, snarling remarks on British participation in the peace settlements quite clearly show why the Entente Cordiale thereafter disappeared. Both books reveal the traits of the ambassadors, of many other individuals with or against whom they worked, of royalty before whom they gladly bowed and whose ability they sometimes respected. They preferred conservatives, who were intelligent and reliable, to liberals, who were doctrinaire and elusive. Bompard's narrative has most value because of his word-pictures of Russian internal conditions. There are some mistakes, in both books, in dates, and the spelling of proper names displays a flexibility peculiar to French. Too much space is surrendered to trifling matters which seem to make life pleasant for ambassadors.

ROGERS P. CHURCHILL.

La révolte druze et l'insurrection de Damas, 1925-1926. By Général ANDRÉA, ancien commandant de la région de Damas, ancien gouverneur du Djebel-Druze. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1937, pp. 243, 25 fr.) This is a vigorous description of French military activity during the twenty-four-month

rebellion in Syria. It omits the campaign in South Lebanon, describes with an admirable economy of words the French defeat at Mezraa, hurries on through the bombardment of Damascus, then settles down to a chronological account of the subsequent French campaign in the Druze Mountain, amplified with geographical and historical notes which add to the interest of the volume. General Andréa has read the causes of unrest in simplest terms. The Druzes were cajoled or terrorized into violence by criminal chieftains, who in turn were encouraged—financially and morally—by outsiders in Syria, Paris, Geneva. Their spectacular effort, he asserts, would have collapsed quickly had they not been permitted to use territory under British mandate as a retreat and rallying ground. It is a black-and-white sketch—every French casualty a reminder of the glorious traditions and civilizing mission of France, every Druze tribesman dead by the mountain track another evidence of the stubborn stupidity of the local feudal lords. The preface promises an answer to two questions. What difficulties did the French encounter in administering the Syrian mandate? How were these difficulties overcome? The first question goes unanswered. The second is answered in terms of military pacification, not administrative reform. The story of the uprising has been robbed of much of its meaning, but as an indication of the spirit in which the French campaign was waged the book could hardly be more revealing.

ELIZABETH P. MACCALLUM.

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O. J. Falnes

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

- Skrifter utgivna av K. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala*. 1936-37. Band 30. (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1938, pp. 309, 210, 229, 20 kr.) Of the three studies in this volume, only the third is of direct interest to the historian. This is a two hundred page essay (summary in German, pp. 207-229) by Hugo Valentin, entitled "Fredrik den Store inför Eftervärlden: En Historiografisk Studie" (also priced separately at six kronor). Up-to-date and well-proportioned, it covers the voluminous literature, mounting ever higher as the decades go by, on Frederick the Great. The analysis makes clear in what various ways Frederick was judged by the enlightenment, the Napoleonic period, romanticism, mid-century liberalism, the period of national unification, the eras of Bismarck and William II, the left wing socialists before 1914, and the adherents of the Weimar Republic after 1919. Beyond a single closing reference there is no effort to treat of historiography under the Nazi regime. The analysis throughout is well grounded and the exposition wholly objective.

O. J. FALNES.

- Brest-Litowsk: Verhandlungen und Friedensverträge im Osten 1917 bis 1918*. By VOLKWARD JOHN. [Beiträge zur Geschichte der nachbismarckischen Zeit und des Weltkriegs.] (Stuttgart, W. Kohlhammer, 1937, pp. 149, 5.40 M.) This dissertation by a student of Fritz Kern deals with a topic which deserves

detailed study. But the subject is probably much too difficult for a beginner, and in spite of the fairly large collection of sources which the author has used, he has not succeeded in writing more than a superficial account of the peace negotiations at Brest-Litovsk. He does not recognize the underlying political forces and the involved political issues. His notions of the internal history of Germany during the war are hazy. He tells us that the idea of a peace on the basis of the *status quo ante* was embraced by an overwhelming majority of the German people. The reader is left completely in the dark about the propaganda for annexations carried out by a vociferous and influential minority in the earlier years of the war and about the virtual dictatorship of Hindenburg and Ludendorff, which made the annexationists the directors of German affairs in the latter part of the war. That would have formed the proper background for the treatment of the sharp tension existing within the German delegation between Kühlmann and General Hoffmann. The German occupation of the Eastern European states from the Baltic to the Black Sea is represented as nothing but a temporary military measure. We find the same lack of critical judgment even more pronounced in the discussion of Austro-German relations, of the policy of the Allied powers, and of the Russian government. Though the author has apparently striven to attain an objective attitude, the most essential points have been missed. The annex contains a few highly valuable documents from the Vienna State Archives concerning negotiations between the German, Austrian, and Ukrainian delegations at Brest-Litovsk and between the German and Austrian governments at Berlin.

Hajo HOLBORN.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Lucrece Borgia, 1480-1519. By FRED BÉRENCE. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1937, pp. 357, 32 fr.) One wonders at the popular conception that this beautiful daughter of Pope Alexander VI still needs champions, when all the reputable historians of the last fifty years or more have been unanimous in asserting that the calumnies uttered by her contemporary detractors are false. What has been said by Reumont, Gregorovius, Pastor, and Creighton on this score is repeated here; Bérence has nothing new to contribute. On other matters, where he begs to differ, he is not on sure ground. He refuses to join the chorus of praise for Isabella d'Este of Mantua, judging her intellectually mediocre, proud to a fault, cold, unsympathetic. In this there is a suspicion of a biographer swayed by dramatic instinct to seek a perfect foil for a heroine who loved and suffered much. He goes contrary to the best authorities in asserting that Pinturicchio used Lucrezia as his model for his painting of Saint Catherine. While this biography of Lucrezia will be of more interest to the general public than to scholars, it merits classification above the category of books about Renaissance characters whose appeal is directed to the appetites of the idle. The book is founded on the authoritative work of Gregorovius, written sixty and more years ago, and in no way supersedes its model. Occasionally this version curtails the account written

by Gregorovius; often it augments and embellishes the earlier narrative; at some points it introduces subjects extraneous to Gregorovius's pages, such as Egyptian mythology, Savonarola, or the sad history of Prince Geni (Djëm). Bérence goes quite beyond Gregorovius in giving more space to literal translation of scurrilous attacks on Pope Alexander VI. Readers of today are presumed to be better served when the juicy bits of history come raw to the table.

ERNEST W. NELSON.

Die literarische Form von Machiavellis "Principe": Eine morphologische Untersuchung. By MARIANNE WEICKERT. (Würzburg, Konrad Triltsch, 1937, pp. v, 118, 3.60 M.) The author endeavors to show the existence of two different works within the brief span of Machiavelli's *Principe*. In her opinion the Florentine secretary set out to write a prescriptive admonitory tract for the benefit of rulers but, having reached a certain point of development, was carried away by his creative enthusiasm and proceeded to compose a work of pure imagination. This is to all intents a drama. It might be called "The Deeds of the Prince". It is a description of the victorious struggle of a hero against a hostile fortune, and as such it cannot be looked upon as an embodiment of exemplary maxims. It is an eternal creation of the imagination transcending all practical applications and rising beyond the mind and intentions of the author himself. The failure to grasp this dual nature of the *Principe* has, in our author's mind, led to the legend of the "evil Machiavel". Two characters arise out of the pages of the *Principe*: one is the prince, dynamic hero of cunning and bravery, now lion and now fox, who finally succeeds in downing fortune; the other is the figure of the murderous and treacherous Machiavelli, product of a progressive misunderstanding of the book. The malignancy of fate, which played such a role in the drama of the prince, has continued to hound the author through the centuries. Posterity, which failed to recognize the hero he created, which shut its eyes to the deeds of the lion, concentrated its attention on the exploits of the fox. Machiavelli was made over into the eternal embodiment of deception, and even his defenders have been unable to remove from his noble face the hideous mask of immorality which for centuries has concealed his true features.

D. BIGONGIARI.

Scritti sul Risorgimento. By H. NELSON GAY. Raccolti e ordinati da Tomaso Sillani. Con una Premessa del Compilatore e una Prefazione di Emilio Bodrero. (Rome, Rassegna Italiana, 1937, pp. xxiv, 284.) This volume is a memorial to H. Nelson Gay, American historian, for nearly forty years a resident of Rome, prepared by his Italian associates. It is made up of essays of his drawn from various journals, Italian and American, to illustrate the three interests that absorbed Gay's alert and active spirit—the Risorgimento, the cause of Italy, and the relations of Italy with the English-speaking world. It signalizes the fact that the Italians came to regard Gay as one of themselves. No wonder! To him from youth the Risorgimento, which drew him from Harvard to Italy, was a great epic of emancipation, and he devoted heart, wealth, and leisure to preparing himself to be its historian. But the cause of Italy became his own. In writing the preface to *Italy's Great War and her National Aspirations* (1917), a propaganda volume, he threw off the mantle of the historian and denounced "The Curse of Austrian Domination in Italy down to 1866" with white-hot indignation. The same attachment carried him into Fascism. His only published book, *Strenuous Italy* (1927), was a defense of Fascism by its works. The rest of his writing, fully represented in this volume, consists of articles in which he fashioned a setting for *documenti inediti*, largely drawn from his Risorgimento collection. They are

exclusively concerned with politics or biography—with literature when a man of letters, Keats, Byron, Shelley, or Whittier, was concerned. They are side lights, always projected against a background of thorough political information. His great work is his collection. He gave his best to Italy, but with deep satisfaction he saw the great foundation he had built transferred to the library of the American university from which he had set forth to build it.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

ARTICLES

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- J. S. BARNES. The Economic Situation in Italy. *Ibid.*
- GEORGE MARTELLI. The Italian Challenge. *Fortnightly Rev.*, May.
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RUSSIA

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Khrestomatiya po istorii SSSR [readings in the history of USSR], Volume I. Edited by V. I. LEBEDEV and others. (Moscow, Uchebno-pedag. izdat., 1937, pp. 407, 5-50 r.) This first volume of excerpts from sources covers the period from the earliest times to the end of the seventeenth century. Archaic terms are explained in footnotes, and there is a chronological table at the end. The work is intended for teachers of history in secondary schools.

Fürst G. A. Potemkin: Untersuchungen zu seiner Lebensgeschichte. By THERESIA ADAMCZYK. (Emsdetten, Heinr. & J. Lechte, 1936, pp. vi, 127, 3.20 M.) Unlike several recent writers on the subject, Dr. Adamczyk proceeds from the sound premise that Potemkin the statesman is immeasurably more important than Potemkin the lover. In a brief introductory chapter she deals with the Potemkin "legend" and shows how little reliable are many of the contemporary accounts, emanating either from badly informed and prejudiced foreigners or from Potemkin's Russian rivals and enemies. The next chapter, the longest in the book, is an extremely useful summary of Potemkin's life and principal activities, which emphasizes his work connected with the organization and settlement of the Russian south. Even from such a brief review the reader can obtain a proper idea of Potemkin's stature as an "empire builder" and administrator. The following chapter contains much interesting material on Potemkin's reforms in the Russian army, while the last chapter is devoted to his part in the diplomacy and strategy of Catherine's second Turkish war. There is an extensive bibliography, including over two hundred items, in which I have noticed only one serious omission, that of R. H. Lord's *The Second Partition of Poland*, in which Potemkin's "southern projects" are discussed at some length. I hope that Dr. Adamczyk will expand her present book, which is only a collection of studies on Potemkin, into a full-size monograph that will do justice to one of Russia's most remarkable statesmen.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

Graf A. Vorontsov, A. N. Radishchev und der "Gnadenbrief für das Russische Volk". By GEORG SACKE. (Emsdetten, Heinr. & J. Lechte, n. d., pp. 30, 2 M.) This little study deals with the project of a "Charter of Privileges for the Russian People", the granting of which Alexander I had been considering shortly after his accession. It has been known that the project was presented to the emperor by Count Vorontsov. Recently, however, V. Semennikov advanced the idea that the real author of the project was the liberal publicist, A. Radishchev, while another Russian scholar, I. Trotski, spoke of a collaboration between Vorontsov and Radishchev, with the latter "radicalizing" the views of the former. A careful analysis has led Dr. Sacke to the rejection of both hypotheses and to the conclusion that the project was the work of Vorontsov himself, who acted on this occasion as a spokesman for a certain group among the Russian nobility. The author argues his point quite convincingly and incidentally makes many observations of considerable interest to students of the history of political ideas in Russia.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

Rossiiskaya kontr-revolutsiya v 1917-1918 gg [Russian counterrevolution in 1917-18]. By General N. N. GOLOVIN. Twelve volumes. (Printed in Tallinn, Estonia; a supplement to "Illustrirovannaya Rossiya", Paris; 1937, pp. 168, 159, 114, 87, 105, 116, 130, 154, 112, 77, 136, 96.) By the Russian counterrevolution the author means the complex movement which combatted "the destructive forces of the revolution". The present study traces this movement from the beginning of the revolution to the end of 1918. General Golovin believes that the later phases of the movement should properly be treated in two separate monographs: "The War of the Whites and the Reds" and "The Green Movement and the Peasant Uprisings". The text of each chapter is followed by supplements containing documentary material, and there are many maps. The author professes to have sought "the truth, the whole truth, and nothing but the truth" but realizes that the time for complete scientific objectivity has not yet arrived. The work was carried out under the auspices of the Russian Revolution Institute of the Hoover War Library at Stanford University and copyrighted by this institute.

Gzeires tach [the disasters of 1648]. (Wilno, 1938, pp. 279.) This volume, issued under the auspices of the Section of History of the international Yiddish Scientific Institute, contains a Yiddish translation, made by W. Lacki-Bertoldi, of "The Cossack Swamp", the Hebrew chronicle, first published in Venice in 1653, which is one of the sources for the history of the Cossack rebellion of 1648. There is also an extensive introduction by Dr. Jacob Shatzky, which is a notable study of the effects of the Cossack wars on Ukrainian Jewry. Dr. I. Israelsohn contributes a substantial biographical note on the author of the chronicle, Rabbi Nathan Note Hannover (ca. 1620-83).

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P. MILYUKOV. Pervopechatnik Ivan Fiodorov [Ivan Fedorov, the first Russian printer]. *Ibid.*

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Notes on Far Eastern Studies in America. Edited by CHARLES B. FAHS. (Washington, American Council of Learned Societies, No. 2, 1938, pp. iv, 41.) This periodic publication, sponsored by the Committees on Chinese and Japanese Studies of the A. C. L. S., contains articles and miscellaneous notes and reports relating to research and teaching in the field of Far Eastern languages, literatures, and history now rapidly developing in America.

The Birth of China: A Study of the Formative Period of Chinese Civilization. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1937; pp. 402, \$3.75.) This book has already won its merited place in the English-speaking world. It gives a clear and very readable account of the origins of Chinese civilization, largely based on the results of excavations and critical research of recent years. Living in Peiping in close touch with Chinese and foreign scholars alike, some of whom have worked a lifetime in this field, at the very time, moreover, when the most startling discoveries were made, the author was able to turn to the best possible account the brief four years which he devoted to his study. He used his time well, but he only invites a smile when he puts these four years forward with the obvious intention to impress. It would have been well if throughout the book a little less emphasis had been used; nevertheless, in spite of a tendency to overstatement the author is generally careful in his assertions. His book will certainly do much to dispel many erroneous notions about ancient Chinese history. The general reader is fortunate in having the rich results of modern scholarship placed before him in such an attractive form.

J. J. L. DUUVENDAK.

✓ *Tibet and Her Neighbors.* By E. T. WILLIAMS. [University of California Publications.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. 99-139, 50 cents.) Dr. Williams has condensed within forty pages a pertinent summary of Tibet's relations with China, Great Britain, and Russia from earliest beginnings to the present. On the question of Tibet's modernization he states that it can "be brought about only very gradually" on account of the continued prejudice of Tibetans against foreigners and foreign education.

✓ *Retreat of the West: The White Man's Adventure in Eastern Asia.* By NO-YONG PARK. (Boston, Hale, Cushman and Flint, 1937, pp. xiv, 336, \$3.00.) The theme of this readable and by no means flattering account of the relations between Western nations and Eastern Asia is "the undeniable fact that the western powers began their retreat from Eastern Asia nearly a century ago, and, other things being equal, nothing will stop their retreat for many years to come" (p. 3). The author begins with an account of successive Asiatic invasions of Europe from the time of the Huns to the Mongols, a period which he calls the "Tutelage of the West". What follows is a rapid survey of the international relations of the Far East since the arrival of the Portuguese, with the emphasis on Japan's rise to the position of a world power and China's awakening, which will result, he thinks, in the eclipse of Western empires in Eastern lands. There is little in the book that is new or startling, unless it is the thesis, which must needs be accepted *cum grano salis*.

China, the Powers, and the Washington Conference. By ALBERT E. KANE. (Shanghai, Commercial Press; distributed by Brentano, 1937, pp. vi, 233, \$2.00.) This volume covers the historical background of the powers' involvement in China as well as the treaties signed at Washington in 1921-22. A legitimate criticism might be that the author has sought to compress too much of the record of foreign intervention in China since 1839 into the first chapter, which in consequence tends to become sketchy. For the student or lay reader who comes fresh to the subject, however, this volume supplies a setting to the conference which is extremely valuable. Its main chapters deal with the Four Power and Nine Power treaties; issues affecting Shantung, Manchuria, and special foreign privileges in China, such as extraterritoriality and the conventional tariff, are also treated. The author shares ex-Secretary of State Stimson's opinion that the Washington treaties were interdependent, so that violation of one brought all into question. He also feels that the phases of co-operative action by the powers with respect to China were, even if motivated by selfish aims, usually beneficial both to themselves and China; periods of rivalry were disastrous, more especially to China. The book is extensively documented; while it does not blaze new fields, it provides a useful compilation of contemporary and background materials.

T. A. BISSE.

✓ *Problems of the Pacific, 1936: Aims and Results of Social and Economic Policies in Pacific Countries. Proceedings of the Sixth Conference of the Institute of Pacific Relations, 1936.* Edited by W. L. HOLLAND and KATE L. MITCHELL, assisted by HARRIET MOORE and RICHARD PYKE. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, n. d., pp. ix, 470, \$5.00.) The editors have admirably discharged their task of summarizing the discussions and statements made at the round tables of the conference. These round tables concerned themselves with the domestic problems and the foreign policies of the four major Pacific countries: the United States, Japan, the U.S.S.R., and China, while a fifth round table considered "the changing balance of political forces in the Pacific and the possibilities of peaceful

adjustment". The discussions at this conference were strengthened by the presence for the first time of regular Russian delegates and the closer co-operation of the French through the appointment of regular delegates from that country. In the documentary section six of the sixty-odd data-papers presented at the conference are reprinted, including the following excellent studies: W. W. Lockwood, jr., "Trade and Trade Rivalry between the United States and Japan"; Quincy Wright, "The Working of Diplomatic Machinery in the Pacific"; and E. Raikhman, B. Vredensky, *et al.*, "The Resources and Economic Development of the Soviet Far East". The appendixes contain information on the membership and organization of the conference, a list of the data-papers, and the round-table discussion syllabus. The material in this book may be fairly characterized as well documented, objective, and balanced.

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- J. V. MILLS. Malaya in the Wu-Pei-Chih Charts. *Ibid.*
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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

America's Yesterday. By F. MARTIN BROWN. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1937, pp. 319, \$3.50.) All students of American prehistory must have long felt the need of a comprehensive work that would serve as an introduction to the rapidly accumulating special literature of the subject. That need the present book has evidently been designed to fill. That it not quite adequately does so is less a matter for surprise than disappointment. A scientific popularization, satisfactory alike to the general reader and the specialist, is, of course, a practical impossibility. The

general reader will find in Dr. Brown's volume an overburden of factual material and will miss the romantic note seldom absent from popular writings on the American Indian and his works. The specialist will pause to admire the lack of sentiment and hasten on to pull the factual material to pieces. Unfortunately, the latter course is all too easy. Certainly in those portions dealing with material familiar to the present reviewer, the so-called Mound Area of the eastern United States, there are conspicuous misstatements of what are commonly accepted as facts. For example, I doubt if any qualified student would share the author's opinion that "many indications" point to Fort Ancient as the forerunner of the Hopewell culture (p. 257), since we know that the Fort Ancient culture was in full swing at the time of the first white contacts in the Ohio valley. Such an opinion, moreover, betrays a serious lack of familiarity with the accepted scheme of culture classification for the region as a whole. Geographical errors are, however, far more annoying. For example, Dr. Brown puts his "Cumberland association of Mound Builders", by which he presumably refers to the well-known Tennessee-Cumberland culture, in the Cumberland mountains instead of along the Cumberland valley, where it belongs. Such errors of fact point to a surprising lack of familiarity with the general conditions of the archaeological problem in this area, or at least a lofty carelessness in the handling of them. The curious thing is that in spite of such obvious shortcomings of detail the author's general statements and conclusions, if one may speak of conclusions in connection with American prehistory, are perfectly sound. One would not hesitate to recommend this book to anyone desirous of a general picture of the present status of American archaeology. The serious student may be more exacting. The illustrations, one feels, could have done a great deal more for the subject. One misses, particularly, examples of architecture and sculpture of the "Old Empire" Mayas.

PHILIP PHILLIPS.

A Servant of the Crown in England and in North America, 1756-1761. Based upon the papers of John Appy, Secretary and Judge Advocate of His Majesty's Forces. By NORREYS JEPHSON O'CONOR. [The Society of Colonial Wars in the State of New York.] (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. x, 256, \$3.00.) Historians anticipating that a biography of John Appy would offer a new interpretation of his successive employers—Loudoun, Abercrombie, and Amherst—or provide inside information on the military administration of the French and Indian War will be disappointed in this book. The author is by no means to be blamed. Appy's personal papers are meager and uninformative, consisting of a few letters to Haldimand and his personal account books recording his expenditures in London and America from 1756 to 1761. These the author has fully embroidered, accomplishing a commendable piece of research in identifying Appy's purchases and therefrom reconstructing his activities, tastes, and character. Various items serve as points of departure for excursions by the author into military history, on which comments by Appy are conspicuously lacking. Thus, because Appy's accounts show that he prepared himself for the field in 1758 and moved with headquarters to Albany and Fort Edward, Mr. O'Conor writes a chapter on Abercrombie's unsuccessful attack on Fort Ticonderoga—an excellent summary but adding nothing new to the story or to the portrait of John Appy. Mr. O'Conor has reproduced the account books which were his principal source, appended translations of the French letters to Haldimand, and included a section of notes arranged by chapters. Unfortunately, in these notes the sources for quotations in the text are difficult to trace, as no numbers are used. There are several illustrations and two maps. Mr. O'Conor, being primarily a creative

writer, has lightened his historical research by occasional digressions into incidents which have only their intrinsic interest to recommend them for inclusion in the narrative. Such talents deserve a stronger subject; men in the eighteenth century far more eminent and interesting than John Appy and ones whose papers are available have yet to be discovered by biographers.

HOWARD H. PECKHAM.

Doctors on Horseback: Pioneers of American Medicine. By JAMES THOMAS FLEXNER. (New York, Viking, 1937, pp. xiv, 370, \$2.75.) Mr. Flexner, a journalist and son of Dr. Simon Flexner of the Rockefeller Institute, writes in an entertaining and at times brilliant manner the lives of seven outstanding physicians of America: John Morgan, Benjamin Rush, Ephraim McDowell, Daniel Drake, William Beaumont, and, jointly, Crawford W. Long and William T. G. Morton. Morgan, one of the most brilliant physicians in the colonies, became medical director of the army during the Revolution, only to die in a hovel with "scarcely friends left enough to bury him". Rush, a few years later, rode to fame with the new democracy and became the first great doctor of the United States, whose medical theories, bad as they were, lasted for the next three generations of physicians. McDowell pioneered in abdominal surgery before the days of anesthesia or asepsis. Drake, a genius, molded the physicians of the Mississippi Valley as he stepped beyond the Alleghenies. Beaumont, the greatest of the group, founded gastric physiology through his efforts in experimenting upon a wounded trapper in the wilds of Michigan. Long and Morton share honors in the discovery of ether anesthesia. Popular in style but accurate in contents, Flexner's book is well written, interesting, and stimulating. He has told an old story in a new and splendid way, with fairness and good judgment.

HENRY R. VIETS.

Benjamin Franklin's Own Story: His Autobiography continued from 1759 to his Death in 1790 with a Biographical Sketch drawn from his Writings. By NATHAN G. GOODMAN. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. 268, \$2.50.) Franklin's unfinished *Autobiography* is here reprinted with careful annotation. The text is that which John Bigelow published in 1868 and contains the "draft scheme" as well as the random observations on the period from 1757 to 1760 which Franklin penned the year before his death. Dr. Goodman's contribution is far from negligible. His introduction is an interesting history of the *Autobiography* through its various editions. From Poor Richard's letters, essays, and other papers he has prepared a comprehensive sketch of the years after 1757. So judiciously has he chosen his material and so ingeniously arranged it, that he has succeeded in retaining Franklin's engaging literary style. No phase of a richly varied life is neglected. Against the background of experiences as colonial agent in London, as member of the Continental Congress, as a commissioner to France, as a peace negotiator at the close of the War for Independence, are set the scientific interests, the philosophical opinions, and the international contacts of Benjamin Franklin, Printer.

JOHN A. KROUT.

The History and Development of the Fourth Amendment to the United States Constitution. By NELSON B. LASSON. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Historical and Political Science.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. 154, xiv, \$1.50.) The Fourth Amendment prohibits unreasonable searches and seizures and general search warrants. Three of the four chapters into which this monograph is divided deal with the historical background of this guarantee. In the first chapter, after a few perfunctory references to analogous legal rules in

the ancient world, there is a discussion of the English precedents, particularly of the Wilkes case. The second chapter deals with writs of assistance in the colonies, Paxton's case receiving the major share of attention. Then follows a survey of the discussions in the state ratifying conventions in 1787-88 and in the Congress of 1789, discussions which led to the adoption of the Fourth Amendment. Although the final chapter is entitled "Development of the Principle by the Supreme Court", there is less than a page on the cases decided before 1886. To the present reviewer this appears to be a study which was not ready for publication. It gives the impression of having been written and published to fulfill requirements for the doctorate. As a piece of research it shows a considerable degree of diligence in the investigation of both source and secondary materials, even though they have not always been very critically weighed or employed. It falls short most seriously in its failure to exhibit an understanding of the relation of the problem of searches and seizures to the development of which it was a part. There is neither introduction nor conclusion. BENJAMIN F. WRIGHT, JR.

Letters relating to Gustaf Unonius and the Early Swedish Settlers in Wisconsin. Translated and edited by GEORGE M. STEPHENSON, assisted by OLGA WOLD HANSEN. (Rock Island, Augustana Historical Society, 1937, pp. 151, \$2.00.)

The Armenians in Massachusetts. Written and compiled by the Federal Writers' Project of the W. P. A. of Massachusetts. The Armenian Historical Society, Co-operating Sponsor. [American Guide Series.] (Boston, Armenian Historical Society, 1937, pp. 148, \$1.00.)

The Poles in the Early History of Texas. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. (Chicago, Polish R. C. Union of America, 1936, pp. 64.)

Polish Pioneers of Virginia and Kentucky. By MIECISLAUS HAIMAN. With Notes on Genealogy of the Sadowski Family, by A. CLAY SANDUSKY. (*Ibid.*, 1937, pp. 84.)

These four monographs are additional evidence of a steadily growing interest in the contributions of immigrant groups to the building of American civilization and of the fact that these groups themselves are fast becoming conscious of their own importance. Professor Stephenson, to whom historians are already heavily indebted for his excellent work on the Swedes in America, here presents a brief account of the activities of Gustaf Unonius and a collection of letters written by him and other Swedish immigrants, published originally in Swedish newspapers and now made available for the first time in translation and carefully edited. They throw light on conditions among the immigrants who came into the Middle West in the two decades before the Civil War and their many-sided experiences in a new land. The book on the Armenians has been carefully done under the expert direction of Dr. R. A. Billington and proves that much of permanent value to the historian may come from the activities of white-collared workers on relief. Other studies of this kind are in the making in a number of states; some have already appeared. The Armenians in Massachusetts are, to be sure, one of the smallest groups among recent newcomers to America. In this little book, their migrations "from Mount Ararat to Massachusetts" are carefully described, with special attention to the old-world background and with emphasis upon the economic and social development of Armenians in the United States, including their church, press, national organizations, customs and manners, and several pages of recipes for Armenian foods. The two studies on the Poles are less important. They are devoted to discovering and commenting on the few scattered Poles who were in the United States in early decades, before Polish immigration became important.

CARL WITKE.

Norwegian Settlement in the United States. By CARLTON C. QUALEY. (Northfield, Norwegian-American Historical Association, 1938, pp. xi, 285, \$3.00.) This book is chiefly a survey of the part taken in the great westward trek of population in our country by the Norwegian element, both immigrants and American born migrants. It deals mainly with the settlement of the Northwest, which became the home of the bulk of the Norwegian population. The movement of the settlers from older colonies to new frontiers is graphically pictured, the areas occupied by Norwegian pioneers are described with great care, the factors causing the ebb and flow of the movement are sketched, and some attention is paid to changes in the character of the pioneering as the settlers advanced from the woodlands to the prairies and from subsistence to commercial farming. Three chapters are devoted to the settlements in other regions, one to the beginnings of Norwegian immigration in 1825, one to the settlements in Michigan, and one to the chief "islands" or smaller groups, geographically isolated from the main Norwegian colonies. Unfortunately the book shows a lack of balance and absence of synthesis. The writer has not delimited his subject consistently. At times, also, off-hand general statements have crept in, and often the text suffers from repetition, vagueness, or inaccuracy, which might have been avoided, sometimes by slight changes in language or organization. Mr. Qualey has, nevertheless, done a worthwhile piece of work. His research has been extensive and intensive, and he has gathered much useful information into a usable volume. The excellent maps, the statistical tables from the manuscript population schedules of the United States census reports, as well as the comprehensive bibliography and index, add to the value of the book. KAREN LARSEN.

Middlemen in the Domestic Trade of the United States, 1800-1860. By FRED MITCHELL JONES. [Illinois Studies in the Social Sciences.] (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1937, pp. 81, \$1.00.) This is a well documented description of merchandising organization in the United States from the opening of the last century until the Civil War. Free competition prevailed throughout the period, but other conditions, such as transportation, market areas, consumer demand, and the exchange mechanism expressed in barter, currency, and credit, were in constant transformation. The author gives a short historical and descriptive account of the important agencies of distribution at that time—wholesale merchants, factors or commission merchants, manufacturers' agents and auctions in the wholesale trade, general stores, incipient specialty, department, and chain stores, public markets and peddlers in the retail trade—and incidentally lists government efforts to regulate and tax such of these as encountered cool public favor. The study is a good résumé of facts and will be of service to the general as well as the economic historian. It suggests that the author's interest might eventually be engaged by a more comprehensive work, based on documentary as well as printed records, tracing evolutionary aspects in fuller detail, relating merchandising with new production methods as they appeared, and venturing into marginal zones and recesses of the subject, such for example as the emergence of general trading from the fur trade and the development of the employer store in free labor regions. VICTOR S. CLARK.

A Checklist of United States Newspapers (and Weeklies before 1900) in the General Library. Compiled by MARY WESCOTT and ALLENE RAMAGE. Parts V and VI, *North Dakota-Wyoming*. [Bibliographical Contributions of the Duke University Libraries.] (Durham, Duke University, 1937, pp. 710-1145, \$1.00 each.) *American Newspapers, 1821-1936: A Union List of Files available in the United*

States and Canada. Edited by WINIFRED GREGORY, under the auspices of the Bibliographical Society of America. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1937, pp. xvi, 791.) With Parts V and VI, which include 945 newspapers published in 247 towns in the 17 states which fall alphabetically between North Dakota and Wyoming, the record of the notable collection of United States newspapers in the Duke University Libraries has been completed. Since the beginning of this checklist (Part I, 1932) the appearance of an extensive union list of newspapers (*American Newspapers, 1821-1936*), locating files in 3663 repositories in the United States, its possessions, and Canada, has considerably decreased the importance of checklists of collections in single libraries except as they supplement the union list. For the states covered by Parts V and VI of the Duke list, *American Newspapers* includes issues of 12,733 papers published in 3706 towns. In certain particulars (e.g., historical statements concerning papers listed and the recording of broken sets of papers) the Duke list is fuller than the union list. For these details and for the student who wants only the record of Duke holdings its list will prove useful, but for locating copies of American newspapers, wherever they may be, the union list will be of much greater value because of the number of papers and the number of collections included. DORIS M. REED.

- ✓ *Forty Years of American Life, 1821-1861*. By THOMAS LOW NICHOLS. (New York, Stackpole, 1937, pp. 421, \$3.00.) This edition of a work originally published in England in 1864 should be of interest to all students of social history. The author was a somewhat sensational American journalist, who, in the course of a varied career, carried on his activities in his native New England, New York, the Mississippi Valley, and the Gulf states. During the 1840's and 1850's he entered ardently into a number of reforms designed to raise the standard of health and increase the sum total of human happiness. Despising war as a complete destroyer of his ideal of "individual sovereignty", he refused to have any part in the conflict between the North and South. "Be my brother or I will kill you", he said, was a doctrine which he could not accept. He therefore left America for England when hostilities began and continued his reforming zeal there. With keen journalistic instinct he promptly capitalized the current English interest in America by publishing in two volumes his entertaining *Forty Years of American Life*. In this work, revised in 1874 and now republished, he gives an always lively account of his native land, commenting, often dramatically, upon outstanding persons, places, and events. Although there is not a great deal of autobiographical material in the book, the personality of the author makes itself felt in the vigorous phrasing and the vivid narrative style.

BERTHA MONICA STEARNS.

Journal of a Cruise to the Pacific Ocean, 1842-1844, in the Frigate "United States", with Notes on Herman Melville. Edited by CHARLES ROBERTS ANDERSON. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1937, pp. vi, 143, \$2.50.) The journal which gives the title to this volume is a brief, discreet account by an anonymous petty officer, which is at times more redolent of guidebooks than of the sea. Though the writer was on the Pacific station during the two years which inaugurated the partition of Oceania and was often at Valparaiso, center of news and gossip for the guardian fleets of that ocean, no patriotic alarm over the future of California or Hawaii, no indignation over the theft of Tahiti enlivens his record. Nor does he comment upon those aspects of contemporary navy life which were so clearly in need of reformation. The reader, consequently, is likely to find the appendixes and notes more interesting. Among them are extracts from a franker journal

kept by a gunner of another vessel of the squadron, from whose brush come also the eleven illustrations in the book. The brief eyewitness accounts by both writers of Commodore Jones's premature occupation of Monterey, in October, 1842, are supplemented by the official correspondence of Jones with the Mexican authorities and with the Secretary of the Navy in Washington. Considerable space is given to a circumstance not noted in the journals: the presence of Herman Melville as an ordinary seaman on board the *United States* during the last fourteen months of the cruise. This experience provided the basis for Melville's *White-Jacket; or Around the World in a Man-of-War*. The editor makes numerous comparisons between the facts of the voyage as detailed in an unimaginative journal and as altered by literary license in what Melville asserted, and his biographers have believed, was "an impartial account . . . inventing nothing".

JEAN INGRAM BROOKES.

American Catholics in the War with Mexico. By Sister BLANCHE MARIE MCENIRY. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1937, pp. xi, 178, \$2.00.) In time of war organized Christianity has always been faced with the problem of determining which things are Caesar's and which things are God's. Seldom have churchmen faced a more delicate choice than did the American Catholics in 1846, when, after a decade of persecution by the Native Americans, they were asked to support a war against fellow Catholics. In this dissertation the author sets herself the task of ascertaining "the contribution and participation of American Catholics" (p. ix) in the Mexican conflict. She estimates the extent of her church's participation in terms of the attitude of the Catholic press, the activities of Bishop John Hughes, and the labors of two chaplains, Fathers John McElroy and Anthony Rey, and of "representative" Catholics who served in the army and navy. A thorough survey of the Catholic press is the most original part of the book. The author found that whenever the press did voice an opinion, it was outspokenly prowar. The rest of the book is an amplification of the writings of earlier Catholics, in particular those of Thomas F. Meehan. That the Catholics zealously supported the war, all of the writers are agreed. Why this should have been true, they have left largely unanswered.

CLAYTON S. ELLSWORTH.

The Legislation of the Civil-War Period considered as a Basis of the Agricultural Revolution in the United States. By ARNOLD TILDEN. [The University of Southern California, School of Research Studies.] (Los Angeles, the University Press, 1937, pp. 160.) In this book Dr. Tilden undertakes to prove that the Homestead Act and the various Pacific Railroad acts, as well as numerous supplements to them, were at the bottom of the distress which overtook American agriculture during the last three decades of the nineteenth century. Following some improvement and even prosperity between 1900 and 1921, agricultural decay was resumed in the 20's and is still with us. Even these latter-day difficulties are attributed to the same sources as those of a half-century ago, *viz.*, the legislation of the Civil War period. The author maintains that the subsidies in the form of free land granted to settlers and railroads in the trans-Mississippi territory caused the production of more agricultural commodities than the markets of America and even of the world could absorb at profitable prices. The first people to be affected disastrously were the farmers of the older communities whose capital investments were relatively large. But ere long, as capital costs increased in the newer west while prices continued to decline, the very farmers (or their heirs and successors) who had been the beneficiaries of government bounty found themselves in the same unhappy situation as their eastern brothers. In

the Granger and Greenback movements of the 70's and the Populist and Free Silver movements of the 90's the agrarians were attacking relatively superficial evils and overlooking the fundamental difficulty—overproduction stimulated by unwise government action. Despite some oversimplification of a complex problem and a tendency to be a bit dogmatic, Dr. Tilden defends his thesis with cogent logic and an array of authentic statistical data. The book deserves careful reading by all students of agricultural history and economics. B. B. KENDRICK.

An Annotated Bibliography of Robert M. La Follette: The Man and His Work. By ERNEST W. STIRN. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xi, 571, \$5.00.) This is a manual for the use of some future biographer of the elder La Follette. It consists largely of references drawn from the indexes of the *Congressional Record* and the *New York Times*. These are arranged chronologically, are rarely complete enough to permit the user to be certain that he may refrain from using the indexes, and are accompanied by few notes of evaluation by the editor. Wherever they refer to votes in Congress, the vote cast by Senator La Follette is given. F. L. PAXSON.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Ministerial Training in Eighteenth-Century New England. By MARY LATIMER GAMBRELL. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. 169, \$2.50.) That the colonial New Englanders expected their ministers to be well educated and learned in Scripture and doctrine has long been known, but to what extent their ideal was reached in actual practice has been less certain. To determine as far as possible the character, quality, and methods of ministerial training in New England is the purpose of this study. In general, the author finds, the colonials upheld the standards of seventeenth century England and especially of the Church of Scotland, but without imitation and with some differences. As might have been expected, educational achievement fell short of educational ideal, but this was not peculiar to New England. Dr. Gambrell considers the undergraduate training of New England ministers in the eighteenth century better than that of English Dissenters of the same period and somewhat less good than that of the Scotch Presbyterians, especially in "polite learning". Graduate training in America seems to have been less systematic and more dependent upon the interests of the individual student than in Scotland, yet in both, "catechetical divinity and the current controversies constituted the heart of theological study". This was especially true in New England after the Great Awakening, when there was greater emphasis on doctrinal purity, especially at Yale, and on the training necessary to combat effectively the many new "isms" of the day. Especially interesting are the chapters dealing with the so-called "Schools of the Prophets", where groups of young graduates studied theology and shared the family life in the homes of such eminent divines as

Joseph Bellamy and Nathanael Emmons. To those interested in the sources of American theological doctrine and in early educational methods this book will be of much value. It is well documented and has a good bibliography and index.

ALICE M. BALDWIN.

Not So Long Ago: A Chronicle of Medicine and Doctors in Colonial Philadelphia.

By CECIL K. DRINKER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xii, 183, \$3.50.) Family, political, and especially medical life in Quaker Philadelphia during the last half of the eighteenth century is abundantly revealed by the diary of Elizabeth Sandwith Drinker, kept almost continuously from 1758 to 1807. Her great-great-grandson, professor of physiology in the School of Public Health, Harvard University, has carefully edited the diary and provided a running account of the events mentioned in it. Principally dealing with the struggles to keep well in an age rife with smallpox, yellow fever, and tuberculosis, in addition to minor diseases due to the absence of street sanitation, water closets, or sewage disposal as we know them today, the life of a well-to-do Quaker family is clearly depicted by a remarkable woman. She insisted, for instance, on direct inoculation of smallpox matter in her children, and when vaccination with cowpox first appeared, in 1800, she had her grandchildren so treated. She employed the outstanding physicians of her time, John Redman, Benjamin Rush, Adam Kuhn, William Shippen, jr., and Philip Syngue Physick. The text of the diary, reproduced exactly as it was written, has been adequately expanded in notes by Professor Drinker, who has made a scholarly addition to colonial and post-Revolutionary history.

HENRY R. VIETS.

Azilum: The Story of a French Royalist Colony of 1793. By ELSIE MURRAY.

(Athens, Tioga Point Museum, 1937, pp. 40, 50 cents.) The story of the Azilum colony, founded by French Revolutionary exiles in the Pennsylvania woods, is an extraordinary one. Gentlemen who had known Versailles and the Tuileries, ex-army officers and St. Domingue planters are transformed into colonists on the banks of the Susquehanna, while one nonjuring priest appears as an innkeeper and another keeps a store. Marie Antoinette, for whom a log house is built, fails to arrive, but Louis Philippe does so, as do La Rochefoucauld-Liancourt, and Talleyrand. Miss Murray, herself a descendant of the Azilum refugees and in close touch with all the sources, is well equipped to tell the tale. Her pamphlet is therefore, in wealth of detail, in pictures and maps, distinctly above the average; it is not and makes no claim to be a scientific historical essay. Miss Murray notes, however, that she is revising "The Story of Some French Refugees and their Azilum", written by her mother, the late Mrs. Louise Welles Murray. It is to be hoped that this revision will satisfy the scholar in search of documentation and bibliography and provide an authoritative work on a unique and fascinating story which proves, if ever proof is needed, that truth is stranger than fiction.

FRANCES S. CHILDS.

The Life of Edwards Amasa Park (S.T.D., LL.D.), Abbot Professor, Andover Theological Seminary. By FRANK HUGH FOSTER. Foreword by Walter Marshall Horton.

(New York, Fleming H. Revell, 1936, pp. 275, \$2.75.) Edwards Amasa Park lived through almost all but the first eight years of the nineteenth century. For forty-five years he was a professor in Andover Theological Seminary and for nearly forty an editor of *Bibliotheca Sacra*, a theological quarterly which long voiced Andover opinion. He was generally regarded as one of the greatest teachers, preachers, and controversialists of his generation. He devoted himself almost exclusively, however, to expounding and defending the New England

theology as developed by Jonathan Edwards and Samuel Hopkins. His mental outlook never changed, and in his old age he labored, with what strength remained, "to rescue the shattered Calvinistic system by dint of hard study and closer definition of terms". Since he was not himself creative, and only academic interest in what to him was vital now survives, he has been almost forgotten. Dr. Foster's biography is the affectionate tribute of a pupil and friend, written in the author's declining years and published after his death by former associates. It is a faithful, but sometimes tedious, compilation of facts and illustrative quotations, many of them from manuscript sources. As the portrait of a type that no longer exists and as an account of the activities and influence of one who in his day held a high place in his special field, the book has value. To knowledge of the background against which his life was lived and of the events with which he was connected it adds little.

HARRIS E. STARR.

Vermont's Anti-Slavery and Underground Railroad Record. By WILBUR H. SIEBERT. (Columbus, Spahr and Glenn, 1937, pp. 113, \$2.75.) The last part of this book is a study of the underground railroad in Vermont, as careful and complete as the author's other studies in this field. Based largely on personal reminiscences secured nearly fifty years ago from surviving participants and their children, the material has been checked on the whole with scholarly care. The discrepancy which the author notes (p. 102) between the multitude of fugitives passing through Vermont and the handful of Negroes recorded in the contemporary Canadian census is adequately explained by Fred Landon in his monographs on Negroes in Canada. The remainder of the book, in six brief essays, chronicles antislavery items in the Vermont courts and legislature and catalogues antislavery societies, parties, and newspapers. The essays overlap excessively, but their chief defect is that they read like a series of notes assembled chronologically and lack connected significance. This is unfortunate because Vermont's antislavery record has peculiar significance. After the "mob year" of 1835 the organized antislavery movement came nearer to dominance in Vermont than anywhere else in the North. One error needs correction. In the story of the congressional gags on page 50, Slade and Patton were not senators but members of the House of Representatives, and the Pinckney gag was passed not at the previous session, but two sessions before.

GILBERT HOBBS BARNES.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844. Edited with an Introduction by LESTER B. SHIPPEE. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 208, \$3.50.) Henry Benjamin Whipple, Episcopal bishop of Minnesota in the latter half of the nineteenth century, toured the South at the age of twenty-one and recorded in his diary vivid impressions of cities and towns, planters and plantations, customs and institutions. Although born and reared in upstate New York, his penetrating observations are unusually free of sectional bias. The first slave he beheld gave him "the strangest sensations", but he soon discovered that Southern Negroes were happy, contented, and well fed, albeit laziness reduced the effectiveness of their labor. Whipple concluded that slavery was more injurious to the owner than to the slave. His reflections led some of his New York friends to fear that he had become proslavery. Arguing that the slave was unprepared for freedom, he asserted that if to oppose "immediate emancipation . . . is to be a proslavery man *I am one*" (p. 97). There are illuminating discussions

of slave auctions, masquerades, Georgia "crackers", idiomatic expressions, and Southern hospitality. Whipple's visits to Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, St. Louis, and a dozen other places yielded accurate accounts of their social and commercial activities. He was particularly impressed by the cosmopolitan atmosphere of New Orleans; his comments upon the French Quarter, the market, the amusements, and the "immorals" of the city are quite profound for such a youthful traveler. The historical value of the diary is enhanced by identification of the individuals he met and the plantations he visited. Professor Shippee contributes a biographical introduction which emphasizes Whipple's career as bishop of Minnesota and his work among the Indians. The editing has been carefully done, although an occasional inaccuracy appears in explanatory footnotes. The format of the volume is most attractive. WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

Ware Sherman: A Journal of Three Months' Personal Experience in the Last Days of the Confederacy. By JOSEPH LeCONTE. With an Introductory Reminiscence by his daughter, CAROLINE LeCONTE. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. xxxi, 146, \$1.50.) This extremely interesting little book which, through the eyes of an educated and skilled observer, gives a graphic picture of some of the things that were going on behind the lines during the last six months of the Confederacy, is source material for the social historian of the period. Written in scraps as a journal and soon afterwards transcribed, it is a record of the experiences of a consulting chemist in the Confederate States Nitre and Mining Bureau (formerly a professor of chemistry and geology at South Carolina College and afterwards a prominent geologist and professor at the University of California) in trying to remove part of his family and, later, Nitre and Mining Bureau stores and personal possessions from the path of Sherman's army. The reproductions of pen-and-ink sketches made by the author on the original draft of the journal, which appear as illustrations, are valuable as well as interesting. The editing includes an index of, and many footnotes identifying, persons mentioned. The trifling errors and omissions are such as would be significant only to the military critic. A general sketch map showing the territory covered and places mentioned would have been a valuable addition. T. H. SMITH.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

- The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794: An Annotated Bibliography.* By HENRY R. WAGNER. [Quivira Society.] Two Parts. (Albuquerque, the Society, 1937, pp. 270; 271-553, \$15.00.) In 1917 a small monograph entitled *Bibliography of Printed Works in Spanish relating to those Portions of the United States which Formerly belonged to Mexico* was published in Santiago, Chile, by Mr. Wagner. Seven years later, revised and enlarged to 302 pages but limited to only 100 copies, it became the first edition of *The Spanish Southwest*. This present edi-

tion, of 401 copies, represents further revision, the inclusion of many new titles, and copious annotation. In addition to adequate and detailed bibliographic information, copies of the titles mentioned are located insofar as practicable. Brief biographical sketches of the authors together with extensive reference to original manuscripts, published documentary collections, and periodical literature immensely enrich the work. Facsimile titlepages of most of the important titles have been included. An index, bibliography, and reference map facilitate consultation. Entries follow the chronological plan with some variation. The author brings to his work the appreciation of a true bibliophile and the stimulus of energetic scholarship. In several places he has summarized the results of specialized historical research on certain topics. Attention is focused primarily upon the portions of the present United States which were once part of New Spain, but adequate coverage of this somewhat restricted field necessitated excursions into Spanish and Hispanic American history. Students of the colonial Southwest will find this study invaluable. It is almost equally significant for those interested in colonial America.

VERNON D. TATE.

Historic St. Joseph Island. By JOSEPH and ESTELLE BAYLISS. (Cedar Rapids, Torch Press, 1938, pp. vi, 237, \$2.00.) If any excuse were needed for this book, it would be found in the fact that, as Dr. M. M. Quaife points out in his introduction, St. Joseph Island has been conspicuously neglected, notwithstanding its long and interesting history. And even if this were not so, Mr. and Mrs. Bayliss have produced something that is quite good enough to stand upon its own feet. Newcomers, as it would appear, in the overcrowded field of writers, they command in their narrative style the happy mean between those who are ponderously accurate and those others who must dramatize every situation. From a wealth of material, gathered from many scattered sources, they have built a story that is objective without ceasing to be human, dramatic because its history is dramatic, and marked by the tragedy and humor of pioneer life on this continent. St. Joseph Island lies at the point where St. Mary's River enters Lake Huron. It was therefore on the main thoroughfare of travel east and west from the days of Étienne Brûlé, Jean Nicolet, and Père Marquette down through the periods of exploration, the fur trade, and early settlement. Here a fierce battle was fought about the middle of the seventeenth century between the Iroquois and the Huron, and on this same island Fort St. Joseph was built in 1796, from which in 1812 the expedition set forth that captured Fort Mackinac. Oddly enough, while it appears that in the early days of Fort St. Joseph fish were conspicuously lacking in the neighborhood of the island, the garrison at one time being reduced to a few pounds of rancid pork, forty-three years later the small settlement that had been established there was not only supplying all its own wants but shipping six hundred barrels of trout and herring to Detroit and Chicago between spring and July. Altogether this book is a very real addition to the historical literature of the Great Lakes region.

LAWRENCE J. BURPEE.

Red Cloud's Folk: A History of the Oglala Sioux Indians. By GEORGE E. HYDE. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1937, pp. xi, 331, \$3.50.) This is the first attempt to present a complete history of one of the Sioux tribes. It includes also the story of other Sioux tribes and related episodes in the experiences of the Cheyennes and Arapahoes. It begins with the migration of the Oglalas and their Teton kindred from Minnesota across the coteau to the Missouri, and it traces their development from "little camps of poor people afoot in the vast buffalo plains" to a populous nation, rich with stolen horses, happy with dances and successful forays, and rejoicing in a careless abundance of dried meat and warm

robes. In their relations with the white man there was the excitement of plundering helpless emigrant trains, defeating incredibly stupid military expeditions, and bullying even more stupid civilian administrators; but the ruthless advance of civilization continued, the coming of more emigrant trains, the building of roads and railroads, the establishment of forts, the destruction of the buffalo, the seizure of the Black Hills, and the final settlement of a crushed and hopeless people upon a reservation. The book is written in a racy style, with vivid characterization. The author's long familiarity with the background has enabled him to untangle the threads of vague, half-forgotten tribal traditions, misleading accounts by unseeing travelers, and solemn falsehoods of official reports, and weave them all into a connected narrative. But the book is not documented, and the critical student will not be satisfied with an interpretation that rests solely upon the word of one brilliant and witty commentator. In spite of its charm, it leaves one with the uneasy feeling that the real history of the Oglala Sioux has not yet been told.

ANGIE DEBO.

Overland to California in 1847: Letters written en route to California, west from Independence, Missouri, to the Editor of the Joliet Signal. By CHESTER INGERSOLL. Edited, with an Introductory Note, by DOUGLAS C. MCMURTRIE. (Chicago, Black Cat Press, 1937, pp. 50, \$3.50.) This series of nine letters in diary form was printed in the *Joliet Signal* between May 18, 1847, and August 29 of the same year. Coming as they do before the onset of the gold rush, written by a man of intelligent observation and excellent balance, and outlining the main features of the established route, they are a useful addition to the bibliography of the California Trail. The letters are definite in information about prices, necessary supplies, the weather, distances, the character of the country, and traveling conditions. It may be noted that, contrary to popular belief, the chief danger from Indians, when they did appear, was from their rascally thieving rather than their bloodthirsty tendencies. Arriving in California, the writer reported the nature of the country, both north and south of San Francisco Bay, and the wealth of business opportunities for an ambitious pioneer. Although little attempt has been made by the editor to identify or locate geographical features outside of California, the lay reader would be reassured to know, for instance, that the "Fort Neff" river is really the Port Neuf. To the editor, who is interested chiefly in the history of early printing in the United States, we are indebted for a handsomely printed and valuable contemporary account of the road to California in 1847.

DOROTHY P. HULBERT.

Southern Trails to California in 1849. Edited by RALPH P. BIEBER. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1937, pp. 386, \$6.00.) The *raison d'être* for this volume of the Southwest Historical Series was found by the editor in the fact that the story of the argonauts of '49 who traveled the lesser known southern trails still remained to be written. The present volume, therefore, contains "documentary material illustrating the various aspects of the gold rush through the Southwest in 1849" and "seeks to paint a picture of this movement by reproducing some relatively inaccessible diaries, letters, and other contemporary material of the overland trek through the Southwest". The introduction constitutes an excellent summary, which includes Mr. Bieber's article, "The Southwestern Trails to California in 1849" (*Mississippi Valley Hist. Rev.*, Dec., 1925). It describes in some detail the entire movement. The documentary material is fresh, literate, and stimulating, containing as it does much otherwise unknown information, chiefly from newspapers of 1848 and 1849, contributed by editorial comment and actual traveling correspondents. It would be interesting to know approxi-

mately what percentage of the nine thousand forty-niners who traveled these Southwest trails chose at the base of the Rocky Mountains the Gila river routes and what percentage, the Salt Lake City routes, and of the latter, how many preferred instead of the hard, less direct trail to Los Angeles, the regular, direct route via the Humboldt. Thus might be determined more accurately the true argonauts of the Southwest trails, properly speaking. The editorial labor has been accomplished with sound learning and discrimination, the map and illustrations are adequate, and the format attractive. DOROTHY P. HULBERT.

A History of Congregationalism in Nebraska: A Study of Administrative Activities.

By CHARLES JOHNSTON KENNEDY. (Chicago, The Mid-West Congregational Historical Society, 1937, pp. 113, \$1.00.) This careful study of the impact of Congregationalism upon Nebraska is a welcome addition to the growing number of monographs dealing with various phases of the religious history of the mid-west. As the subtitle indicates, the author has limited himself to an account of the administrative activities, a limitation which to this reviewer seems unfortunate. As might be expected, there is very little human interest material in the book, and none of the leaders stand out as human beings. Congregationalism proved itself more or less of a failure as a frontier body, and the reason is clearly shown in this study. Congregationalism was planted in Nebraska by Eastern missionaries working under the direction of an Eastern agency. For a considerable time it struggled under the handicap of long distance control and developed a dependent attitude and a migratory ministry. On the other hand, such churches as the Baptist, Methodist, and Disciple largely grew out of the soil of the frontier and early developed an aggressive independence. The author is to be commended for his meticulous use of sources. The absence of an index is to be regretted.

WILLIAM W. SWEET.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW INDEX

The American Historical Review General Index, Volumes XXXI-XL, is now in press. The price will be \$1.75. Copies may be secured from the Macmillan Company, 60 Fifth Avenue, New York City.

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

THE Fifty-third Annual Meeting will be held at the Stevens Hotel, Chicago, on December 28, 29, and 30. The fact that this hotel contains a number of rooms with a seating capacity of a hundred or more has enabled the Program Committee to arrange a series of round tables. There will be round tables on the ten following subdivisions of history: ancient; medieval; early modern; later modern; English; Slavonic; Far Eastern; early American; later American; Latin-American. Those interested in a given subdivision will meet each morning in the same room at the same hour. At each of the thirty round tables there will be a single paper of a general nature on a debatable subject. Discussion from the floor will follow, led by a designated discussion leader and controlled by a chairman. The afternoons will be devoted to more general subjects and to joint sessions with the several affiliated societies. There will be a session to celebrate the sesquicentennial of the settlement of the Old Northwest and a debate between Professors Sidney B. Fay and Bernadotte E. Schmitt to commemorate the armistice of 1918. Other afternoon sessions will deal with methods of history, the philosophy of history, and the transition of culture. There will not be more than two papers at any of the afternoon sessions. If present plans materialize, a historical newsreel entitled *From Tsar to Lenin* will be shown after the session on methods of history. The evening sessions will be devoted to the Presidential Address and a discussion of urbanization at various stages of the world's development. Arrangements have been made for the usual luncheons and dinners of affiliated groups and a complimentary luncheon to be tendered jointly by the University of Chicago and Northwestern University.

"The Story Behind the Headlines" will be presented again this season as a radio program by the National Broadcasting Company and the American Historical Association. This series of weekly talks on the historical background of present-day events will come each Friday evening, beginning October 14, over the N. B. C. red network at 10:30. Mr. Cesar Saerchinger will again be the commentator and will make each talk in consultation with a historian, expert in the particular field of history treated in the talk. The

talks will be published weekly by the Columbia University Press, in *The Bulletin of the Story Behind the Headlines*, for sale at ten cents per copy or one dollar for the first thirteen numbers. Further information regarding the radio series and the *Bulletin* may be had by addressing Mrs. Evelyn Plummer Braun, Radio Committee Office, American Historical Association, 226 South Sixteenth Street, Philadelphia.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

VII. France

Biography of Guizot. Prog. Elizabeth Parnham Brush, *Rockford College*.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

As announced in our last issue, a list of the errata which have thus far been discovered in the *Dictionary of American Biography* is being prepared for publication. The director of the enterprise, Dr. Harris E. Starr, 182 Cold Spring Street, New Haven, would be glad to have reported to him any errors which readers of the *Review* may have noted. Authorities should be cited for any changes suggested.

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: copy of a narrative of Christopher Baron de Graffenried's voyage to America, 1711; photostat of the journal of Major General James Wolfe, May to August, 1759; additional photostats of the letters of George Washington; fifty-three papers of David Van Schaack, Henry Van Schaack, and (mainly) Peter Van Schaack, 1776 to 1841; additional papers of Alexander S. Palmer and Nathaniel B. Palmer, 1824-92; one volume of letters of Francis Granger, mainly to Thurlow Weed, 1825-38; transcript of certain pages of the journal of Colonel John Charles Frémont, January-February, 1849; photographic copies of two papers of Abraham Lincoln, 1860 and 1865; papers of Julius Goebel, 1873-1930; archives of the American Historical Association, 1882 to 1934; typewritten copies of twenty-three papers of Secretary Jeremiah McClain Rusk (mainly letters received), 1888-92; additional papers of Justin Smith Morrill; photostats of various letters of John Sherman; copy of a narrative of the sinking of the U. S. troop ship *Tuscania*, February, 1918; photostats of manuscripts in the British Public Record Office: (1) correspondence concerning the Northwest Boundary and the Island of San Juan, 1861-73; (2) correspondence between the British secretary of state for foreign affairs and the minister at Washington (Sir Edward Thornton), 1871; (3) the first volumes of the correspondence of the British members of the Joint High Commission which met at Washington in 1871.

Outstanding among the many collections received by the National Archives in recent months are those relating to the Revolutionary, Mexican, and Civil wars. Continental Army records, 1775-83, and the record books of volunteer regiments, 1846-48 and 1861-66, have been transferred from the War Department. The Treasury Department has transferred records concerning captured, abandoned, and confiscated property and the claims relating thereto, 1863-81, and Confederate treasury, customhouse, and court records, 1861-65. Other important accessions from the Treasury Department include accounting records of various sorts with series falling within the dates 1779-1922 and customhouse records, 1789-1816. The Office of Indian Affairs has now transferred nearly all its records through 1921 and some series extending through 1936. Records transferred by the Department of Agriculture include bodies of important correspondence from the Forest Service, 1888-1917, from the Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, 1878-1918, and from the Bureau of Plant Industry, 1891-1932.

The Louisiana State University Department of Archives has recently acquired private manuscript collections covering the period from 1750 to 1930 and containing approximately 6230 items: the Amiss collection, 488 items, 1770-1917, relating to the settlement and development of the Baton Rouge district; the diary of Harod C. Anderson of Haywood County, Tennessee, 3 volumes, 1854-88, containing plantation accounts, a daily journal showing the author's philosophy, religion, and reaction to social events of the time, and accounts of the author's opposition to secession and of President Cleveland's visit to Memphis; the Assumption parish collection, 50 items, 1841-1914; the David French and Thomas Duckett Boyd collections, 80 items, 1874-1922, containing information on the Louisiana State University compiled by two of its former presidents; Dr. Mark Carleton's collection, 2 volumes, 1883-1900, containing records of the United States Sugar Beet Experimental Station at Schuyler, Nebraska, and of experiments on growing cane by chemical selection, and a botanical specimen book; the College of the City of Baton Rouge collection, 4 volumes, 1837-41; the Citizens Bank of Louisiana collection, 11 items, 1851-55, including receipts of stock owners for payments of interest and installments; the Stephen Duncan collection of Natchez, Mississippi, 6 volumes and 113 unbound items, 1856-80, comprising assessors' lists, tax receipts, letters, statement of a scheme for running a plantation in Tensas parish with three hundred Chinese, copy of a contract for the Natchez cotton mills, statement of cotton claims, land deeds, journals of a trip abroad, cash and account books, and journals of plantation accounts; the important Favrot collection, covering the years 1795-97 in lower Louisiana, 148 items, 1758-1920; the J. D. Garland collection, 19 items, 1863-70, containing Civil War letters from the various camps in Louisiana; the Kate Garland collection of Petersburg, Virginia, 26 items, 1859-70, important for the interesting

diary of a school girl during the Civil War and after; the Koch collection of Logtown, Mississippi, 3100 items, 1820-1900, containing letters to and from members of the family, plantation documents, travel accounts, a great amount of material regarding the Civil War and Reconstruction in Mississippi, and much information on the lumbering business; the Jean Baptiste Landry collection of Assumption parish, 148 items, 1838-87, valuable for plantation records; the Montpelier Academy collection of St. Helena parish, 58 items, 1833-40; the Thomas Overton Moore collection, 632 items, 1832-77, containing the papers of the Civil War governor of Louisiana; the Port of New Orleans papers, 3 items, 1816-19; the New Orleans Academy of Science papers, 7 items, 1852-70; the Philharmonic Society collection of St. James parish, 12 items, 1875-76; the John Reid collection, 45 items, 1861-70, comprising material regarding the purchase of meat for soldiers during the Civil War; the Daniel D. Slousan collection of Port Hudson, Louisiana, 537 items, 1852-78, valuable for its information regarding medical care of soldiers during the war; the Sugar Planters Association collection, 200 items, 1907-1908, giving information about the operation of this organization in Louisiana. The Department of Archives has also acquired the official records of Caddo parish, 182,820 items, 1838-93; Catahoula parish, 51,180 items, 1810-1911; East Feliciana parish, 561,800 items, 1811-1931; and St. John the Baptist parish, 39,570 items, 1812-1924. Its largest collection is the official records of the State of Louisiana. This mass of material consists of approximately fifteen million items and covers the period 1800-1930.

The library of the Ohio State Archaeological and Historical Society has recently acquired a collection of about five thousand manuscript pieces of Western land tax receipts relating to Jay Cooke, Gibraltar Island, and western lands. In the collection are 550 autographed letters of Jay Cooke and 1461 items of associated material. There is a large amount of original material relating to western lands in which a number of states were concerned. Because of Jay Cooke's association with the government during the Civil War and his extensive interests in western lands, this collection will be of value to the research student in these phases of American history.

Recent accessions to the collections of the North Carolina Historical Commission include: 251 manuscript volumes consisting of the leaf tobacco book of M. H. Pinnix and Company, place of business unknown; day books, ledgers, and other account books of the following general merchants: R. L. Davis and Brothers of Farmville, and Dildy and Agnew, Willis Edmundson, Howard-Williams Company, and P. L. Woodard Company, all of Wilson; photostats of North Carolina maps, 1780-1890; a number of Civil War pamphlets; and records of Wake County and Warren County.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin has acquired a collection of several thousand letters by Charles Van Hise, noted scientist, conservationist, and president of the University of Wisconsin, written over a period of more than forty years, which constitute virtually a history of the university for those years as well as an autobiography of President Van Hise. His studies on pre-Cambrian rocks and the work of contemporary geologists in the United States are set forth in a group of twenty-five letter books and a corresponding amount of incoming letters of the Lake Superior Division of the United States Geological Survey (1882 to 1912), which during these years made and published detailed studies on the ore-bearing regions of upper Michigan, Wisconsin, and Minnesota. Twenty-three letters written by William B. Cushing, one of the three Wisconsin Cushing brothers of Civil War fame and hero of the *Albemarle* and other naval engagements, contain vivid accounts of his life at the Annapolis Academy and on cruises, and of his participation in the war.

The Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences was held in Zurich on August 28 to September 4, with an attendance of over a thousand historians from some fifty countries, including forty-eight from the United States. The representatives of the American Historical Association were Solon J. Buck, Harold Deutsch, Clyde L. Grose, John L. LaMonte, Waldo G. Leland, Albert H. Lybyer, and Waldemar Westergaard. At the meeting of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, held on the opening day of the congress, Waldo G. Leland, former secretary of the American Historical Association and executive director of the American Council of Learned Societies, was elected president of the committee for the five-year term 1938-43, succeeding Harold W. V. Temperley, master of Peterhouse, Cambridge. A special account of the congress will be published in the January issue of the *Review*.

The International Documents Service of the Columbia University Press has been implemented by the creation of the Council on International Publications with President Butler as honorary chairman, Professor Shotwell as executive chairman, and a membership drawn from those interested in the administration of libraries and archives as well as in their effective use. In addition to the distribution of the documents of the League of Nations, it is proposed to arrange for the distribution of publications which may serve as source material for the study of history, especially contemporary history. The plan is to concentrate on the publications of other than commercial publishers. Pamphlet literature, both American and foreign, will be surveyed and those titles listed which may prove of value to the student. It is recognized that not all of this literature can be covered by any one organization, but historians will be grateful for the effort to make

more readily available in this country the monographic studies of European specialists which are often difficult to secure.

The Hudson's Bay Record Society has recently been organized for the purpose of publishing the records in the possession of the Hudson's Bay Company. On payment of the annual subscription of one guinea or five dollars a year, members will be entitled to receive annually one volume of the records, publication of which will be made about October. The first volume to be published will consist of Sir George Simpson's *Athabasca Journal and Report, 1820-21*, with an introduction by Professor Chester Martin of Toronto University. All communications concerning this new organization should be addressed to the Hudson's Bay Record Society, 68, Bishopsgate, London, E. C. 2.

The Council of the Royal Scottish Geographical Society, which has always taken a deep interest in the study of Scottish place names, has recently appointed a committee to carry through a plan of investigation by counties, the purpose being to provide an accurate list of place names, with their history, that will prove of service in the study of local history and in the correction of maps and charts. The work is already in progress, and for West Lothian the list has been completed by Dr. Angus Macdonald. Assistance in this effort will be welcomed. Communications should be addressed to the secretary, Royal Scottish Geographical Society, Synod Hall, Castle Terrace, Edinburgh.

Fragments of a *padrão* or stone column of possession, supposed to have been erected by Bartholomew Dias in 1488, have been discovered by Mr. Eric Axelsson on False Island near the mouth of the Bushman River, about 50 miles east of Port Elizabeth, Union of South Africa. The discovery is described in the *Johannesburg Star* of February 9, 1938.

PERSONAL

A. E. Stamp, a scholar of Trinity College, Cambridge, who died in March, had been connected with the British Public Record Office since 1893. The historical work with which he was chiefly associated was the publication of the close rolls of Henry III. He was appointed secretary of the Historical Manuscripts Commission in 1912 and secretary of the Public Record Office in 1918. In 1926, on the retirement of Sir Henry Maxwell Lyte, he became deputy keeper of the public records. He was largely responsible for the revival, after the war, of the Pipe Roll Society and was its treasurer at the time of his death. He was closely associated with the foundation of the British Records Association. American historical scholars who have worked in the Public Record Office have reason to be grateful to Mr. Stamp for his helpful interest in their investigations. His hearty

co-operation was of the greatest value to the European Mission of the Library of Congress. Though not himself a historian, his influence has been strong on the best lines of historical work.

On June 25 Friedrich Thimme, director emeritus of the Library of the Prussian Landtag, died in an Alpine accident. He was born in the Harz Mountains in 1868, studied history at Göttingen, and was head of the libraries, successively, of the City of Hanover, the Prussian Herrenhaus, and the Prussian Landtag. His earlier publications were dedicated to the history of Hanover and of Prussian reform. He was editor or coeditor of various volumes in the Friedrichsruh edition of Bismarck's collected works (1924 ff.), of the collected speeches of Miquel, Bennigsen, and Bethmann Hollweg, of the anti-Bülow symposium *Front wider Bülow* (1931), and of the memoirs of Count Monts (1932). He was ghost writer for more than one of the German postwar authors of memoirs and other *pièces justificatives*, including the ex-crown prince. During the World War, when he was close to Bethmann Hollweg, he entered upon a career of *Gelehrtenpolitik*, motivated by his constant ideal of *Burgfrieden*, internal peace, class conciliation; in the Fechenbach case, which amounted to a German postwar *Dreyfusade*, Dr. Thimme played by far the most honorable part. These activities ended only in 1933, when he was retired on a pension. His name became internationally known through his work on *Die grosse Politik*. For this publication the original initiative, as far as it is due to a single person, should be credited to the late A. Mendelssohn Bartholdy, but Dr. Thimme contributed the actual labor of selecting and editing the documents. It was under his driving force that the series grew to proportions not planned in the beginning and took on a character which a later regime has begun to hate for its "suicidal" inclusiveness.

George Lincoln Burr, who died at Ithaca on June 27, was born at Oramel, New York, on January 30, 1857. As a boy he learned the trade of printer, by the practice of which he partly supported himself through school and college. Graduating from Cornell in 1881, he spent three years (1884-86 and 1887-88) in Leipzig, Paris, and Zurich. On his return in 1888 he was appointed to a position on the Cornell faculty, holding the chair of medieval history from 1892 to 1922. His teaching included the period of the Renaissance and Reformation, for he considered the sixteenth century more medieval than modern. (See his essay, "Anent the Middle Ages", in the *American Historical Review*, XVIII [1913], 710 ff.) From 1887 he was also librarian of the President White Library at Cornell, which he made one of the best collections of books in America and in some fields, notably in the history of superstition, the best in the world. In 1896 he was appointed historical expert on the commission appointed by President Cleveland to investigate the boundary between Venezuela

and British Guiana. His report, published in 1900, was useful in the arbitration that finally settled the dispute. In recognition of his services Burr was given the degree of LL.D. by the University of Wisconsin in 1904 and the degree of Litt.D. by Western Reserve University in 1905. From 1905 to 1916 he was associate editor of the *American Historical Review*. In 1916-17 he was president of the American Historical Association. Taking as the subject of his presidential address "The Freedom of History", he traced the history of freedom in this discipline (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXII, 253 ff.). His specialty was the history of superstition. *The Literature of Witchcraft* (1890) is a bibliography with some translations of sources. *The Fate of Dietrich Flade* (1891) reconstructs from manuscripts the trial and execution for the crime of witchcraft of an eminent citizen of Cologne. In *Narratives of the Witchcraft Cases* (1913) Burr edited some of the sources for the history of witch-hunting in New England. When Henry Charles Lea died in 1909, his large unfinished manuscript history of witchcraft was turned over to Burr for editing. This exacting task was completed, with the aid of Professor Arthur Charles Howland, just before Burr's death, the work being now in the hands of the printers. Much of Burr's learning has gone into the books of others. In the preface to *A History of the Warfare of Science and Theology* Andrew D. White acknowledges his great debt to "the contributions, suggestions, criticisms, and cautions" of his pupil and dear friend. Professor E. M. Hulme has based his excellent textbooks, *The Middle Ages* and *The Renaissance, the Protestant Revolution, and the Catholic Reformation*, on the outlines of Burr's lectures, with full and graceful expression of obligation. Hundreds of other scholars have been indebted to Burr for suggestion and criticism. There was in his nature an uncommon generosity that led him to give to others more, both of his income and of his great stores of learning, than he kept for his own use.

On July 7 an outstanding scholar in ecclesiastical law and history, Professor Emeritus Ulrich Stutz, died in Berlin at the age of seventy-one. His life followed the usual quiet and steady course of an eminent Continental scholar. Born in Zurich in 1868, he took his J.U.D. degree in Berlin, where he had been a disciple of Brunner, in 1892 with a thesis entitled *Die Verwaltung und Nutzung des kirchlichen Vermögens in den Gebieten des weströmischen Reiches*. He became a privatdozent in German and ecclesiastical law at the University of Basel in 1894 and was promoted to an associate professorship two years later. In 1896 he joined the law faculty of Freiburg as a full professor. In 1904 he went to the University of Bonn, and from there he was called in 1916 to the University of Berlin as professor of ecclesiastical law and history, thus obtaining the most prominent German chair in his field. Professor Stutz made some contributions to the doctrines of private law, but his principal work lay in the fields of ecclesiastical law

and legal history, where his productivity was almost unbelievable. He was one of the board of editors of the famous *Zeitschrift der Savignystiftung*, serving as editor both of the Germanistic division (since 1898) and the canonistic division, which he helped to found in 1911. Results of his indefatigable industry can be found in almost every volume of this periodical, after he joined its editorial staff, in the form of articles, short notes, and book reviews. Professor Stutz's greatest scholarly accomplishment was the discovery that in the early Middle Ages churches were owned by various lords, temporal and spiritual, an institution which he designated as *Eigenkirche*. His views are now widely (though by no means universally) accepted with respect to the church history of Germany, northern Italy, Spain, France, and England. Maitland, with his great historical insight, caught at once the significance of Stutz's thesis, which he incorporated in his works with highest praise. Professor Stutz devoted many studies to different aspects of *Eigenkirche*, and even in his later years he gave much thought to his favorite topic. But he was greatly interested also in many other phases of ecclesiastical history and law, particularly with respect to Germany, and in general German legal history. His contributions, whether articles, notes, or book reviews, always reveal his masterful scholarship. Those who know only a part of his astonishing output will recognize that his death is a great loss to medieval scholarship. Though Professor Stutz was not a brilliant classroom teacher and was somewhat handicapped by his strong Swiss-Swabian accent, students who came in personal contact with him will cherish his memory.

On July 17 Professor Grover Clark of the University of Denver died at the age of forty-six. Born in Osaka, Japan, the son of missionaries, he received his A.B. degree from Oberlin College in 1914 and his M.A. from the University of Chicago in 1918. Returning to the Orient, he became, in 1921, the editor of the *Peking Leader*, the leading exponent of liberal foreign views in Northern China. On his return to the United States in 1930, he became a consultant on Far Eastern affairs for a number of organizations, including the Carnegie Endowment. With a sympathetic understanding of the problems of China, he wrote convincingly of its history and people, basing his works upon unremitting research. The title of one of his books, *The Great Wall Crumbles*, at once indicates the imaginative feeling of the author for the epochal change now taking place in the Orient. Perhaps his most solid contribution to recent history, however, is the original work which went into the volume, *The Balance Sheets of Imperialism*. The conclusion that imperialism pays at best only a limited number of exploiters in the exploiting country, summarized in the introduction to this volume, is given more popular statement in his other volume, *A Place in the Sun*. After a year in the department of history of Wellesley College, he joined the faculty of the University of Denver. For the last

three years he conducted the round table on Far Eastern questions at the Institute of Public Affairs of the University of Virginia.

Owen Wister, who died on July 21, contributed to the understanding of the American past largely through the medium of fiction. Mr. Wister, a grandson of the famous Fanny Kemble, was born in Philadelphia on July 14, 1860. He attended Harvard College, where he cemented a life-long friendship with Theodore Roosevelt, studied music in Paris, and graduated from the Harvard Law School in 1888. His interests were divided between music and law, but ill health prevented an active pursuit of either a musical or a legal career; an *Atlantic Monthly* essay on Beethoven and active participation in the fight on Franklin D. Roosevelt's plan for judicial reform constituted his contributions in these two fields. At the suggestion of Dr. S. Weir Mitchell, himself a distinguished novelist, Wister went west in search of health and literary material and returned with both. The best known of his books is *The Virginian*, published in 1902 and still popular. This was followed by a series of novels and sketches, among them the charming *Lady Baltimore*, which revealed a deftness and delicacy not to be found in the Western stories. At various times Mr. Wister tried his hand at more formal history: a biography of *Ulysses S. Grant*, an evaluation of *The Seven Ages of Washington*, and studies of the American Indian. Profoundly stirred by the World War and its aftermath, bitterly hostile to the neutrality policy of the Wilson administration, and deeply attached to Great Britain, Mr. Wister attempted to win public opinion to a better understanding of America's debt to England in three controversial tracts: *The Pentecost of Calamity*, *A Straight Deal or The Ancient Grudge*, and *Neighbors Henceforth*. His last book, *Roosevelt: The Story of a Friendship*, celebrated the virtues of his Harvard classmate.

Sir Stanley Leathes, who died on July 25 at the age of seventy-seven, exemplified the close relation between scholarship and the public service in Great Britain. He was a graduate and fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, and served as lecturer in history there from 1892 to 1903. An intimate friend of Lord Acton, who planned the *Cambridge Modern History*, he was one of the three general editors of that monumental work, his associates being Sir Adolphus Ward and Sir George Prothero, and contributed to it nine chapters, most of them on French history. In 1903 he became secretary of the British civil service commission, of which he was appointed a member in 1907 and first commissioner in 1920. His published writings include a three-volume work, *The People of England*.

On July 26 Henry Percival Biggar, chief archivist for Canada in Europe, died at his home in Worplesdon, Surrey. He was born at Carrying Place, Ontario, in 1872, graduated in arts from the University of Toronto in 1894, and continued graduate studies in Berlin, Paris, and Oxford. In 1905,

a few months after the late Sir Arthur Doughty had been appointed Dominion archivist, Dr. Biggar was selected to supervise the work being done by the Canadian Archives in Europe. This post he held until his death. The work involved persistent search for materials relating to Canadian history in the public and private archival collections in England and France and the direction of a considerable permanent staff of copyists in London and Paris. Dr. Biggar also found time to do a substantial amount of writing, mostly in the form of the editing of documents relating to the early French explorers in Canada, notably Cartier, Roberval, and Champlain. Besides a large number of magazine articles his works include the following: *Precursors of Jacques Cartier, 1497-1534* (1911), *Voyages of Jacques Cartier* (1924), *A Collection of Documents relating to Jacques Cartier and the Sieur de Roberval* (1930), *The Works of Samuel de Champlain* (6 vols., 1922-36), and *Early Trading Companies of New France* (1901). His writings always displayed a high degree of historical integrity. Many universities and learned societies honored him. His chief contribution to Canadian historical scholarship will be found in the great collection of British and French transcripts deposited in the Public Archives of Canada.

William H. Mace, who died on August 10 at the age of eighty-five, was best known as the author of textbooks in history, including *A Working Manual of American History* (1895), *Method in History* (1897), *A School History of the United States* (1904), and *American History for High Schools* (1925). *Washington, a Virginia Cavalier* and *Lincoln, the Man of the People* were among his other publications. Dr. Mace was professor of history in De Pauw University Normal School (1885-90) and professor of history and political science in Syracuse University (1891-1916). He held the degrees of B.L. and M.L. (University of Michigan), A.M. (Indiana University), Ph.D. (University of Jena), and LL.D. (Syracuse University).

The following appointments are noted: *Black Mountain College*, Walter C. Barnes of Smith College as associate professor; *Butler University*, Roy M. Robbins of Western Reserve University as associate professor; *Cornell University*, Knight Biggerstaff of the University of Washington as assistant professor; *Duke University*, Joseph C. Robert of Ohio State University as assistant professor and Thomas E. La Fargue, fellow at Yale University, as visiting assistant professor for the first semester of the current academic year; *Randolph-Macon Woman's College*, Howard Lewis Briggs as acting adjunct professor for the current academic year; *John B. Stetson University*, G. Leighton LaFuze of the National Archives as professor of history and political science; *University College of the University of London*, Dwight L. Dumond, who remains as associate professor in the University of Michigan, as a Commonwealth Foundation lecturer, his subject being "The Antislavery Movement as an Antecedent of the Civil

War"; *Western Reserve University*, Summerfield Baldwin as assistant professor in Mather College and George T. Hunt as assistant professor in Cleveland College.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Colgate University*, Raymond O. Rockwood to be assistant professor; *University of Pittsburgh*, Oliver W. Elsbree to be associate professor.

The archivist of the United States announces the designation of Philip M. Hamer as chief of the Division of Reference and of Percy S. Flippin as chief of a newly established Division of Independent Agencies Archives. The Divisions of Accessions and Research, formerly headed by these men, have been abolished and their functions and personnel distributed among other divisions. Nelson M. Blake, Theodore R. Schellenberg, Paul Lewinson, and Oliver W. Holmes have been appointed chiefs, respectively, of the Divisions of Navy, Agriculture, Labor, and Interior Department Archives. Frank D. McAlister, chief of the Division of Justice Department Archives, has also become acting chief of the new Division of Legislative Archives. Other appointments include those of Vernon G. Setser, as assistant chief of the Division of Reference; and of Mrs. Natalia Summers, formerly chief of the Archives Section at the State Department, and Arthur E. Beach, also formerly of the State Department, to positions in the Division of State Department Archives. Harry R. Peterson has resigned his position in the Division of Navy Department Archives to accept the headship of the Department of Social Science, McKinley Senior High School, Cedar Rapids, Iowa. Solon J. Buck, director of publications, has been designated as chairman of the United States delegation to the Fourteenth International Conference on Documentation at Oxford, England, on September 21-26. While he is abroad Dr. Buck expects to visit and observe the methods of various archival establishments in the Netherlands, Belgium, France, Switzerland, and England.

The following leaves of absence for the first semester are noted: *Northwestern University*, Clyde L. Grose; *University of Illinois*, J. G. Randall.

Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, Edwards Professor of American History in Princeton University, has been appointed Harold Vyvyan Harmsworth Professor of American History in Oxford University for 1939-40. He will succeed Professor Robert McElroy.

Professor W. L. Ludlow, of the Department of Political Science and Sociology in Muskingum College, New Concord, Ohio, is preparing a biography of Washington Gladden. He would appreciate it if any persons who possess material bearing on the life of Gladden would communicate with him.

The American Historical Review

THE GREAT DEMOBILIZATION¹

TWENTY years ago this week the American Historical Association broke the continuity of its annual reunions. It had met in Philadelphia in 1917 and had there adjourned in the expectation of reassembling in 1918 in Minneapolis. It had, however, left discretion with the Council to select a more convenient place or to postpone the meeting. The program for 1918 was fashioned in the usual manner. William Roscoe Thayer fortified himself for the occasion with a presidential address. But in the autumn of 1918 the United States was at war. The minds of our members were in no mood for detached historical retrospect and needed Cheyney's warning, given at Philadelphia, not to write in 1917 or 1918 what might be regretted in 1927 or 1928. The tentative program for Minneapolis, salvaged in the *Annual Report*, shows how thoroughly we were involved in mere historical engineering, explaining the issues of the war that we might the better win it. The Council shifted the place of meeting to Cleveland, as involving a shorter haul, and then called the meeting off.

The railroads of the nation, upon which our members would have had to travel to Cleveland, were heavy-laden with freight for France, with the nearly fifty pounds per man per day required to keep the army in the field. That unavoidable daily quota of fifty thousand tons for two million men kept the tracks crowded, whether there were bottoms waiting at the ports or not. The arrival of the "flu" had developed an additional good reason for avoiding nonessential gatherings. To give up our meeting was a small sacrifice to the doctrine of "work or fight".

So far as war congestion was concerned, it turned out that the Association might have been allowed to meet. So far as issue was concerned, the issue seemed settled, and the Association might have met in tri-

¹ Presidential Address delivered before the American Historical Association at Chicago on December 29, 1938.

umph. The National Board for Historical Service had lost its job and might as well disband. Germany was stopped. An unaccustomed unity pervaded the United States. The last ex-President was on the stump in support of the program of the President in office. The American Historical Association would have provided a proper congregation to listen to a celebration of the triumph of a body of doctrine whose phrasing had been in the American vernacular, and whose ideology was an offshoot of American historical experience. Self-determination, under a different name, had given birth to the United States and was now about to give birth to a better world. Within the United States this self-determination—Jefferson's "consent of the governed"—had contributed more to the development of the component parts than had been the case in any other empire. The right of peaceful nations to be allowed to refrain from wars not of their own choice had been cast into English sentences under our first President. The capacity of peaceful nations, driven into war, to change the outcome of the war had just been revealed to the world. The possibility of writing superlaw binding upon governmental entities had been turned into reality as the American states adjusted their lives within a Constitution admitted to be "the supreme law of the land".

But the program which had been prepared for 1918 would not have fitted the occasion had the Association met, and the program of rejoicing which would have seemed to fit the moment was never drafted. It is, however, possible to reconstruct something of the spirit which the latter would have expressed, for the air was full of oratory. The enemy, before our normal week of meeting, had yielded in the field, its government had yielded up its life, its emperor had become an exile. A glad world faced the holiday, with even the enemy peoples welcoming the peace. There was rejoicing at the thought of the new world order, outlined already in principle and needing only to be implemented to prevent more wars. And at Christmas-tide, when this Association might have shared in the rejoicing, the President of the United States, bearing the gospel of triumphant peace, was spreading his message over Western Europe. The world, without knowing it, was on one of those unhappy peaks whence, if I may mix a metaphor, mirages may be seen. It was dazzled by a mirage because it hoped; it had not yet reminded itself that, lacking wings, the only course away from any peak runs down.

There was no presidential address for us that year. But Woodrow Wilson, who was a little later to miss his chance to speak to us as president, was delivering its equivalent as he toured the capitals. "Inarticulate

America", as Dodd has said—forgetting how articulate our people were—had bidden him God-speed upon his mission. Inarticulate Europe, "peasantry, shop-keepers, and day laborers looked forward to his arrival in Europe as man looked in medieval times to the second coming of Christ". Bernard Shaw, skeptic by advertisement, took from Hearst a commission to describe the President as a Messiah; and the Hearst papers printed the tribute.

In the very week of our abandoned meeting Woodrow Wilson slept in Buckingham Palace, spoke at the Guildhall and in Manchester, and sounded the language of a war well won. He felt the "pulse of sympathy" wherever he appeared; sensed a passion no longer for any balance of interests but in "common devotion to the right"; and told the lord mayor of London, as well as all the world in whatever tongue it knew, that no such "sudden and potent union of purpose has ever been witnessed . . . the ground is clear and the foundations laid . . . we have already accepted the same body of principles".

It will be one of the enduring tasks of the younger members of our fraternity to explain the paradox of that strange winter, now twenty years gone by, when the Allied world thought the war was won, and when the chief soldier of the Allies himself said it was won sufficiently and stopped the slaughter. Strange it was, too, when the President of the United States, forgetful of his years spent in teaching the principles of congressional government, conceived that he was still the authentic spokesman of his country and when Theodore Roosevelt, near to his deathbed, bitterly blurted out the truth as he declaimed that in any other civilized country in the world Woodrow Wilson would be out of office.

If we had held our meeting, with a program so readjusted as to sound the note of victory which was in our hearts and had taken from the President of the United States our cue that as a consequence of the victory the world was on the threshold of a happier era, we should have proved to be as completely out of step with reality as Woodrow Wilson was when he sailed for Europe. Even the partisan critics of the President failed to see the fact; even those who shouted for an American free hand forever failed to see it. Neither league to enforce peace nor league of Allied nations to keep Germany suppressed was to prevail. Instead of Paradise, the world—and the United States, which is my concern at the moment—had already entered upon a clouded period to which no word implying an outcome can yet be properly applied.

We have confused our thinking for two generations by using the word "reconstruction" in connection with the years of readjustment following the Civil War. For reconstruction, if the word is to mean anything, carries a promise of some rebuilding of an old structure without razing it to the ground. The more we have imagined that the ante-bellum United States was rebuilt, the more we have deceived ourselves. We are as yet spared this particular form of self-deception in connection with the decades following 1918. No word has yet been coined to mislead the innocent. The aptest word as yet is colorless, making no promise: demobilization. Demobilization it was and is; a demobilization all the greater because the war effort had carried the world far off any normal course; demobilization so thoroughgoing as perhaps to deserve the adjective of great. My theme for the short time allowed me by our corporate habit is this Great Demobilization, as the historian of the United States will one day have to face it.

The words mobilization and demobilization entered the American vocabulary with the war. It is not that they were unknown before its day, but they were related to matters so far removed from American experience that few used or thought about them. Military terms they were, dealing principally with armed forces. But war experience had taught, by 1918, that mobilization in a world war meant more than it had in 1898 or in 1861. It involved things as well as men; it comprised not only men under arms but men and women at home, keeping them armed. Procurement had been listed beside mobilization to make its meaning clearer; priority had been added, bringing the implicit certainty that some must go without; conservation had acquired teeth as social habits were coerced to make a surplus; and the bitter term non-essential, as applied to industries and to jobs, had left a fraction of our people hanging out on limbs. Before the full implications of the word mobilization had been digested, demobilization was upon the United States, more completely without foreknowledge than mobilization had been nineteen months before. There are moments in the history of mobilization in which the government of the United States looked like a madhouse; but in demobilization there was lacking even the madhouse in which the crazy might be incarcerated. They were at large.

First things come first. Among the phases of demobilization to be lived through as the pyramid of effort sagged down to a normal horizon there was demobilization in the field of political control. This had significance for those who lived with it and for the historian, too, since no national effort going either way can be more effective than the

political machinery whereby common purpose is translated into action. On the heels of political demobilization came that of the armed forces, with veterans breaking into the oratory of their commanders to inquire profanely, "When do we sail?" There was a demobilization of the civilian effort in which work had been found for every citizen who craved a public activity. A demobilization of the emergency war controls came next—controls improvised from month to month as Congress responded to Administration lead and to pressure from the folks back home. Demobilization hit agriculture when food, planted to win the war, clogged the markets until farm equities evaporated like the morning fog. It hit the labor market, too, when men discharged from service milled around the employment offices. Private spirit, frozen to war harshness, yielded to the thaw; government ceased to commandeering savings for the common fund, and citizens turned from war economy to refill their larders and re-adorn their lives. And finally, national spirit let down as the high tensions of the war relaxed.

But, first of all, demobilization in political control began even before the guns were silent. Among the noiseless agents of that political demobilization was Will H. Hays, chairman of the Republican National Committee, who undertook as early as February, 1918, the task of re-assembling the dispersed fragments of what still believed itself to be the dominant American party. It was a complicated task to get ready for the happy day—happy for those at least who thought with him—when there should no longer be a Democratic majority in Congress or a Democrat in the White House. The quiet perambulations of Hays await their historian. He could not, indeed, conceal his movements or deny his talks with every named variety of Republican; but he could, and did, lower his voice. Among those whose domestic feud had given office to Democrats he found everywhere a common bond, not going far beyond the desire to get rid of Democrats but going that far. He uncovered no consensus upon program, unless a temporary program might be found in the inadequacy of the Administration effort to prepare for war. Senator Chamberlain had just declared in public that "the Military Establishment of America has fallen down"; and Chamberlain was the Democratic chairman of the Senate Committee on Military Affairs. But what Democrats might say about Democrats was dangerous for Republicans to repeat. The leaders of the opposition had no desire to emerge from the period of Woodrow Wilson with their party damned for a generation by the easy charge of war disloyalty.

Before great headway in anticipation of the congressional election

of 1918 could be attained, the defects of mobilization ceased to be negotiable in politics. American troops had taken to the field. Shipments reached a new high. The troops fought well. The American audience, watching performance as the divisions of the First Army went into operation, had little use for appraisals of the wisdom which had sent them there. Even Wilson was hypnotized by the spell of action, hypnotized into declaring on the very day on which the Germans swept across the Chemin des Dames, "politics is adjourned". By midsummer it seemed hardly possible to wage political combat for a Republican regeneration of Congress or to offer good reason for unseating any member who had upheld the war.

The turn of the tide abroad made it more practicable to turn the tide of politics at home. By Labor Day the hope for victory was looking up. Almost simultaneously with the earliest German suggestion of a peace, a claim of superpatriotism among the "outs" burst into the campaign. "Unconditional surrender" became instantly a rallying cry to inspire the opposition. War unity had not been attained without effort. War strain induced a willingness to have it over without having to live forever with the "new freedom" of Woodrow Wilson; and although no one had yet given currency to the word "normalcy", there was a craving for what normalcy implied.

When the votes were cast on November 5 it was known that Germany was through and that whatever tension had for patriotic reasons kept votes behind a war Administration might safely relax itself. Political demobilization began as the votes were cast. When they were counted, the Democratic control of the House of Representatives was seen to be completely lost. It was figured as well that there was a juggler's chance that even the Senate had passed into Republican control. This meant that Henry Cabot Lodge of Massachusetts would be chairman of the Senate Committee on Foreign Relations, to receive from a disavowed President whatever treaty made after victory might be offered as embodying "peace without victory".

It is easy to say that Woodrow Wilson was blind when he sailed to make his peace; it is just as easy, and quite as true, to say that no one could have foreseen how immediately the American war mind would be demobilized. When the *George Washington* took out of New York the President and all the eager coadjutors who proposed to write his treaty clauses, he was a "lame duck" leader without knowing it. The hand of his Administration was palsied thereafter; for in our American lame duck intervals, whether in short session after an adverse election

or in any biennium in which the President has had to face a hostile Congress, the American executive has been President in little more than name. Yet if Woodrow Wilson had appreciated the result of November 5 and had tried to harmonize his subsequent actions with the fact, he would have had, perhaps, no more influence upon the course of events than he retained while denying the result and holding to the belief that the temper of the people would coerce Republican leaders into compliance with his course. In any event, demobilization in the realm of politics had begun.

Demobilization of the armed forces had begun even before the battle ceased. The spurt in shipping, which after the agreements of March, 1918, turned the American contribution into a genuine reinforcement by armed men, jumped the shipments by transport to some ten thousand men per day. As the American camps were drained out through Hoboken they were refilled from the reservoir of youth. The 18-45 enrollment, authorized in the late summer, gave promise that men should flow to the battlefield so long as there should be a battle front. In the offices of the provost marshal general and of the draft boards there began the work of sorting out the thirteen million new names. The work was never completed because events moved with a rapidity beyond expectation as the enemy sought peace. Before the end of October the President turned over to his foreign military associates the question of a truce which they and the enemy would know to be unconditional surrender in thin disguise. At the beginning of November the army stopped troop shipments without admitting publicly that they were stopped. It had become apparent that the fighting was over. Before the world rejoiced at either the "false" armistice or the real one, the Administration had begun the reversal of its transport machinery for the home-coming.

There was no plan for the demobilization of the armed forces; and none would have been accepted by the men, anxious to be released, or by their people, anxious to have them back. Some of the filing cases now in Washington contain wordy proposals, urged but not adopted, for an orderly return of troops, class by class, to be fitted into jobs as jobs were found or to be sent to work new farms, for the old idea of a workable frontier hung on long after the frontier itself was gone. No theory ruled the return. The men came back from France as ships were available for them at Brest. Inductions in the United States were stopped before the backwash started. There were trains of boys en route to camp whose very trains were reversed in transit. The camps

were emptied almost by a gesture. The men in uniform put on the red chevron of discharge and went back to Main Street in some doubt whether they were returning as heroes or as so many pests. They found women in their jobs, and boys, and nonunion workers in places for whose control the labor movement had long fought. Patriotic or not, those who filled the jobs were loath to vacate them.

The numerical measure of the human demobilization is difficult to establish. Nearly 4,500,000 changed from uniforms to civilian clothes, but these represented only a part of the human problem, for perhaps as many more men and women had been in nonfighting jobs made necessary by the fact of war. War contracts were canceled or adjusted to the fact of peace. Half-finished structures, planned to supply those next campaigns which were never to be fought, were left half-finished and their hands paid off. War factories shut down. Those who received their severance pay envelopes entered the labor market to compete with former soldiers.

There was a difference in the demobilization problems as they affected soldiers who were discharged and civilians who were dismissed. Most of the former were young men who had never had named jobs before the war or attained fixed positions in society. They had been approximately ready to settle into their initial ruts when the call for troops diverted them to military duty. They came home to begin again. They now took up a postponed search for positions in the structure of civilian life, with their younger brothers, too young to have been drafted, crowding in, just ready to begin.

The latter group—civilian war workers—included older men, drawn into war work because war work was necessary and because it paid well. Many of these had acquired a more or less established status before they shifted to temporary jobs. They were men, too, whose deferred classification respecting the draft was based partly on essential jobs and partly on their family status and their dependents. These older men were no candidates for first jobs. Among them was the fraction of labor best organized before the war and most sedulously nursed by government labor agencies while they worked. For them the future demanded that they conserve their rights against both the employer and the intruding common worker.

The American labor movement had never learned what to do with common labor; nor has it yet. But the men turned loose from the war plants faced the employer, afraid lest with the return to peace he lower wages and load burdens upon his workers. They faced also mere

labor, fearing lest the unorganized should thrust themselves into the choicer jobs, upon which union men had already laid their hands. Those of us who look back for causes of the present conflict on the labor front and note the clash between the crafts and common labor must pause to examine this uneven incidence of the burden of human demobilization and to measure its importance for us in the postwar decades.

Demobilization untied the knots with which a network of voluntary civilian organizations had enmeshed the nation. It had been hard for the United States, in a minute, to reverse its trains of thought, abandon the economic policy of the Sherman Act whereby combination had been proscribed as illegal conspiracy, and improvise in place of this philosophy a doctrine of united effort brought to a sharp and single focus.

Even in advance of the declaration of war the Department of Justice had put together the outlines of an organization of listeners, working in anonymity, to apprehend sedition. The Food Administration found it could function best in liaison with state administrations of the same name; and these in turn had built up county and city structures, with committees to patrol each block. Five thousand draft boards decentralized the war, made it an effort of localities, and tied the citizen into the common effort. The Council of National Defense encouraged the creation of state councils, and these the creation of a close-meshed net resting on the grass-roots. Creel spread a screen of oratorical skirmishers across the land, with his Four-Minute Men. Through the Federal Reserve Districts the Treasury organized the bond salesmen and their neighbors, with movie stars to ornament them, and sent them out as flying squads to float war loans. The Red Cross had its local units by the thousand, with members, officers, missions, and an interlock with the War Council of the American Red Cross. Channels of communication ran freely from the home to the battle front. Anyone who should collect today the badges and buttons with which zealous co-operators advertised to their fellows their integral relationship with the common front would need a large showcase.

It is still to be determined how far this harnessing of good will advanced victory; at the very least it occupied the mind, made dissent more uncomfortable than it would otherwise have been, and made war-loyalty self-enforcing. A vacuum was left when the nets were all at once withdrawn. It had been a temporary harness, which chafed in spots. With the "false" armistice it began to relax; before Christmas

most of it was gone. There came a deflation of spirit as the necessary follow-up of prolonged activity, and with this slump came other things which the student of demobilization must study.

Perhaps two consequences connected with the abnormal effort and the ensuing slump need most to be measured. The first was the hang-over of the idea that it was someone's business to establish the correct doctrine for American life, and that with the doctrine once established it was likewise someone's business to compel the uniformity of its acceptance. The pliability of human emotion had been revealed, for the crooks and the dictators to play upon when patriots were done. The second was the evidence of results attained by closely articulated organization. The historic political parties of the United States had been pikers in comparison, as they organized their voting strength. The more their issues, the less their clarity of purpose. I am willing to defend, when I must, the advantages for the United States of a two-party system, with the parties as alike as peas; but unquestionably the system is a first-class medium for the development of single purpose propaganda. Pressure politics, offspring of organization and single purpose, seems to find some of its ancestors among the lessons learned when propaganda was a tool of war. Yet whether sound doctrine and the effectiveness of organization were the chief results or not, there came an emotional slump as another of the by-products of demobilization. And before new issues made new work for idle minds to do, our world lost its unity.

The war controls set up by law were based on statute and could not be relaxed as promptly as reason and necessity required; yet their relaxation undid some of the unities of war without restoring the diversities of peace. Where the relaxation should begin was a matter for argument. Begin it must, however, and there was no reasoned pattern for it to pursue. Control of foreign trade must be relaxed, for all imports and exports had come under license. There was a railroad administration, which some hoped to be a forerunner of a happy day when government would own the roads, which others regarded as a bitter concession to war necessity, and which still others believed to be an unnecessary intrusion of government upon a field in which performance was keeping pace with requirement. In spite of the maxim that one cannot unscramble eggs, these eggs, having been scrambled, were to be put back into shells, their own or others. Another of the war controls, unrepealed, lasted long enough to enable a President fifteen years later to commandeer gold for the United States.

Another, after the enemy had left the field, left the federal courts free to seek by injunction to send railroad men and miners back to work. Still another made possible the continuance after the armistice of loans to nations which had been associated with the United States in the war. Congress, as it could agree with itself and with the President, got rid of war restrictions and war powers, while the public mind freed itself of whatever vision of a planned economy the war effort had engendered.

When the time came, not long ago, for another concentrated national effort, the planned-controllers of 1918 hurried back to Washington to meet an enemy at home and trouble ahead. They built hurriedly upon what they thought they recalled and set the New Deal off. But in the interval elapsing since the disappearance of the military enemy, the simple pattern of war had been replaced by the intricate pattern of the more abundant life if not by the pattern of existence itself, whether abundant or not. The revulsion favoring normalcy in 1919 gathered way as the troops came back. Human demobilization of the personnel which, in Washington for a dollar a year or less, had served the war, began in November, 1918. Rumor has it that some of the servants, leaving their offices to join in celebration of the armistice, did not return even to sign their pending letters but crowded into the consolidated ticket offices of the Railroad Administration to reserve their transportation back to the rugged individualism of American life. The relaxation of the war controls, without the restoration of prewar habit, gave to this aspect of demobilization a serious bearing on our postwar life.

The picture of Cincinnatus, back-trekking to the plow, has ever been inspiring to the citizen soldier and to the lover of democracy. But the citizens of the United States, back-trekking from temporary war duty, reached home to find, in some cases, that the plow was gone, leaving in its place a complicated machine that did not need them, and in other cases that the market was gone, leaving no reward for diligence at the plow. For agriculture and industry the end of the war did not mean the return of peace. It meant, as demobilization became a fact, that unaccustomed stresses were playing over the two great fields whence most Americans had gained their livelihood and must continue to gain it.

More than one historian has indicated the degree to which the American farmer, living off his crop and decorating his life from the proceeds of the sale of his surplus, has been beneficiary of forces other

than his own effort. It required only a threat of war, in September last, for men to rush to print a prophecy that war in Europe would restore good times to farmers here. It is hard to starve a farming people, and in hard times the American farmer has kept at least alive; but in hard times or good the proceeds from the sale of his surplus have too often depended upon disaster suffered by another. Foreign war, with the United States at peace, has often made a market. Foreign pestilence has meant fancy prices for the farmer's crop. Intermittently for more than a century the greatest of agricultural nations, with food production facility greater than its appetite, had offered its surplus raw products to the world. It had sold them profitably enough to keep the American farmer above the peasant level in his mind, and even in his life. It had permitted him a vision of a life superior in its dignity to any that might be wrenched from a mere subsistence farm. American policy, for most of that century, so far as it was a policy of planning at all, was planned to the scheme of Henry Clay. American industry was built up that its workers with hungry mouths might eat some of the surplus from the farm. On the eve of the World War neither farmer nor worker thought his share of wealth was adequate, but neither had a grievance sufficiently compelling to drive him into dominant class politics and hold him there.

Class politics and demobilization came into the United States hand in hand. The state of war created a profitable market between 1914 and 1917. America as a participant demanded still more food, so that every farmer who made a crop was as a soldier, and every farmer who enlarged his acreage as an ingenious soldier. Never as badly off as farmers elsewhere, the American farmer of the war period was better off than he had ever been. In rising prices for produce and a pegged price for wheat, followed by rising prices for land, followed by an extension of acreage and greater profits, war seemed to lift the farmer to a new social plateau, measurably above that of his historic claim. Then, with demobilization, earthquake shook him off. The immediate consequence of demobilization was cessation of the extraordinary demand, so that falling prices soon wiped the profit from the crop, wiped receipts from the public tax roll, wiped income from the mortgage holder, and wiped farm equities from the estate. Hungry Europe, more hungry than ever, was too poor to buy.

There was no plan in entry to the war and none for exit; but before the troops came home deflation had begun. Before the United States formally terminated its state of war there had appeared in Washington to guide and threaten Congress the militant supporters of the influence

of organized farmers. The supporters of that influence, sitting in the Congress, had formed and admitted themselves to be an agricultural bloc. Cincinnatus came back, not to the unprofitable plow but to politics forever.

The worker came back to a labor market which hardly needed him. The millions of the mobilized, jostling for jobs, would have upset that market even had the curve of war prosperity been protracted unbroken into peace. But the curve of industry, never far away from that of agriculture, slumped with deflation on the farm. The stricken farmer, who defaulted on his debts and taxes, could not continue to be a customer. When he ceased buying, industry was forced to curtail its hiring. Before the railroads could be returned by the government to the owner companies there had to be faced a demand that they be returned to worker management. Employers were startled by the aggressive claim that workers should be paid not what industry thought it could afford but a living wage. The labor movement, nursed for the war effort, had caught a glimpse of a higher plateau for itself and struggled lest it skid. The headquarters of the embattled farmers were matched by headquarters of the labor movement, whence Gompers and his successors and his rivals mingled advice and admonition as they warned congressmen of the price of disobedience. Out of these aspects of demobilization there have sprung new philosophies of national life; but no philosophy can be much better than its historicity, and the historians have not yet done their necessary work.

There was yet another side to demobilization, which leads the historian into social habit in his effort to trace the reactions between private life and public co-operation. The war revealed American wealth. It was not known until a little later that never had Americans produced in a single year much more than the equivalent of one dollar's worth per person per day. Within that limit real, even if yet unmeasured, reserves were found, to be drained for loans and tapped for contributions to good causes and unavoidable taxes. The Capital Issues Committee made it clear that for the period of the war government need had the first call on wealth. The individual American, proud in his war economy, saved from his income and increased the dimensions of the social fund available for war. There was a wide span between the level on which Americans lived and the level on which, given a reason, they could bring themselves to live. The nation drew its maintenance from within that span during the war years, and the people lived on what was left.

Economy was endured, not liked; and with the return to peace it,

too, demobilized. One may easily measure the return of indulgence to American life as, after war, the citizen replenished his housing and its furnishing, enlarged his diet, and turned into both private investment and personal pleasure a larger than ever fraction of his income. It was war theory that soldier boys on leave should enjoy themselves. With the war once over, their sisters took their turn, and we find the elders wagging their heads in disapproval of a flapper age. We see the daughters paying more for fewer clothes. The first silk-stocking proletariat made its appearance. We see the elders disapproving youth but aping it, with dancing schools for stodgy middle age. We see those who had ever avoided the swinging doors seek them now that the Eighteenth Amendment had professed to lock them. We see new gadgets entering the market to entice the dollar: pink bath tubs, radio sets, electric refrigerators, and the innumerable homely progeny of Henry Ford. This too was demobilization in reaction from the self-control of war. By its completeness it turned a consequence into a new primary cause.

If the spirit of the individual, with barriers down, lost its self-restraint and ran riot, the spirit of the nation, from its exhausting sojourn on the plane of exaltation, came down to lower levels and lost its way. There was, indeed, a new "high" when in the autumn of 1918 the United States believed that some way, with American co-operation, a world of better organization might be built. The road to the next "low" was indicated when political exigency made it undesirable that Woodrow Wilson should be allowed to make his peace, when American atavism turned the nation's back upon Europe, and when the difficulty of writing a "peace without victory" made it seem that such a peace was beyond the power of man to write. In the break-up of the spirit of the war the war habit carried over to the extent of spreading the delusion that patterns of the mind had authentic value over and above their reasonableness and their usefulness. Men who, as patriots, had espoused the cause of patriotism, espoused now, with equal insistence if with less validity, the cause of this and that. Bryan crusaded against Darwin. The Ku Klux Klan crusaded against Jews, aliens, and Catholics. The patriotic societies allied themselves with labor to crusade against the immigrant. A mayor of this great city crusaded against King George V, who was not even an immigrant. Mr. Hearst crusaded against our colleagues, admonishing them to remember that "history teaching is the chief source of patriotic spirit and purpose" and prodding them into the preservation of ancient hates.

Teachers crusaded, under parental pressure, to the end that teaching should make students safe for their parents. And Americans of alien origin, on the rebound from the unisons of war, broke into discordance in a new variety of hyphenism.

Outside the United States the dictators said, pointing to the United States, that democracy had ceased to work. Inside the United States there was some reflection of every wishful movement which promised to restore the world.

Demobilization had begun; and if we had held that meeting of 1918 in such fashion as to commemorate the peace, we, like the President of the United States, must have celebrated that which was not and must have left unnoticed much which has touched us as the years have come. No planning by man was ever done with more conscience or with higher hope than the American planning which was taken to Versailles. The inference from its failure may be no more than that man is a hopeful creature, driven by his wish. Or it may be that the future is beyond all planners. It is clear, at least, that these men (and we in part were they) who did this planning failed in their estimate of the stresses on the world.

"The ground is clear and the foundations laid", Wilson told his Guildhall audience; but the clearing and the laying were not what he conceived. It will take our colleagues another lifetime to reduce to measurement the calamity of demobilization which, more than the creation of a new world, was in 1918 the order of the day. Normalcy was restored as little as Arcadia was built. When the jerry-built structures of the war were razed there was hauled away with them something of the past, part of the old horizon which had been taken for granted in the American landscape. As the ground was cleared it became possible to see what war had hidden: new forces whose recognition had been almost too long deferred by war. There came into sight the trails that were to become new highways across a devastated American terrain, leading to new battlefields on which to test the validity of that democracy upon which Americans continued to rely.

Another great war, should it come upon us, might indeed be won; but the student of the Great Demobilization is justified in wondering whether American society, or any society, could win another "peace".

FREDERIC L. PAXSON.

University of California.

FRENCH GILD OPINION IN 1789

STUDENTS of the French Revolution have utilized most of the *cahiers de doléances* of 1789. One group of them, however, has been ignored, that is, the cahiers drawn up by the gild assemblies. Even Martin Saint-Léon, who has written the best history of the French gilds, made no attempt to study the gild cahiers.¹ Although many of them have been lost, partial collections have been preserved for numerous French towns, and there exist nearly complete collections for thirty-one towns, with a total of almost one thousand documents.²

¹ *Histoire des corporations de métiers depuis leurs origines* . . . (Paris, 1922). This includes a survey of the general cahiers on the gild issue and a brief treatment of the entire period from the reconstitution of the gilds in 1777 to their suppression in 1791.

² A Bibliographical Note on the gild cahiers for our thirty-one towns will be found below (p. 270). For the sake of brevity citations from cahiers and references to titles listed in this bibliography will be given under the names of the towns. A tabulation of the number of cahiers from each of the towns, distinguishing between legal gilds (L), professional gilds and *corps libéraux*, i.e., doctors, apothecaries, surgeons, printers, university professors, goldsmiths, and wholesale merchants (P), and craft gilds (C), is given here. Note that the numbers are those of the cahiers and not of the gilds of each town.

TOWN	L	P	C	TOTAL	TOWN	L	P	C	TOTAL
Alençon	5	7	18	30	Marseille	4	6	35	45
Angers	14	7	43	64	Montpellier	3	3	33	39
Bayeux	1	1	9	11	Noyon	5	2	12	19
Beaune	4	5	27	36	Orléans	11	8	26	45
Beauvais	9	5	25	39	Provins	9	5	18	32
Bergerac	1	1	18	20	Quimper				1*
Bergues		3	18	21	Quimperlé	3	2	8	14*
Bourges	12	4	20	36	Reims	13	6	19	38
Caen	8	6	29*	43	Rochefort	12	5	21	38
Chinon	2	3	14	19	La Rochelle	12	7	18	37
Compiègne	7	5	18	30	Rouen	11	7	33	51
Le Havre	1	5	16	22	St. Amand	3		11	14
Hennebont	1		9	10	St. Maixent	4	5	16	25
Issoudun	5	3	18	26	Tours	7	7	22	36
Limoges	8	7	17	32	Troyes	8	10	24	42
Lunéville	2	3	23	28					
					TOTALS	185	138	618	943

*The cutlers of Caen drew up two cahiers; a third one was left unfinished. At Quimper one document was drawn up jointly by seventeen gilds and one workmen's group. In addition to their separate cahiers, the gilds of Quimperlé drew up a joint cahier.

The foregoing list excludes sixteen cahiers emanating from workers' groups which had no legal authorization to hold assemblies or to draw up cahiers; opinions from these cahiers are not included in the present survey. The list of gild cahiers does not, of course, include the cahiers drawn up by the unorganized bourgeois of the towns.

According to the royal letter of convocation, the gildsmen of a town were to assemble by their respective gilds and choose delegates to the town assembly. Though the election of delegates was prescribed in the royal order, the making of cahiers by the gilds was permissive, not mandatory.³ Comparatively few of the gilds must have availed themselves of the right to compose cahiers, since the number of documents is not commensurate with the number of gilds known to exist, yet the documents extant present a significant expression of public opinion.⁴ Although many more than a thousand gild cahiers have been preserved, it has seemed advisable to limit the present study to the fairly complete collections where the whole picture of gild opinion in a given town may be examined.⁵

The thirty-one towns whose gild cahiers are under consideration were widely scattered and of varying size and commercial importance. Four were seaports: Le Havre, Rochefort, La Rochelle, and Marseille. Among the other towns, some were centers of internal trade, some were manufacturing centers, and some were agricultural depots whose industries produced goods for local consumption. Collections of gild cahiers are lacking for northeastern France (except Lunéville), the Rhone Valley, and southwestern France. It is also regrettable that the gilds of Paris, Lyon, and Bordeaux are not represented.⁶ The population of these thirty-one towns varied from a few thousand to nearly

³ The text of the general regulation for the convocation, issued on January 24, 1789, is given by Armand Brette, *Recueil de documents relatifs à la convocation des états généraux de 1789* (Paris, 1894), I, 66 ff. Articles 26-28 described the procedure for gild and town elections. The making of cahiers by the gilds was not mentioned in these articles. Permission to compose cahiers was given in general to all assemblies of the third estate in article 24.

⁴ Émile Levasseur believed the figure of 521 towns possessing gilds, cited from the work of Hippolyte Blanc, to be too high: *Histoire des classes ouvrières et de l'industrie en France avant 1789* (Paris, 1901), II, 744. The minutes of gild assemblies of a great many towns exist where either no cahiers were made, or such as were made have been lost.

⁵ The gilds of Rennes, in Brittany, have not been included in the present study because the elections were exceptional and so the gild documents are hardly comparable with those of other towns. H. Sée and A. Lessort, in the official series of publications, *Cahiers de doléances de la sénéchaussée de Rennes . . .* (Rennes, 1919), I, 3-73.

⁶ The convocation for Paris prescribed elections by district, so that the 113 gilds took no official part (Brette, I, 110-11, 113-14). For Bordeaux there exists only the cahier of the innkeepers (reprinted in J. Mavidal and E. Laurent, *Archives parlementaires de 1787 à 1860*, Paris, 1867-75, II, 406). A document purporting to be a summary of specific demands of over a score of Bordeaux gilds (*ibid.*, II, 407) does not bear the marks of an authentic cahier and, though of interest, is not included in the present study. Only two *procès-verbaux* of gild assemblies exist for Lyon.

ninety thousand. For this study it should be remarked that nine had a population of over 25,000, nine a population of between 10,000 and 25,000, and the other thirteen less than 10,000.⁷

The number of gild members varied greatly among the towns according to population, as would be expected. At Marseille the largest gild, that of the wholesale merchants, included over five hundred masters, whereas the largest gild of the smallest town, Quimperlé, appears to have been that of the carpenters-joiners, with thirty-five masters.⁸ There was a similar contrast in the size of the corresponding gilds in the different towns: Marseille had more than five hundred wholesale merchants, Le Havre had 146, Bergues only 17, and Quimperlé 10.⁹ The number of members in the legal gilds and in most of the professional gilds was smaller than in the craft gilds.¹⁰

How reliable are the gild cahiers as sources of the collective opinion of gild members? Documentary criticism applied to them establishes

OVER 25,000		10,000-25,000		UNDER 10,000	
Marseille	89,829	Limoges	24,003	Bergues	Saint Maixent
Rouen	68,040	Le Havre	22,059	Beaune	Provins
Orléans	41,040	Bourges	20,574	Bergerac	Hennebont
Caen	31,266	La Rochelle	17,253	Noyon	Quimperlé
Reims	30,132	Lunéville	17,091	Quimper	
Troyes	29,682	Alençon	13,149	Bayeux	
Montpellier	28,836	Issoudun	12,584	Compiègne	
Angers	28,188	Beauvais	11,961	Chinon	
Tours	28,161	Rochefort	11,934	Saint Amand	

No accurate statistics of population for the spring of 1789 are available for all of these towns. In the list given above, the figures for the towns of over 10,000 have been taken from a list of 78 towns compiled in 1787, cited by Levasseur, *La population française* (Paris, 1889), I, 227. The order used for the towns of less than 10,000 was the result of a combination of sources, no one of which applies to the entire list: the number of representatives allowed a town in the *bailliage* assemblies (Brette, *passim*, under each election district); estimates by Expilly, *Dictionnaire géographique* (Paris, 1762-70, 6 vols.); and estimates by editors of published collections of gild cahiers.

⁸ Editors of published cahiers usually indicate the number of members, e.g., Marseille, p. xxvii. For unpublished cahiers two ways of estimating the number of masters were used. One was based on the minutes of the gild assembly, which usually listed the members present, the other on the number of signatures at the end of a cahier. The figure for Quimperlé was derived from the cahier.

⁹ Figures for the first two towns were given by the editors; for the last two the number was based upon the signatures at the end of the cahiers.

¹⁰ At Marseille, whereas there were 42 lawyers and 32 goldsmiths, there were 344 shoemakers and 150 master hatters. At La Rochelle there were 12 or 13 lawyers, 20 goldsmiths, but 86 shoemakers and 20 hatters.

limitations similar to those applicable to the whole category of *cahiers de doléances*, which have been treated fully elsewhere.¹¹ Direct borrowing among cahiers and from common sources occurred, but a careful study of the minutes of gild assemblies, of the texts of the cahiers, and of the remarks prefatory to the published editions of the cahiers indicates that the majority of gild cahiers are trustworthy sources of gild opinion.¹² What light, then, can these documents throw upon the state of mind of the urban industrial class on the eve of the French Revolution?

Certain similarities in the ideas, demands, and general point of view of all the gild cahiers may be noted. In the first place, attention was overwhelmingly concentrated upon four subjects: the industrial and commercial regime, the tax system, the provincial administration, and the town administration. As compared with the general cahiers, the gild cahiers devoted little space to the estates general and problems of national sovereignty.¹³ Although many gilds enumerated legal reforms, few asked for a national law code. What was desired in tax reform was not the establishment of a uniform system for the whole of France but, rather, reforms to benefit particular towns or industries. With the notable exception of the gild cahiers of Marseille, the gilds seldom expressed patriotism or introduced their brief documents with expressions of loyalty to Louis XVI or the nation.¹⁴ In all towns except Marseille, Angers, and La Rochelle the great majority of gild cahiers concentrated upon provincial, local, and gild matters.¹⁵

A second characteristic of the gild cahiers was their evidence of strong corporate consciousness. The gildsmen were presenting the

¹¹ Beatrice Hyslop, *A Guide to the General Cahiers of 1789* (New York, 1936).

¹² Limitation of space does not permit comments upon the authenticity of each collection of gild cahiers. Editors of official publications of cahiers give documentary criticism in the introduction. Some of the editors of unofficial publications give critical comment. The author of the present article has in her possession information about the authenticity of the cahiers in manuscript collections.

¹³ For an analysis of the general cahiers see Beatrice Hyslop, *French Nationalism in 1789* (New York, 1934).

¹⁴ Lavabre, a lawyer, was probably influential in promoting the patriotic tone of the cahiers of the gilds of Marseille (Fournier, p. xxxix). Some of the shorter gild cahiers evinced paternalism when they expressed the belief that the king would remedy evils once he learned about them, e.g., the cahier of the shoemakers of Provins, MS.

¹⁵ At Marseille 34 out of 45 gilds devoted some attention to national affairs, at Angers 45 out of 64, and at La Rochelle, 29 out of 37. Concern for national welfare took the form of requests relative to the estates general, the ministry, the national debt, and a constitution.

opinion of their own guilds and seldom assumed the role of spokesmen of the whole third estate. Guild cahiers manifested an *esprit de corps* rather than class spirit against clergy or nobles.¹⁶

A third characteristic of the guild cahiers was the relation between their length and scope and the size of the town. The larger the town, the wider the range of reforms asked for and hence the longer the majority of the cahiers; conversely, the smaller the town in population and the less its importance, the more local the scope, the fewer the demands, and the shorter the guild cahiers.¹⁷ The greater the contact between a town and the rest of France, the more national in character were the needs of the guilds. In the small towns where guilds produced goods consumed locally, the guild cahiers seldom broached national problems and were concerned with measures of the central government only as they affected their own locality or their own guild.

A fourth characteristic was the difference between cahiers emanating from the legal and professional guilds and those from the craft guilds. A greater proportion of the former began with some consideration of national affairs, and they, of course, devoted more space to legal and administrative reorganization than to industrial and commercial topics. The converse was true of cahiers from the craft guilds. These more frequently opened with complaint against burdensome taxation or against the local administration and then proceeded to commercial and industrial conditions.

The history of a town and the local political and economic importance of a particular industry resulted in the formation of an aristocracy among the guilds of the town.¹⁸ The cahiers produced by the more important guilds of each town resembled more closely the town cahier and the general cahier of the third estate of the *bailliage* than did

¹⁶ Class spirit, when expressed, took the form of a demand that voting in the estates general should be by head, that members of the third estate should be eligible for all offices, and occasionally, that only members of the third estate should be chosen as deputies for the third estate. The guilds of Marseille and of Angers manifested this class spirit more frequently than those of the other towns.

¹⁷ At Bergerac, Hennebont, and Quimperlé no national demands were included, while among the remaining towns of less than 10,000 only a few guilds gave any attention to national problems.

¹⁸ Rouen and Bourges followed the pattern of Paris, where there was a legally recognized pre-eminence of six guilds. At Marseille the wholesale merchants were naturally the most important guild. At Reims and Troyes the textile guilds assumed importance. Usually, even among the small towns, some one industry predominated.

cahiers from the less important gilds. Where influential gildsmen were chosen as representatives to successive electoral assemblies of the third estate, their influence upon the composition of the respective cahiers may be observed.¹⁹

Our attention in the present article will be devoted to the attitude of the gilds of 1789 toward the industrial and commercial organization of France. With respect to the gild regime itself the gild cahiers of the thirty-one towns may be divided into four categories: those that openly defended the gilds although calling for various reforms, those that asked for suppression, those that remained silent relative to maintenance or suppression, and those whose position was ambiguous.

Although the overwhelming majority defended the gild system, as would be expected, differences may be noted among the various towns. In the large towns—those with over 25,000 inhabitants—the majority of gilds of all towns except Angers were stanch defenders of the gild regime. At Angers almost as many gilds were silent upon the existence of gilds as defended the regime.

Among the towns of from 10,000 to 25,000 inhabitants, also, the great majority of gilds supported the gild regime, but their approval was less marked. At Limoges, Le Havre, Bourges, Alençon, and Beauvais a majority of the cahiers defended the gilds, but a larger proportion were silent than among the large towns. At Rochefort and Issoudun a plurality were silent. A third of the gilds of La Rochelle were silent, others expressed a strong hostility to the bakers' and butchers' gilds, and still others defended the gild regime indirectly. At Lunéville more than a third of the gilds were silent or ambiguous in their attitude, while almost as many gilds asked for suppression as for maintenance.

Among the towns with less than 10,000 inhabitants there was a noticeably larger proportion of gild cahiers silent upon the gild issue. While the majority of gilds of Bergues, Beaune, Bergerac, Noyon, and Quimper favored the gild regime, those of Bayeux, Compiègne, and Provins were about evenly divided between maintenance and silence. In the remaining towns of this group the majority of gilds maintained silence. Few gilds of the small towns asked directly for suppression.²⁰

¹⁹ See, for example, the influence of Thouret in the cahiers of Rouen.

²⁰ Complete statistics of gild, town, and *bailliage* cahiers are here given in one table. The towns are listed in the three population groups. M stands for maintenance of gilds, N for no demands made, S for suppression, and A for ambiguity. The T column gives the opinion of the town cahier, the B column that of the *bailliage* cahier. A dash in these

ditions that would result from suppression and liberty. "The thirst for gain would animate all shops."²³

The reforms asked for by guilds of various towns throw some light upon the underlying reasons for maintenance and at the same time depict the kind of industrial regime desired. Protest against government regulation and interference was shown in a number of demands. A large number of guilds opposed the levying of a tax called the twentieth of industry (*vingtième d'industrie*).²⁴ This tax had been established after the reconstitution of the guilds in 1777, following their temporary suppression by Turgot, and was levied by state inspectors who made periodic visits to the shops of guild masters. The guilds objected to the burden of the tax and also to the inquisitorial inspection, a function formerly exercised by the guilds themselves. Many guilds opposed the fees collected for trademarks on their goods. Shoemakers and saddlers objected to the mark on leather goods, goldsmiths to the mark on gold, and other guilds protested against each additional regulatory tax as an onerous burden.²⁵

Objection to the issuance of *lettres de maîtrise* also signified opposition to state interference²⁶ and must not be confused with opposition to the guild regime as such. By such letters, issued since the time of Henry IV but more frequently in the eighteenth century, craftsmen who could pay a stipulated fee to the royal treasury were granted the right to exercise a trade irrespective of the requirements of the guild for the masterhood. This had been one of the many schemes of the French kings to increase their always insufficient revenues and had always been opposed by the guilds.²⁷

A great many cahiers supported the guilds by asking for a return to the regime before Turgot. Sometimes the guilds opposed the union of several related trades and desired their separation as before suppression.²⁸ In twentieth century phraseology, this meant support of horizontal organization of industry. The old guilds had divided industry

²³ Orléans, pp. 228, 277.

²⁴ E.g., hatters, Rouen, MS., or tile merchants, Angers, p. 163, art. 5. Many cahiers of Angers voiced this opposition.

²⁵ Tanners, Bayeux, MS.; goldsmiths, Beauvais, MS.; barbers, Lunéville, MS.

²⁶ E.g., bakers, Lunéville, MS.

²⁷ Martin Saint-Léon, *passim*. The guilds had often preferred to pay a ransom for the withdrawal of *lettres de maîtrise* rather than to admit new masters by royal grant.

²⁸ E.g., cahier of the locksmiths-tinsmiths-spurriers-farriers-edged-toolmakers of Alençon, p. 87, art. 1. It is impractical to cite the full name of each craft guild referred to in this article. Most guilds, since their reconstitution in 1777-78, comprised masters of several related industries. Citations are given under the name of the most important group.

into its component processes. For example, there had been several guilds associated with leather work, with weaving, and with metal goods. The regulations of one guild were often an annoyance to other guilds dealing in the same raw material, and jurisdictional conflicts were frequent. The reconstitution of guilds in 1777-78 had aimed to unite trades engaged in the same line of industry, in other words to move toward vertical organization of industry. Complaint against other guilds and requests for return to the regime before 1776 indicated conservatism on the part of guildsmen, adherence to horizontal division of industry, and defense of former privileges.²⁹ Such guild cahiers argued that the processes combined in the new guilds were not related, that masters could not become proficient along the different lines without specific training, and hence that the standard of goods produced would suffer.³⁰

Another demand of a conservative nature and indicating preference for the regime before 1776 was the request for privileges for widows and sons of masters. When Turgot suppressed the guilds, the masterhood had become exclusive and in a measure hereditary. The requirements for becoming a master had been decreased for sons and widows of masters, while the high fees for others had kept many good workmen as journeymen or day laborers. In reconstituting the guilds in 1777 Louis XVI sought to eliminate abuses of the former regime, and one of these was the difficulty of attaining the masterhood. The fees prescribed for new masters were reduced, and by the union of several related guilds a master could practice several trades for one fee.³¹ There were no privileges for sons and widows in the newly constituted guilds. Hence request for the re-establishment of these privileges by the guild cahiers of 1789 meant a clinging to old privileges and a strong *esprit de corps*.³² Such privileges were asked by one fourth of the guild cahiers from the large towns, by nearly one tenth from the medium sized towns, and by none from the small towns.³³ It was almost exclusively the craft guilds that took this stand.

A very small number of guild cahiers asked for suppression. Only

²⁹ Complaint against other guilds appeared in at least two or three guild cahiers of each town. Such charges were more frequent at Marseille, Orléans, Reims, Troyes, Montpellier, and Tours than elsewhere.

³⁰ The dyers of Troyes gave a full indictment of the 1777 edict, pp. 97 ff.

³¹ Compare the table of old and new fees, Martin Saint-Léon, pp. 590 ff.

³² E.g., butchers, Reims, p. 85, last paragraph.

³³ There were 109 out of 404 guild cahiers from large towns, and 22 out of 289 from the medium sized towns. Defense of privileges of sons and widows was especially frequent among the guilds of Rouen (19), Caen (24), Reims (14), and Angers (27).

forty-one out of the nine hundred and more gild cahiers opposed the gilds.³⁴ There was a higher percentage of legal gilds opposing the gild regime than of professional or industrial gilds. A larger proportion of gilds in the medium-sized towns than in the larger towns denounced corporative organization, while few gilds in the small towns expressed open opposition.

Among the cahiers hostile to the gilds various motives for suppression were given. Some explained that the masterhood was too expensive and hence workers with talent were handicapped. The silk gild of Marseille affirmed that "the industrious artisan should no longer be condemned to die of hunger".³⁵ A number of cahiers indicated that gild organization led to lawsuits and hence should be abolished. The carpenters and bakers of Issoudun, who either influenced each other or used a common model, stated that the gilds stifled initiative. The stocking manufacturers of Rouen asked for suppression of the butchers' and bakers' gilds and any other gilds that "hinder competition and uphold scarcity".³⁶ Only a very few cahiers voiced economic liberalism in statements that gilds were "contrary to natural liberty and the welfare of commerce".³⁷

A number of cahiers opposing the gild regime would exempt from suppression a variety of gilds whose abolition might endanger public safety, such as those of doctors, surgeons, barbers, goldsmiths, or locksmiths.³⁸ A very few calling for suppression of gilds would substitute government licensing for gild certification.³⁹

³⁴ Opinion hostile to the gilds was expressed by 16 legal gilds, 7 professional, and 18 craft gilds. The list of these forty-one cahiers is as follows: Marseille, silk merchants. Rouen, wholesale merchants. Orléans, officers of the bureau of finance, lawyers, officers of the militia, surgeons, bonnet makers. Caen, pharmacists, cutlers (two cahiers counted as one opinion). Montpellier, café-keepers. Angers, municipal corps, money officers. Tours, cutlers. La Rochelle, chamber of commerce, money officers, doctors. Lunéville, linen merchants, locksmiths, carpenters, masons, eating-house keepers, bonnet makers, gardeners, architects. Issoudun, procurators, notaries, officers of the salt granary, wigmakers, bakers, carpenters. Rochefort, surgeons, goldsmiths, joiners, grocers. Beaune, lawyers, notaries, procurators. Noyon, lawyers, officers of water and forest jurisdiction. Compiègne, bakers. Provins, procurators.

³⁵ Marseille, p. 15.

³⁶ *E.g.*, cutlers, Tours, MS. See Issoudun, MS., art. 9 in both cahiers, and Rouen, MS. There were 3 gilds of Reims, 3 of Rouen, 2 of Le Havre, and 15 of La Rochelle that opposed the butchers and bakers but otherwise supported the gild regime.

³⁷ Procurators, Issoudun, MS., art. 14. The notaries expressed a similar idea.

³⁸ *E.g.*, lawyers, Orléans, p. 73, art. 2, or wholesale merchants, Rouen, MS.

³⁹ Few cahiers demanding suppression described the regime to replace gilds. Among the few suggesting government licensing were the pharmacists of Caen (MS.) and the municipal corps of Angers (pp. 109-10, art. 21).

A third category of gild cahiers remained silent upon the issue. Silence probably meant acquiescence in the existence of gilds or in the confused condition actually prevailing. In many towns gilds had not been re-established after their suppression by Turgot. In others some gilds had quietly organized under the same statutes as before suppression, while others adopted the new status.⁴⁰ The new law sought uniformity of gild organization for all towns where gilds were reconstituted, but every degree of organization actually existed. Silence was more common among gild cahiers of the smaller towns.

A fourth group of the gild cahiers included a minority whose opinion of the gild regime was ambiguous. Several of the cahiers proposed alternatives that were really contradictory—for example, suppression of the masterhood and re-establishment of privileges for widows and sons of masters. The bookbinders of Angers asked in one article for union with printers and booksellers and in another for suppression of the masterhood. The butchers of Lunéville combined the request for suppression of *lettres de maîtrise*, which usually meant maintenance of the gilds, with permission to establish their profession wherever the people as a whole would benefit.⁴¹

Did the town cahiers reflect accurately the preponderant gild opinion in the respective towns relative to the gild regime? Of the twenty-eight town cahiers which have been preserved for our thirty-one towns,⁴² only nine spoke for maintenance of the gilds, whereas the gilds of eighteen of these towns overwhelmingly defended gilds.⁴³ Furthermore, the town cahiers of La Rochelle, Alençon, Rochefort, Noyon, and Compiègne called for suppression, whereas in none of these towns did the majority of gilds oppose the existing regime.

Among the large towns gild opinion had been overwhelmingly in favor of gilds, whereas support of the gild regime in the town cahiers of

⁴⁰ According to the innkeepers of Troyes, they had been a free corps before 1777, whereas the new law had organized them into a regular gild (p. 139).

⁴¹ Angers, p. 174, arts. 14, 16, and Lunéville, MS.

⁴² The town cahiers of Issoudun, Hennebont, and Provins have been lost. References to town cahiers may be found in the official inventory, *Repertoire critique* . . . , cited on page 270. In general, it may be said that the texts of town cahiers are in the manuscript collections with the gild cahiers and have been published with them. The town cahiers of Caen, Lunéville, La Rochelle, and Rouen have been published, however, although the gild cahiers of those towns are still in manuscript. Attention is called to the fact that the town cahier of Bergerac (not cited in the inventory) is with the gild cahiers in the communal archives. It is not the text given by J. Charrier, *jurades de la ville de Bergerac* (Bergerac, 1892-1904), Vol. XIII.

⁴³ See the composite table of opinion, note 20.

three of these towns, Orléans, Troyes, and Angers, was ambiguous or evasive.⁴⁴ Among middle-sized towns the town cahiers coincided even less closely with gild opinion. At La Rochelle, Alençon, and Rochefort the town cahiers, contrary to the majority of gilds, called for suppression. Among the small towns five reflected the same opinion as the majority of gilds; Bergues was for maintenance, and Bayeux, Chinon, St. Amand, and Quimperlé were silent. The other six ran contrary to the wish of the gilds, with two, those of Noyon and Compiègne, calling for suppression. It is obvious, then, that the town cahiers did not in all cases reflect the opinion of the majority of gilds of the respective towns, and that economic liberalism found more frequent expression in town than in gild cahiers. The chief reason for this is that the town assemblies were made up of delegates chosen by the gilds and by the unorganized inhabitants and that members of the legal profession and unorganized townsmen predominated.⁴⁵

One is not surprised to find, also, that opposition to the gild regime was greater in cahiers of the *bailliage* assemblies than in those of the gilds of the respective towns. General cahiers from the third estate of the *baillies* of Lunéville and Hennebont have been lost.⁴⁶ The general cahiers of the third estate in ten of the *baillies* where the gild towns were located defended the gilds, and in eleven they asked for

⁴⁴ The towns of Troyes and Angers would leave the issue of maintenance or suppression to the estates general itself. See texts, p. 286, art. 23, and p. ccxv, arts. 11-13, respectively. See also the town cahier of Orléans, p. 319, art. 135, and p. 323, art. 151.

⁴⁵ According to the royal order (see Brette), the legal, professional, and liberal arts gilds were authorized to choose two delegates for each one hundred members or less, the craft gilds one delegate for each hundred, and the unorganized inhabitants two for each hundred. This proportion favored the first group since their numbers were relatively small, but was balanced by the greater number of craft gilds. Many of the latter, however, designated a lawyer or prominent bourgeois as their representative. Thus town assemblies consisted predominantly of members of the legal and unorganized groups.

⁴⁶ References for texts of general cahiers may be found in my *French Nationalism in 1789*, pp. 312-28, *Repertoire critique*, and *Guide to the General Cahiers*. See the latter work, pp. 136, 385 ff., and 389 ff., on the texts for Rochefort and Rouen. The thirty-one towns were located in twenty-eight different *baillies*. All the large towns and ten of the lesser towns (Limoges, Bourges, La Rochelle, Lunéville, Alençon, Beauvais, Rochefort, Quimper, Provins, and Hennebont) were the place of assemblage for the *baillies* which produced general cahiers. Twelve of the towns were situated in secondary *baillies*. The general *baillies* to which they belonged are as follows: Le Havre (Caudebec-en-Caux), Issoudun (Bourges), Bergues (Bailleul), Beaune (Dijon), Bergerac (Périgord), Noyon (Vermandois), Bayeux (Caen), Compiègne (Senlis), Chinon (Tours), St. Amand (Moulins), St. Maixent (Poitiers), Quimperlé (Carhaix). With the loss of the general cahiers of Lunéville and Hennebont and with six of the towns grouped in three *baillies* (Issoudun-Bourges, Bayeux-Caen, Chinon-Tours), there are twenty-six general cahiers to compare with the twenty-nine town cahiers.

suppression.⁴⁷ Thus deputies from districts where guilds had approved the guild regime were carrying instructions to the estates general contrary to guild wishes and expressive of economic liberalism as regards the industrial regime.

The guild cahiers are interesting not only for their general attitude toward guild organization. The opinions they express relative to various other industrial problems are also of historical value. Unemployment is not an exclusively twentieth century issue. Comment relative to this problem came more often from building trades, in which occupation was seasonal then as it is now, than from other industries. The masons of Provins complained of four months of unemployment. The ship-builders of Le Havre complained of a shortage of contracts with consequent irregularity in the need for workers and protested against a ruling of the admiralty requiring assignment of workers to masters by rotation.⁴⁸ The merchants of Alençon claimed that masters had no work to give workers unable to pay for the masterhood. If workers tried to set up a shop, their materials were liable to confiscation. "The unfortunates are punished for working."⁴⁹ The remedy suggested by the merchants was a return to the old regime which had been suppressed by Turgot.

In their desire to solve unemployment the barbers of Lunéville suggested rewards for increase in employment. Several guilds asked that jobs be not given to bachelors.⁵⁰ Aid to the unemployed was contemplated by the carpenters of Limoges, who advocated the founding of a philanthropic society which would use its funds to provide work for unemployed at wages one third below the usual.⁵¹

The question of hours of employment was not discussed in the guild cahiers with the exception of a few from Bourges, and even they were not concerned about the length of the industrial day. At Bourges some guildsmen complained that vinedressers stopped work at 5 P.M., thereby wasting much of the daylight, and they asked that these workers be required to work from sunrise to sunset.⁵² This is a far cry from the forty-hour week!

The problem of apprenticeship had a bearing upon the supply of

⁴⁷ See the composite table of opinion, note 20.

⁴⁸ Provins, MS.; Le Havre, p. 61, arts. 3, 4, and p. 62, art. 8.

⁴⁹ Alençon, p. 48.

⁵⁰ Lunéville, MS., art. 31; masons, *ibid.* More guilds of Lunéville expressed this attitude than of other towns.

⁵¹ Limoges, p. 116, art. 30.

⁵² E.g., surgeons, Bourges, p. 647, art. 6.

labor. Numerous guilds in different towns asked for strict enforcement of apprenticeship training. Some asked for a three year or four year training, while the stovemakers of Orléans stipulated a four year period followed by two years of work with a master before certification by him.⁵³ The saddlers of Alençon asked for permission to take apprentices, while the ship carpenters of Le Havre asked that the number of apprentices each master would take be determined by the master.⁵⁴ The motive for this request was the desire for a balance between young apprentices and retiring workers and hence stabilization of employment. Tanners of Beauvais asked that workers (*compagnons*) be not allowed to leave masters without a specific warning and permission (*congé*).⁵⁵

Relatively few guilds mentioned wages. The few that did were chiefly in the building trades where public contracts affected production.⁵⁶ The textile manufacturers of Troyes asked that laws be passed forbidding the winning of workers away from another master by the promise of higher wages.⁵⁷ Most of the guildsmen were more concerned with the return on their own industry than a living wage for the labor they employed.

The guilds, consisting as they did of masters, would be expected to oppose associations of workers. Organizations of apprentices, journeymen, and laborers were forbidden by law, yet such groups existed.⁵⁸ Nowhere was the denunciation of such organizations as outspoken as in Montpellier, where many of the guildsmen complained that workers' associations led to disorder, bloody disputes, and danger to the town inhabitants.⁵⁹ According to the saddlers of Troyes, all workers not recognized by the guilds should be excluded from the town and suburbs, the reason given being that such workers paid no fees to the king for

⁵³ The cutlers of Troyes asked for three years, p. 161, art. 3; the mercers of Tours for four, MS., art. 8. See stovemakers, Orléans, p. 225, art. 6.

⁵⁴ Alençon, p. 81, art. 1, and Le Havre, p. 62, art. 7. See also citations from the latter, note 48.

⁵⁵ Beauvais, MS.

⁵⁶ E.g., carpenters, Bergues, p. 16, or sailmakers, Le Havre, p. 109, art. 5.

⁵⁷ Troyes, p. 84.

⁵⁸ On associations of workers, see Germain Martin, *Les associations ouvrières au XVIII^e siècle* (Paris, 1900), also Martin Saint-Léon, pp. 557-68. That organizations of workers existed in 1789 despite legal prohibition is attested both by reference to them in guild cahiers and by the fact that sixteen such groups drew up cahiers (see above, note 2).

⁵⁹ E.g., architects, Montpellier, p. 641, art. 8. Nine guilds of Montpellier and seven of Marseille complained of workers' associations. Guilds of other towns rarely mentioned workers' associations.

the right to work.⁶⁰ Here and there distrust of workmen was expressed, but most of the gild cahiers ignored the existence and needs of those members of the third estate dependent upon them.⁶¹

One of the outstanding requests of gild cahiers was that consular jurisdiction be increased and consular courts established where none existed.⁶² It was the function of consuls to judge industrial disputes and to deal with bankruptcy. As has been indicated already, jurisdictional disputes between gilds were common before their suppression by Turgot, and the reforms instituted in 1777-78 had not eliminated this evil. Prevention and punishment of bankruptcy and protection of gild privileges against unorganized competitors were the chief motives for the request to increase the powers of consular judges. Greater powers would include an increase of territorial jurisdiction and of the value of cases handled, a greater variety of cases, and regulation of appeals.⁶³ Naturally, the corps of consular judges of the different towns defended their own powers and asked for extension,⁶⁴ but many of the professional and craft gilds also made this request.

Proposals of two cahiers envisaged fair adjustment of disputes between masters and employees. The farriers of Angers asked that controversies between proprietors and workers be settled by "a man of the craft", while the masons of Reims asked that a committee of experts be established in their gild to settle disputes between masters and between masters and workers.⁶⁵ Representation of employees on such boards was not yet conceived of, and indeed only these two cahiers evinced an interest in settlement of disputes other than by each master and his own workmen.

Many of the gild cahiers condemned peddling and manufacture and sale by those who were not masters. The grocers of Troyes claimed exclusive right of sale by virtue of the act reconstituting the gilds in

⁶⁰ Troyes, p. 176, art. 3.

⁶¹ See, for example, statements about dishonesty and trickery of workmen in the cahier of the masons, Reims, pp. 139-40, arts. 8, 9.

⁶² Approximately 150 gilds made this request. For a list of towns having consuls see *Encyclopédie méthodique* (Paris, 1782-1832), vol. 36, which is the first volume on commerce, pp. 721-22. Twenty-one of the thirty-one towns under consideration had consular judges. In general, the smaller towns where no consular courts existed were not interested in having them established.

⁶³ For a very complete treatment of the need for increased consular jurisdiction, see cahier of the mercers, Orléans, pp. 143-44, art. 43.

⁶⁴ E.g., consular judges, Reims, pp. 45-46. It is worthy of note that the town cahiers almost invariably asked for increased consular jurisdiction whether the gilds had done so or not.

⁶⁵ Angers, p. 160, art. 29; Reims, p. 140, art. 10.

1777 and complained that peddlers had the advantage in markets but paid no fees, whereas gildsmen paid for their privileges and yet derived no benefit. The masons of Reims asked that nonmasters be prohibited from employing workers and accompanied their demands with a gruesome picture of evils resulting from nongild construction—defective building, danger of collapse of houses, expense, and dishonesty.⁶⁶ Protest against the sale of goods by nongildsmen appeared more frequently in gild cahiers from the large and middle-sized towns; it was especially frequent among the gilds of Montpellier and Beaune.⁶⁷

An occasional condemnation of rural manufacture suggests that the domestic system was already developing in France. The introduction of machines for rural manufacture was opposed not in the name of gild monopoly but rather because of their effect upon employment and the standard of goods.⁶⁸ Numerous gild cahiers of Rouen, Caen, and Troyes condemned the importation of machinery from England, but this attitude appeared less widely and less frequently than might have been expected.⁶⁹

While defending their own privileges, the gilds almost universally denounced exclusive privileges detrimental to their own. The commercial privileges of such companies as the Company of the Indies were condemned, especially by the gilds of Marseille, whose trade with the Orient was adversely affected.⁷⁰ The gilds of a number of towns complained of the right of asylum exercised by "privileged places", which rendered the pursuit of debtors and bankrupts ineffective.⁷¹ The upholsterers of Orléans objected to the Aubusson and Feuilletin tapestry industry.⁷²

Various gild cahiers advocated encouragement to inventors as a general stimulus to industry. This should not take the form of privileges of exploitation, however, or if privileges were granted, they should be for a limited period only.⁷³ The tailors of Angers favored a system

⁶⁶ Troyes, pp. 88-89, art. 1; Reims, p. 138, art. 5.

⁶⁷ Nearly one hundred cahiers denounced peddling (*colportage*). Fourteen gilds of Montpellier and twelve of Beaune opposed sale by nongildsmen.

⁶⁸ E.g., weavers, Beaune, MS.

⁶⁹ E.g., bakers, locksmiths, and masons of Rouen, MS.; bonnetmakers of Caen, MS.; bonnetmakers and joiners of Troyes, p. 120, art. 17, p. 171, art. 15. Hostility to rural manufacture also appeared in southern France in the gild cahiers of Montpellier.

⁷⁰ Twenty-four out of forty-seven gilds of Marseille directly or indirectly condemned the Company of the Indies.

⁷¹ E.g., cooks, Rouen, MS.; and textile gild, Troyes, p. 84. The latter complained of privileges of manufacture.

⁷² Orléans, p. 229.

⁷³ E.g., grocers, Rouen, MS., art. 75.

of prizes for both agriculture and industry. The bonnetmakers of Lunéville would give rewards to masters for good quality, while the brokers of Rouen would offer prizes to the best workers and apprentices.⁷⁴

Aside from hostility to the use of machinery because of its effect upon employment and the quality of goods, guilds in a number of localities, notably Lorraine, complained of factories and forges because they were consuming the fuel supply of the townsmen and hence raising the cost of gild manufacture.⁷⁵ Demand for conservation of forests and reform in their administration was widespread, but none of the guilds voiced as constructive a plan as did the town cahier of Quimper, which asked that every proprietor of woodland be required to plant two trees for every one that he cut down.⁷⁶

Gilds of seacoast towns, as well as merchant guilds of interior towns, were concerned over French shipping. The major schemes for recovery of maritime power included subsidies to French shipbuilding, exclusion of non-French vessels from coastwise trade, and improvement of marine insurance.⁷⁷ The shipbuilders of Marseille favored navigation acts like those of England.⁷⁸ Improvement in seamanship would be effected by encouragement of fishing as a means of training seamen, reform of naval discipline and of the method of recruitment for the navy, provision for seamen's pensions, and appointment of French captains.⁷⁹

With respect to internal commerce, the guilds quite generally demanded the abolition of internal customs duties and obstacles to free circulation of goods, but they were protectionist as regards foreign trade.⁸⁰ The most common single item relative to trade in gild cahiers was the demand for prohibition of the export of grain with the object of lowering the cost of bread in the towns.⁸¹ Many guilds asked for free entry of raw materials, while individual guilds opposed competitive

⁷⁴ Tailors and eating-house keepers (*traiteurs*) both made this same request (Angers, p. 142, art. 4, and p. 139, art. 6). Lunéville, MS.; Rouen, MS. "Broker" is here given as the translation of *courtier*.

⁷⁵ E.g., shoemakers, Lunéville, MS.

⁷⁶ Quimper, p. 13, art. 51.

⁷⁷ E.g., shipbuilders, Marseille, p. 89 ff., art. 12; wholesale merchants, Rouen, MS.; wholesale merchants, Le Havre, p. 144, art. 15.

⁷⁸ Marseille, p. 92, art. 12.

⁷⁹ E.g., grocers, Rouen, MS., art. 59; ship captains of Le Havre, p. 40, art. 2, and p. 41, art. 3; silk manufacturers, Marseille, p. 19.

⁸⁰ The *traites foraines* were condemned, but less frequently by guilds of the smaller towns. The usual expression was to ask for removal of barriers to internal commerce.

⁸¹ Nearly one hundred cahiers made this demand, e.g., printers, Reims, p. 134.

import of articles needed for their particular craft.⁸² The wholesale merchants of Rouen asked for a general protective tariff and prohibition of the import of manufactured goods.⁸³ An appreciable number of gild cahiers condemned an export tariff.⁸⁴

The commercial treaty with England negotiated in 1786 met with outspoken condemnation.⁸⁵ The treaty had been a step toward reciprocity, involving concessions to French wines imported into England and to English machine-made goods imported into France. In no cahier was the treaty explicitly approved. Silence in the majority of gild cahiers did not necessarily mean approval; it probably indicated, rather, that those cahiers came from localities and industries that had not yet felt the impact of the treaty. Opposition was more frequent in large towns and in the gild towns of the north, where English goods had been introduced. Some gilds were so hostile to the treaty that they demanded that future commercial treaties should be negotiated only with the advice and approval of local chambers of commerce, representatives of the gilds, or of the towns.⁸⁶

One demand whose adoption would facilitate commerce, that is, the uniformity of weights and measures, was very widespread.⁸⁷ This was fulfilled when the metric system replaced the diverse provincial standards used under the old regime.

The foregoing were some of the outstanding problems dealt with by the gilds in their cahiers. Most of the demands, if carried out, would have strengthened the favored status of the gilds. Gildsmen under the old regime were privileged Frenchmen, as were the clergy and the nobles, and the gild cahiers defended their privileges and manifested their *esprit de corps*. Expressions of economic liberalism in the gild cahiers envisaged the removal of national and local regulations detrimental to gild industry and trade but not the substitution of individual

⁸² *E.g.*, weavers, Troyes, p. 85, art. 2. Dyers of Rouen complained of Swiss goods; bonnet makers of Lunéville, of the import of Swiss, English, and Frankfort bonnets; linen weavers and stocking knitters of Bayeux, of English goods. All these cahiers are in manuscript only.

⁸³ Rouen, MS.

⁸⁴ *E.g.*, see the annex to the cahier of the wholesale merchants, Le Havre, p. 143, art. 8.

⁸⁵ Approximately seventy cahiers denounced the treaty. *E.g.*, stocking manufacturers, Rouen, MS.

⁸⁶ *E.g.*, officers of the money jurisdiction, La Rochelle, MS. The playing-card makers of Caen asked that all commerce whatsoever with England be stopped (MS. text).

⁸⁷ Over one hundred and fifty cahiers made this demand. *E.g.*, wholesale merchants, Reims, p. 172, art. 9.

initiative for corporate organization. The majority of the guilds looked to government aid and support to maintain guild privileges but opposed government interference to curtail them.

Here and there a member of a guild—legal, professional, or craft—assumed leadership during the Revolution, but such leadership was a matter of personality and of individual activity, not of guild membership. The craft guilds had few spokesmen in the National Assembly, and when guild privileges came under debate, the partisans of economic liberalism triumphed.⁸⁸

The legal suppression of the guilds was enacted in a series of laws beginning on February 17, 1791.⁸⁹ The dissolution of the guilds and the emergence of a new industrial order were the result, however, of the general disorganization and transformation of France rather than of legal measures for suppression. Insofar as the demands of guildsmen with regard to general economic problems, taxation, provincial and local government coincided with those of other members of the third estate—the unorganized and the rural groups—these demands appeared in the general cahiers and were carried out during the Revolution.

BEATRICE F. HYSLOP.

Hunter College.

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⁸⁸ An examination of the list of deputies to the estates general of 1789 shows only a small minority to have been masters in industry or commerce (Brette, Vol. II). Most of the deputies from the *bailliages* where the thirty-one guild towns were located were lawyers or local officials. There were some wholesale merchants, some unorganized townsmen, a few laborers, but no members of craft guilds from these *bailliages*.

⁸⁹ See the *Moniteur universel* for discussions and texts of measures adopted by the National Assembly, or consult the discussion of suppression of guilds by Martin Saint-Léon, pp. 619 ff.

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PATERNALISM AND THE PULLMAN STRIKE

THE rapid expansion of industrialism following the Civil War was accompanied by increasingly severe labor disturbances. Despite the enormous gains enjoyed by entrepreneurs the plight of labor during this era was not materially improved. During the sixties and seventies real wages actually declined. Wretchedly housed and subjected to a demoralizing environment, labor became increasingly suspicious and bitter toward capital. In desperation many toilers looked to unions as the only hope of escaping the terrors of poverty. Craft unions multiplied, and in the National Labor Union and subsequently the Noble Order of the Knights of Labor the workers attempted to present a united front. They were grimly determined to improve their living standards which too often bred despair, suffering, and tragedy. Opposed to labor were the capitalists, often unscrupulous in their business methods, who were just as uncompromising in their opposition to unionism. The stage was thus set for the industrial upheavals which shook the United States in the seventies and eighties.

Among the enterprises that played a dominant role in the business world during the latter half of the nineteenth century was the Pullman Palace Car Company. Capitalized in 1867 at ten million dollars,¹ it underwent rapid expansion and by 1893 possessed assets of sixty-two million dollars.² The company was so successful in revolutionizing the sleeping car industry and destroying competition that in 1894 its service extended over three fourths of the railroad mileage of the United States.³ The founder and head of this corporation was George Mortimer Pullman, who, although reared in poverty, developed into a masterful executive. Over the Pullman Company he exercised complete and arbitrary control. Shrewd, calculating, and conservative, he was primarily a hardheaded businessman. His disposition, which was

¹ *Private Laws of the State of Illinois* (2 vols., Springfield, 1867), II, pp. 337-38.

² "Fiscal Report of the Pullman Company for the Year ending July 31, 1893", *Pullman Journal*, Oct. 21, 1893, p. 4.

³ George M. Pullman, *The Strike at Pullman* (Chicago, 1894), p. 36, a pamphlet containing the statements of George Pullman and Second Vice-President T. H. Wickes before the United States Strike Commission, 1894.

not genial, made for personal unpopularity. He refused to brook opposition and was especially bitter toward labor unions.⁴

The rapid growth of the corporation necessitated in 1880 a substantial enlargement of production facilities. In addition to constructing and operating sleeping, parlor, and dining cars, the organization decided to build all types of railroad cars for the general market. To meet the varied needs of the company, it was decided to construct new and elaborate works near Chicago.⁵ The site chosen was in a sparsely settled region, and in order to house the thousands of workers a town had to be built. Rather than permit haphazard construction, Pullman decided upon a planned community with beautiful houses and lovely streets, parks, and public buildings. His motive was not entirely philanthropic. He looked upon the venture as a business proposition which would yield dividends of 6 per cent and would create a contented and industrious force of skilled laborers. Desirous of avoiding labor difficulties, Pullman believed that paternalism wisely administered would lull the restless yearnings of the laborer and give to his powerful corporation a stability in labor conditions not hitherto known.⁶ The Pullman Experiment was thus launched as a new departure in the approach to the problem of industrial strife.

On the open prairie, twelve miles south of the business district of

⁴ Obituaries of Pullman, *Chicago Tribune*, *Chicago Record*, *Inter Ocean*, Oct. 20, 1897; John McLean, *One Hundred Years in Illinois* (Chicago, 1919), pp. 226-27, 253-54; William Carwardine, *The Pullman Strike* (Chicago, 1894), p. 47. Carwardine, who was pastor of the First Methodist Episcopal Church of Pullman prior to and during the strike of 1894, championed vigorously the cause of the workers. In his book he sheds considerable light on the causes and character of this great labor upheaval.

⁵ *United States Strike Commission Report*, Senate Executive Document, No. 7, 53 Cong., 3 sess. (Washington, 1895), p. 529. President Grover Cleveland on July 26, 1894, appointed a commission of three members, Carroll D. Wright (chairman), John D. Kerman, and Nicholas E. Worthington, to conduct an investigation of the Pullman strike. On November 14, 1894, the commission submitted to the President its report including testimony, proceedings, and recommendations. This report, the most valuable source available for a study of the strike, is, generally speaking, very fair and impartial. Prior to the construction of the Pullman works, shops existed at Elmira, Detroit, St. Louis, and Wilmington. Joseph Husband, *The Story of the Pullman Car* (Chicago, 1917), p. 89.

⁶ Pullman, pp. 1-2; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 529-30; Carroll D. Wright and others, "An Attractive Industrial Experiment", *Massachusetts Labor Report* (Boston, 1885), pt. 1, p. 18; *Report of the Commissioners of the State Bureaus of Labor Statistics; The Story of Pullman*, pp. 22-23, a pamphlet distributed at the Pullman exhibit at the World's Columbian Exposition, Chicago, 1893.

Chicago, the Pullman Company purchased four thousand acres of land. Less than five hundred acres, however, were required for the model town, which, completely isolated by a broad belt of uninhabited Pullman property, was laid out on the western shore of Lake Calumet. Under the direction of Solon S. Beman, chief architect, and Nathan Barrett, landscape engineer, the town of Pullman was planned along aesthetic lines.⁷ Ground was broken in 1880, and during the ensuing four years construction was pushed rapidly. Simultaneously with the erection of shops, the company established gas, water, and sewer facilities and constructed streets, homes, and public buildings. Economizing wherever possible, it not only established its own carpenter shops but also manufactured from the rich clay deposits underlying Lake Calumet a supply of cream-colored bricks. All buildings save the Green Stone Church and some frame houses at the southern limits of the town were constructed of brick with stone trimmings and slate roofs. The architecture, which tended to be monotonous, was relieved by the beauty of shrubbery and trees. The town was planned so that its most attractive view was visible from the Illinois Central tracks.⁸ In 1894 there were eighteen hundred tenements, varying in size from two room flats to luxurious three story houses.⁹ Among the public buildings were the Florence Hotel, the Pullman School, the livery stables, the Casino, the Arcade, which housed the library, theater, and all offices and stores, the market building, which accommodated the meat and vegetable markets, and the Green Stone Church, which, constructed from green serpentine rock, was singularly impressive.¹⁰ The parks of Pullman contributed much to the beauty and physical well-being of the town. Lake Vista and Arcade Park were noted for their picturesqueness; the Playground and Athletic Island were uti-

⁷ McLean, pp. 224-25; A. T. Andreas, *History of Cook County, Illinois* (Chicago, 1884), pp. 516, 521, 611; Irving K. Pond, "America's First Planned Industrial Town", *Illinois Society of Architects' Monthly Bulletin*, June-July, 1934, pp. 6-8. Pond assisted Beman as a draftsman.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 7; "Report to the State of Illinois on the Status of the Town of Pullman", 1885, pp. 1, 13, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library, Chicago; *Pullman Journal*, Jan. 7, 1893, p. 4; Andreas, pp. 611-12; Richard T. Ely, "Pullman: A Social Study", *Harper's Monthly*, LXX (1885), p. 458.

⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 458, 461; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 507.

¹⁰ Mrs. Duane Doty, *The Town of Pullman* (Pullman, 1893), pp. 8-10, 48-49; Duane Doty, "The Market of Pullman", 1883, pp. 1-3, Pullman Collection, John Crerar Library, Chicago. No person was more devoted to the Pullman Experiment than Duane Doty, who filled various important offices in the model town from 1880 until his death in 1902 (see below p. 276).

lized for sports.¹¹ The beauty of the town profoundly impressed many visitors.¹²

In almost every detail the town was modern. The homes were equipped with commodious basements, were furnished with gas, water, and excellent sewage facilities, and were supplied with an abundance of fresh air and sunlight. Gas manufactured by the company was used in lighting the streets as well as for household purposes. The streets and alleys were macadamized and the sidewalks made from planks and gravel. The front lawns were heavily sodded and frequently terraced. Thousands of shade trees and shrubs adorned the streets and parks, a constant supply being furnished by the company-owned nursery and greenhouses.¹³ Steam heat was furnished to the public buildings and better homes. The company established, among other things, a lumber yard, ice houses, and a dairy farm with nearly one hundred cows, which supplied the inhabitants of Pullman with milk, butter, and cream.¹⁴ The most unique of all Pullman institutions was the company-operated sewage truck farm, which disposed of all sewage by land purification. The crops raised on this highly fertilized soil supplied Pullman and some Chicago markets with vegetables, the profits yielding as much as 8 per cent on the investment.¹⁵ Such institutions as a hospital, cemetery, jail, orphanage, and infirmary were absent from the experiment, due largely to their availability in the village of Hyde Park.¹⁶

Since the model town was in reality an adjunct to the Pullman works, the size of the population fluctuated with employment conditions. From the inauguration of the experiment until 1893 the Pull-

¹¹ Mrs. Doty, pp. 109-10; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 7, 1889, p. 5. This paper was published in Pullman from 1889 to 1892 and was a semi-official organ of the company. In 1892 it was renamed the *Pullman Journal*. Perhaps the most unique feature in the model town was the five-acre Athletic Island, which was located in Lake Calumet and was made accessible to the mainland by means of a bridge. Constructed on this island were boat houses, a large grandstand, and a small race course.

¹² *Inter Ocean*, Jan. 17, 1885, p. 12; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 5, 1891, p. 5.

¹³ Andreas, p. 620; *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 14, 1882, p. 6; "Report to the State of Illinois", pp. 10-11, 13-14; *Arcade Journal*, June 14, 1890, p. 1.

¹⁴ Mrs. Doty, pp. 162-63; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 455; *Arcade Journal*, Oct. 11, 1890, p. 1.

¹⁵ Oscar C. DeWolf, *Pullman from a State Medicine Point of View*, p. 12, reprinted from the *American Public Health Association Proceedings* (Concord, 1884), IX, 290 ff.; Mrs. Doty, pp. 165-67; *Chicago Times*, Aug. 6, 1882, p. 6, and Apr. 25, 1885, p. 8.

¹⁶ *Municipal Code of the Village of Hyde Park together with General Laws* (Hyde Park, 1887), pp. 72-73, 94, 149.

man shops enjoyed, with few interruptions, a remarkable expansion in production. The high peak for the town was reached shortly before the panic of 1893, when the population reached twelve and one-half thousand. Due to the ensuing depression the number by 1895 had fallen to eight thousand.¹⁷ Although unbounded prosperity eventually returned to the shops,¹⁸ the town of Pullman, for reasons to be treated subsequently, never recovered its buoyancy. The largest percentage of inhabitants was foreign born, the most important nationalities being Scandinavian, British, German, Dutch, and Irish.¹⁹ There is, however, no evidence that the history of the experiment would have been materially different with a population exclusively American born.

George Pullman, having faith in arbitrary control, managed the town with rigid paternalism. Although a part of the village of Hyde Park, the town in most matters was subject to the authority of the Pullman corporation. By resorting from the outset to domination over municipal functions, such as maintenance of streets, parks, fire department, sewerage, and sanitary inspection, and by virtue of its wealth, influence, and ownership of the entire town, the company, through George Pullman, conducted the experiment without interference. All of the town officials were appointed by the corporation except the members of the school board, who, although elective, were still in the employ of the company and hence subject to the influence of George Pullman.²⁰ The chief administrator was the town agent, who co-ordinated the work of eleven municipal departments and operated the town in a commercial manner. During the period covered by the experiment, 1880 to 1907, there were six town agents, the most distinguished being Duane Doty, who served twice in this capacity (1880-1883, 1901-1902) and also as civil engineer, statistician, and editor of the *Pullman Journal* (1883-1901).²¹

¹⁷ "Annual Report of the Pullman Company to the Stockholders, Oct. 11, 1888", *Chicago Tribune*, Oct. 12, 1888, p. 2; "Fiscal Report of the Pullman Company for the Year ending July 31, 1893", *Pullman Journal*, Oct. 21, 1893, p. 4, and Feb. 1, 1896, p. 12.

¹⁸ "Annual Report of the Pullman Company, Oct. 1903", *Calumet Record*, Oct. 22, 1903, p. 1. This newspaper, published weekly in South Chicago, was in certain respects the successor of the *Pullman Journal*, which ceased publication in 1898.

¹⁹ Wright, p. 9; Joseph Kirkland, *Story of Chicago* (Chicago, 1892), p. 395; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 25, 1893, p. 4.

²⁰ "Report to the State of Illinois", p. 24; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 461-64; *Chicago Tribune*, July 7, 1885, p. 8; *Chicago Evening Journal*, July 10, 1885, p. 3; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 28, 1889, p. 5; McLean, pp. 239-43.

²¹ *Ibid.*, pp. 253-54; Andreas, pp. 625-26; *Calumet Record*, Mar. 8, 1901, p. 5; "Town of Pullman Pay Rolls, March 15, 1886, to March 31, 1887", pp. 1-19, Pullman Company records.

Virtually the only enterprises not operated by the corporation were retail stores. Among the institutions in which the company took special pride was the fire department, which developed such efficiency that the village of Hyde Park in 1886 decided to pay the maintenance cost in return for the extension of the service to surrounding communities.²² The library was incorporated and managed by a board of directors controlled by George Pullman, who was himself a member.²³ The hotel, theater, and bank were operated by the corporation as business enterprises. In charge of the Florence Hotel was a superintendent, and in control of the Arcade Theater was a business manager. The theater was beautifully decorated, and the plays were of excellent quality, but the admission prices were usually too high for ordinary laborers.²⁴ The Pullman Loan and Savings Bank, whose president was George Pullman, encouraged thrift, served the company commercially, and paid dividends of 6 per cent.²⁵ Vegetables and dairy products were produced by the company for the Pullman market, but peddlers who held Hyde Park licenses could not be prohibited from selling such commodities in the town. They were, however, denied such conveniences as sheds and stands.²⁶ It can be reasonably concluded that rigid paternalism was the more completely realized by virtue of so many enterprises, business and otherwise, being managed by the corporation.

In maintaining absolute control over the town and protecting the interests of his company, George Pullman deemed it necessary to wield considerable influence in the village of Hyde Park, to which the model town belonged politically. Participating actively in the election of Hyde Park officials, he was able to maintain on the board of trustees and the board of review a majority sympathetic toward his policies.²⁷ Pullman tax assessments and water rates were reduced to the lowest possible level, and the extraordinary municipal prerogatives of the cor-

²² *Annual Report of the Village of Hyde Park* (Chicago, 1887), p. 18; *Inter Ocean*, Apr. 13, 1886, p. 7; *Chicago Evening Journal*, May 4, 1886, p. 5.

²³ "Charter of Incorporation for the Pullman Public Library, Oct. 14, 1882", and "Minutes of the First Meeting of the Pullman Library Directors, Apr. 10, 1883", pp. 1-4, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library.

²⁴ McLean, p. 243; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 458; *Pullman Journal*, Aug. 10, 1893, p. 9.

²⁵ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 508-509, 514; *Pullman Journal*, Oct. 16, 1885, p. 3.

²⁶ "Report to the State of Illinois", p. 19.

²⁷ Andreas, pp. 516, 627; *Chicago Times*, Mar. 13, 1883, p. 8, and May 10, 1885, p. 19; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 10, 1885, p. 8, and Apr. 4, 1888, p. 2.

poration were never seriously challenged.²⁸ The relationship between Hyde Park and the model town was so satisfactory to George Pullman that despite the obsolete and inadequate features of the village government he frowned on all proposed changes.²⁹ In 1889, however, the annexation of Hyde Park to Chicago became an issue which George Pullman fought vigorously on the ground that it would endanger the success of the experiment. Tremendous pressure was applied, but notwithstanding, the proposition carried, and Hyde Park was absorbed by Chicago.³⁰ In actual effect the course of the experiment was not essentially changed, although taxes, schools, wholesale water rates, and the fire department were henceforth subject to the control of the city of Chicago.³¹

Political coercion was frequently employed by the Pullman Company. The employees were expected to vote for the party or candidates most satisfactory to George Pullman. Although threats and intimidation were frequently used, there is no evidence that very many employees were discharged for voting contrary to his wishes. Political opposition was keenly resented and suppressed whenever possible.³² John P. Hopkins, paymaster of the shops, led a revolt against the political domination of the corporation and as a result was discharged and compelled to leave the town.³³ The overwhelming vote of the town against annexation to Chicago in 1889 revealed the extent to which Pullman was able to control the ballot.³⁴ In national elections, however, the Democrats occasionally carried the town in spite of Pullman's

²⁸ *Annual Report of the Village of Hyde Park* (Hyde Park, 1886), p. 90; *ibid.*, 1888, pp. 23-24; *Chicago Times*, Aug. 19, 1882, p. 8, and July 12, 1885, p. 17.

²⁹ *Chicago Tribune*, Aug. 16, 1881, p. 8; *Chicago Herald*, June 30, 1889, p. 10; *Chicago Times*, Oct. 29, 1887, p. 10.

³⁰ *Chicago Herald*, May 14, 1889, p. 2, and June 30, 1889, pp. 9, 10; *Chicago Tribune*, June 15, 1889, p. 7; *Inter Ocean*, June 30, 1889, p. 15.

³¹ *Arcade Journal*, Aug. 30, 1890, p. 1; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 1, 1896, p. 12; Carwardine, p. 99.

³² *Chicago Times*, May 1, 1890, p. 1, and May 7, 1890, p. 2; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 6, 1887, p. 1, and May 3, 1890, p. 1; *Chicago Herald*, Apr. 10, 1887, p. 4, Mar. 31, 1889, p. 11, May 14, 1889, p. 3, and June 30, 1889, p. 10; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 430; Carwardine, p. 109.

³³ William Stead, *If Christ came to Chicago* (Chicago, 1894), pp. 294-95; Graham Taylor, *Satellite Cities* (New York, 1915), p. 62; *Chicago Times*, Nov. 7, 1888, p. 1, and Apr. 4, 1889, p. 4. This rift between George Pullman and John Hopkins helps to explain why Hopkins, as mayor of Chicago during the great strike of 1894, entertained little sympathy for the Pullman Corporation. The Second-Hopkins firm gave generously to the support of the strikers. Carwardine, pp. 41-44.

³⁴ *Inter Ocean*, June 30, 1889, p. 15.

efforts in behalf of the Republican Party.³⁵ The absence of genuine democracy was perhaps the most characteristic defect of the Pullman Experiment.

It is difficult to appraise fully and accurately the means by which George Pullman attempted to dominate the inhabitants. Influencing voters and resisting unionization were among the more obvious methods. During the Pullman Strike of 1894, according to one authority, a system of espionage was employed to keep check on the inhabitants.³⁶ A very subtle influence was the *Pullman Journal*, a semi-official organ of the corporation, published weekly. Ably edited, it gave unfailing support to all the policies of George Pullman.³⁷ Radical speakers were successfully excluded from the town by being denied the right to use public halls. The greatest caution was taken in granting applications to use the theater for lectures, and a close censorship was maintained over the type of plays produced.³⁸ In order to assure the immediate elimination of undesirables, it was provided that the lease which every tenant was compelled to sign could be voided within ten days by either party. Although such arbitrary expulsion was seldom employed, the potential effectiveness of the weapon served as a powerful threat to deter the inhabitants from criticizing or opposing the policies of the company.³⁹

It was the fixed policy of George Pullman to oppose the sale of any part of the town so as not to disturb unified control over the experiment or permit the entrance of baleful influences. In order to sell sites it would have been necessary to subdivide the acre property, a move which would have led to heavier taxes.⁴⁰ The rapidly increasing land values⁴¹ doubtless fortified the corporation in its determination that no property should be thrown on the market. Without complete ownership, effective domination would indeed have been imperiled, but, on the other hand, the refusal to permit home ownership became the basis for deep dissatisfaction. There is no evidence that

³⁵ *Ibid.*, Nov. 14, 1888, p. 7; Thomas B. Grant, "Pullman and Its Lessons", *American Journal of Politics*, V (1894), 194.

³⁶ Carwardine, p. 51.

³⁷ See notes 11 and 18.

³⁸ Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 458; *Chicago Herald*, Apr. 2, 1886, p. 4; anonymous, "The Arcadian City of Pullman", *Agricultural Review*, Jan., 1883, p. 72.

³⁹ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 532-34; Graham R. Taylor, *Pioneering on Social Frontiers* (Chicago, 1930), p. 115; *Chicago Times*, 1885, Sept. 30, p. 6, Oct. 3, p. 6, Oct. 7, p. 8.

⁴⁰ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 503-505, 529-30, 542.

⁴¹ *Pullman Journal*, Jan. 7, 1893, p. 3.

local attachment and civic pride were ever engendered among the citizens, and, according to the United States Strike Commission of 1894, the absence of home ownership embittered relations during the great strike.⁴² Although the company did nothing to discourage home ownership in nearby towns, it discriminated against non-Pullman renters when work was scarce. During the prosperous era prior to the panic of 1893 one sixth of the workers were home owners, but the company then experienced little trouble in renting its homes. During the depression, however, decided preference was shown to Pullman renters in the matter of employment.⁴³ Whereas in 1893 one half of the employees were residents of Pullman, in April, 1894, the number had increased to more than two thirds.⁴⁴

The basis of the Pullman Experiment was commercial. Substantial profits were realized from the sale of utilities. Gas was sold for \$2.25 per thousand cubic feet as compared with the charge in Chicago of only \$1.25.⁴⁵ The actual cost of manufacturing this amount in Pullman was variously estimated at thirty-three and at sixty-three and one fourth cents.⁴⁶ Although denied by the corporation, it was estimated that water which cost the company four cents per thousand gallons was retailed to the inhabitants for ten cents.⁴⁷ The library, equipped with over eight thousand volumes and luxuriously furnished, was accessible only to those who were willing to pay the annual membership fee of three dollars.⁴⁸ Although George Pullman explained that the charge was "not for profit" but to give subscribers "a sense of ownership", at no time did the membership exceed two hundred and fifty.⁴⁹

⁴² *Chicago Tribune*, Sept. 21, 1888, p. 9; *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 17, 1883, p. 2; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxii-xxiii, 504.

⁴³ Pullman, p. 21; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxv-xxxvi, 499; Carwardine, pp. 96-97.

⁴⁴ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 499; Pullman, p. 21.

⁴⁵ "Report to the State of Illinois", p. 15; *Inter Ocean*, Dec. 17, 1881, p. 3; Carwardine, p. 98.

⁴⁶ William T. Stead, "How Pullman was Built", *Socialist Economist*, VII (1894), 86; *Chicago Herald*, Mar. 31, 1889, p. 11.

⁴⁷ *Annual Report of the Village of Hyde Park*, 1886, p. 90; Stead, p. 86; Carwardine, p. 98. Since there were no meters in the homes, it was difficult to compute the actual rate charged. Each tenant was assessed monthly seventy-one cents, regardless of the amount of water consumed. Until 1894 the only water meters in the town were those registering the amount of water entering Pullman from Hyde Park. Pullman, p. 22.

⁴⁸ Bertha S. Ludlam, "History of the Pullman Library", p. 2, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library; *Pullman Journal*, Aug. 10, 1895, p. 4.

⁴⁹ Pullman, p. 23; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxi-xxii.

The company was determined that the entire cost of the town, exclusive of the shops, should be borne by the inhabitants, and, hence, included in the basis for computing rent were such matters as street, park, and sewer expenses. Dividends of no less than 6 per cent were demanded from the experiment, but the actual profits fell short of expectations. From the shabby frame cottages at the brickyards, however, the rent yielded 40 per cent on the investment.⁵⁰ The level of rent was extraordinarily high, averaging from 20 to 25 per cent more than rent in Chicago or surrounding communities for similar accommodations, excluding, however, sanitary and aesthetic features.⁵¹ Utilizing every means for prompt collection, the company at first deducted rent from wages but later was compelled by law to pay wages in full.⁵² Each employee was then given two checks, one of which covered the exact amount of the rent. The tenant was expected to sign this over immediately to the Pullman Bank, the collecting agent of the Pullman Company. Threats of eviction and dismissal were used against delinquent renters.⁵³

Paternalism was most evident in the policy governing renting. Through the lease and by numerous regulations the renter was left little freedom of action. All pernicious influences, such as saloons and brothels, were strictly forbidden, although a small bar, designed only for guests and charging exorbitant prices, was permitted at the Florence Hotel. No control, however, was exercised over the saloons in nearby communities, and from them the Pullman inhabitants purchased their liquor. The amount of drunkenness was never large.⁵⁴ The lease prohibited even the slightest alteration of any premises without written permission and obliged the tenant to pay for all repairs whether caused from carelessness or not—a clause which was never enforced.⁵⁵ Supplementary to the lease were numerous rules which all tenants were compelled to respect. Pigs and chickens were strictly prohibited because of their offensive odor, and the ownership of horses was permissible only by keeping them in the livery stables. Calcimin-

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxxv, 495-501, 522-30; *Chicago Times*, May 23, 1882, p. 6.

⁵¹ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxv, 462, 467-68, 492-93.

⁵² *Ibid.*, pp. 515, 533; "Pay Rolls of the Pullman Company, 1-B, Oct. 1882 to Jan. 1883", p. 40, Pullman Company records; *Revised Statutes of the State of Illinois* (Chicago, 1898), pp. 1530^a to 1530^b.

⁵³ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxvi, 515-17, 520-22.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 431, 463; Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, p. 51; "Report to the State of Illinois", pp. 24-25.

⁵⁵ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 531-33, 635-37.

ing, painting, and mechanical work were forbidden without official consent. Among other rules were those prescribing minutely such matters as the care to be given lamps and stoves, and how tenants in general should conduct themselves.⁵⁶ From the enforced orderliness and cleanliness, the tenants derived benefits, but the restrictions represented an irritating infringement upon their personal rights. There was little to foster the spirit of self-reliance or develop the initiative of the renter. Among the services rendered by the company were the following: keeping the front lawns mowed, sprinkled, and free of refuse; removing daily all rubbish, ashes, and garbage; and maintaining the homes in an excellent state of repair. Meat and vegetable markets were daily inspected and all tenants urged to present a tidy appearance.⁵⁷

Virtually no provision was made to secure the inhabitants against the hazards of life. In the framework of the experiment there was no place for paupers, orphans, and the unemployed. The town was designed only for industrious, self-sustaining people. When an individual lost his job and could no longer pay rent, he was expected to depart.⁵⁸ The creation of relief organizations was not encouraged by Pullman officials, with the result that during the depression of 1893 the nonexistence of a public charity system was keenly felt. Although medical aid was furnished to injured employees, it became the fixed policy of the company in 1886 not to pay them any wages while disabled.⁵⁹ Against the possibility of damage suits the corporation took the greatest precaution.⁶⁰ In refusing to give employees any security against the misfortunes of life, the Pullman Company was no different from any other corporation of this period.

The town was supplied with an adequate program designed to meet all recreational and social needs. The Arcade Theater during the winter months averaged one play per week in addition to occasional concerts and other specialties.⁶¹ No organization was more successful than the Pullman Band which won the Illinois State Championship

⁵⁶ *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 7, 1886, p. 2; "Report to the State of Illinois", pp. 16-19.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 18, 27, 38; "Town of Pullman Pay Rolls, March 15, 1886, to March 31, 1887", pp. 3-10, Pullman Company records; *Calumet Record*, June 13, 1901, p. 2; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 462.

⁵⁸ *Pullman Journal*, July 21, 1894, p. 8.

⁵⁹ Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 465; John P. Altgeld, *Live Questions* (Chicago, 1899), p. 424; Carwardine, pp. 41-44; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 483-84, 488, 639-40.

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. xxii, 487, 591; Carwardine, p. 112.

⁶¹ McLean, p. 243; *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 17, 1889, p. 4; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 9, 1895, p. 8.

in 1890 and subsequently toured the South. Its weekly concerts in the Arcade Park were widely appreciated.⁶² Few social organizations enjoyed more prestige than the Men's Society of Pullman, which endeavored to promote the physical, mental, and spiritual well-being of the community.⁶³ In the field of athletics the model town stood out pre-eminently. The Pullman Athletic Association promoted numerous sports and sponsored such major events as the annual spring games, professional regattas, and the annual road race, in which as many as four hundred cyclists participated before crowds numbering as high as fifteen thousand people.⁶⁴ George Pullman doubtless believed that the contentment of laborers depended in large measure upon the profitable utilization of their leisure hours.

The town of Pullman possessed numerous church organizations, but the religious situation was not always satisfactory. George Pullman, desirous of having the various religious denominations merge and form one large community church, built only one church edifice, the Green Stone Church.⁶⁵ The people, contrary to plans, organized their own churches and, prohibited from purchasing sites in Pullman, were obliged to rent undesirable quarters in the Arcade, the Casino, and the Market Building.⁶⁶ The Presbyterians alone were able to rent the Green Stone Church, but not until it had remained idle for several years and the annual rent had been reduced from \$3600 to \$1200. The parsonage, renting monthly for \$65, was never occupied by a minister, the rental being deemed too burdensome.⁶⁷ The religious groups became increasingly dissatisfied, objecting particularly to high rentals and the commercial treatment to which they were subjected.⁶⁸ Between John Waldron, a popular Catholic priest, and George Pullman there developed a bitter, personal feud which culminated finally in the resignation of Waldron from his pastorate. In his last sermon he denounced

⁶² *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 28, 1889, p. 5, and Oct. 10, 1891, p. 1; *Pullman Journal*, Nov. 23, 1895, p. 5.

⁶³ "Articles of Association and By-Laws of the Men's Society of Pullman, Dec. 16, 1895", pp. 1-15, Pullman Branch Library; *Pullman Journal*, Nov. 9, 1895, p. 4.

⁶⁴ *Chicago Times*, Jan. 30, 1883, p. 6; Mrs. Doty, pp. 109-110; *Arcade Journal*, May 10, 1890, p. 4; *Pullman Journal*, May 6, 1893, p. 9.

⁶⁵ Carwardine, p. 20; John Waldron, "History of the Parish of the Holy Rosary Church", 1883, p. 1, archives of the church, Roseland, Chicago.

⁶⁶ *Pullman Journal*, Dec. 28, 1895, p. 4; Mrs. Doty, pp. 46-47.

⁶⁷ *Chicago Herald*, Jan. 13, 1886, p. 2; Ely, *Harper's*, LXX, 464; Carwardine, pp. 20-21.

⁶⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 22; *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 4, 1885, p. 2, and Jan. 13, 1886, p. 2; *Pullman Journal*, Dec. 28, 1895, p. 9; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. 451.

his enemy in sharp, caustic language, characterizing him as a "capitalistic czar; a man who ruled, crushed and oppressed by the force of money".⁶⁹ The Catholics and Swedish Lutherans were finally permitted to secure some Pullman property for the erection of their own churches, but outside of the town.⁷⁰

During its heyday the model town was inspected by thousands of distinguished visitors. By fostering and conducting tours of the town, George Pullman revealed his profound pride in the venture.⁷¹ Although the experiment was studied by many manufacturers, engineers, and economists, it was imitated only vaguely and never became a genuine pattern for any industrial community.⁷² The Pullman Strike was largely instrumental in destroying whatever revolutionary effect the experiment was believed to have upon industrialism.

The inherent weaknesses in the paternalistic venture were evident to few people prior to the strike of 1894. The terrible force of this upheaval revealed that underneath the apparent calm and contentment of the citizenry there existed basic grievances. Among these, which have already been treated, were political domination and the absence of democracy, rigid paternalistic control over the tenants, exorbitant rentals, excessive gas and water rates, and the refusal to permit home ownership among the inhabitants. Equally important was the despotic policy of George Pullman toward labor. Numerous alleged grievances developed, including blacklisting, nepotism, favoritism, arbitrary dismissal, and tyranny on the part of foremen.⁷³ Regardless of Pullman's apparent interest in his workers, he shared with other industrialists the conviction that labor was only one of several commodities and that the wage scale should be rigorously governed by the condition of the labor market. A slump in business was invariably reflected in a wage

⁶⁹ *Chicago Daily News*, Feb. 11, 1887, p. 1; *Chicago Herald*, Feb. 12, 1887, p. 8.

⁷⁰ *Pullman Journal*, Nov. 5, 1892, p. 4, and May 20, 1893, p. 8; *Chicago Herald*, Aug. 10, 1886, p. 2.

⁷¹ *Inter Ocean*, Nov. 2, 1881, p. 6, and July 11, 1887, p. 16; *Pullman Journal*, Feb. 1, 1895, p. 14; "Visitors' Register for the Town of Pullman", Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library.

⁷² *Arcade Journal*, Dec. 5, 1891, p. 5; *Pullman Journal*, 1893, Nov. 2, 1895, p. 8, and Jan. 18, 1896, p. 8; *Calumet Record*, Jan. 25, 1906, p. 1; Budgett Meakin, *Model Factories and Villages: Ideal Conditions of Labor and Housing* (London, 1905), pp. 382-85; Graham R. Taylor, "Creating the New Steel City", *The Survey*, XX (1909), 22-36.

⁷³ Jane Addams, *Twenty Years at Hull House* (New York, 1917), p. 218; *Chicago Herald*, Jan. 9, 1888, p. 8; *Chicago Times*, Jan. 21, 1888, p. 2; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxvi, 441, 453, 481.

slash, irrespective of company earnings.⁷⁴ Against labor unions Pullman fought uncompromisingly, and prior to 1894 unionism was of slight importance in the model town. From the very outset of the experiment there were labor difficulties, but in every strike, great or small, the Pullman corporation emerged victorious.⁷⁵

Few matters rankled in the minds of the inhabitants as much as the question of rentals. Extraordinarily high in comparison with the level elsewhere, the rents of Pullman imposed a severe burden upon the inhabitants during the panic of 1893. The company as paymaster slashed wages drastically while as landlord it declined to tamper in any way with the rentals. Refusing to recognize that the same conditions which depressed wages should also reduce rents, George Pullman boldly contended that the two were in no wise related. The claim that any laborer who was dissatisfied with the rent policy could live elsewhere was contrary to all evidence. Pressure was applied on non-Pullman renters, forcing many of them to become Pullman tenants. In spite of all the company could do, the arrearage in rent mounted rapidly, reaching seventy thousand dollars at the time of the strike. Under the drastic wage slashes and irregular working conditions of 1894 the wages of many laborers were so small that every cent was needed for the purchase of food and clothing.⁷⁶ The Pullman Bank was inclined to ignore this situation, using every means to induce the renter to pay the maximum amount.⁷⁷ In the face of such widespread rent delinquency, the company could not very expediently resort to eviction; nor was it necessary as numerous unemployed tenants soon made their exit from the town.⁷⁸

The principal cause of the strike of 1894 was a radical reduction of wages fostered by a depression in business conditions. During the year ending on July 31, 1893, the corporation enjoyed a period of exceptional prosperity, earning profits of over six million dollars and employing in the Pullman shops 5500 men.⁷⁹ Unexpectedly, in the fall of 1893,

⁷⁴ *Ibid.*, p. xxxiii; *Chicago Times*, Sept. 30, 1885, p. 6; *Chicago Evening Journal*, Mar. 6, 1884, p. 3.

⁷⁵ Kirkland, pp. 398-400; *Chicago Tribune*, Feb. 17, 1882, p. 8; *Chicago Times*, Mar. 6, 1884, p. 8, Oct. 7, 1885, p. 8, May 18, 1886, p. 8; *Chicago Herald*, Jan. 9, 1888, p. 8.

⁷⁶ Pullman, p. 28; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. xxxv, xxxvi, 426, 462-63, 516, 611; Carwardine, p. 69.

⁷⁷ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. 515-17, 520-22.

⁷⁸ *Pullman Journal*, 1894, July 21, p. 8, Oct. 20, p. 4.

⁷⁹ "Annual Report of the Pullman Company", *ibid.*, Oct. 21, 1893, p. 4.

business slumped tremendously. Retrenchment was ordered in every department, and hundreds of men were dismissed. The car manufacturing division sustained losses, but not the more important operating division, which continued to yield large revenue. Convinced that the profits of the latter should not be used to cushion the losses of the former, Pullman compelled labor in both divisions to shoulder a relatively large percentage of the losses. The share which labor was forced to bear, during the seven and one half months prior to the strike, was over sixty thousand dollars as compared with the fifty-two thousand dollar loss borne by the corporation in the manufacturing division during the same period. According to the United States Strike Commission, a fairer distribution of the losses would have been one fourth for labor and the remainder for the company. The wage reduction, which in some cases reached 35 per cent, averaged 25 per cent. Reduced hours decreased further the laborer's income until many received a bare pittance. Interestingly enough, the salaries of Pullman officials were left undisturbed by the drastic retrenchment policy.⁸⁰

In defending the wage policy, George Pullman explained that he could not see the wisdom of utilizing profits which belonged to shareholders for the purpose of paying men higher wages than were justified by business conditions.⁸¹ To an impartial observer, however, the financial strength of the company was in strange contrast to the pitiful plight of the employees. In 1893 the corporation possessed assets worth \$62,000,000 of which \$26,000,000 represented undivided profits. After the dividends of 8 per cent were paid in that year, a surplus of \$4,000,000 remained from the profits of the year, which was enough for the company to have declared additional dividends of 10 per cent. Pullman stock, never watered, was then quoted at twice its par value.⁸² In spite of the losses sustained in the construction department in 1894, the earnings of the corporation in that year were sufficient to warrant the regular 8 per cent dividends which actually exceeded those of 1893 by \$300,000.⁸³ Had the corporation dipped but lightly into the huge surplus of 1893, there would have been no need for a drastic wage re-

⁸⁰ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxii-xxxiv, 547, 551, 554-57, 596, 597. Thomas Heathcoate, one of the strike leaders, affirmed that prior to the strike skilled mechanics received daily \$1.50, and the ordinary laborer \$1.30. Duane Doty, however, estimated the average daily rate of pay at \$1.85, assuming the worker toiled the full ten and three fourths hours. *Ibid.*, pp. 429, 506.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*, p. 554.

⁸² "Annual Report of the Pullman Company", *Pullman Journal*, 1893, Jan. 7, p. 3, and Oct. 21, p. 4.

⁸³ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, p. xxi.

duction, and the suffering of the employees would have been alleviated.

Convinced that their grievances could be redressed only through united effort, four thousand workers organized under the protecting wing of the American Railway Union. The company was presented with the following demands: investigation of shop abuses, reduction of rent, and restoration of wages to the predepression level. The rejection of these terms precipitated the strike on May 11. The poverty-stricken laborers issued an immediate appeal for relief and received from the public and labor unions a gratifying amount of aid.⁸⁴ Numerous attempts were made by the strikers and others to arbitrate the differences, but to each plea for arbitration George Pullman either ignored the offer or replied tersely, "nothing to arbitrate". He was grimly determined to eradicate all unionism from the shops and to operate his company, as always, without any dictation from labor.⁸⁵ The American Railway Union, snubbed on every attempt at arbitration, rallied to the support of the strikers by refusing to handle Pullman cars. This drew the opposition of the General Managers' Association, and the strike immediately assumed national significance. The fast moving drama of this titantic struggle quickly shifted to Chicago, where rioting, pillage, and bloodshed reached menacing proportions.⁸⁶ The military was ordered into the model town, as elsewhere, despite the peaceful, law-abiding character of the Pullman inhabitants.⁸⁷ By virtue of troops, court action, and the strategy of the General Managers' Association, the strike was crushed. The Pullman shops, after twelve weeks of idleness, reopened in August on the terms of the company: the low wage scale, the same rentals, and surrender of membership in the American Railway Union.⁸⁸

⁸⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. xxiii, xxvii, xxxvii, 417; Carwardine, pp. 41-44.

⁸⁵ Pullman, p. 3; Eugene Debs, *The Great Strike of 1894 and Its Features* (New York, 1894), p. 9; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxix, 424, 645-48; Thomas Beer, *Hanna* (New York, 1929), pp. 132-33. Convinced that Pullman's policy toward labor was anything but judicious, Mark Hanna on one occasion exploded: "The damned idiot ought to arbitrate, arbitrate, arbitrate. . . . A man who won't meet his men half way is a . . . fool." *Ibid.*

⁸⁶ *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxix-xxx, xxxiv-xl, xlii-xliii; McAlister Coleman, *Eugene V. Debs* (New York, 1930), pp. 125-29. The American Railway Union was organized in Chicago in June, 1893, and shortly afterwards engaged in a strike on the Great Northern Railroad from which the union emerged victorious. Ably led by Eugene Debs, the organization decided to boycott all Pullman cars only after all overtures for arbitration had failed. *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ *Pullman Journal*, 1894, May 19, p. 8, and July 7, p. 8; *U. S. Strike Commission Report*, pp. xxxvii, 452, 505.

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. xxvii, xliii, 422, 438, 562.

The Pullman Strike left the workers in a demoralized condition. Despite the scarcity of work, six hundred new men were given employment. With public charity exhausted and work available only to a portion of the old population, nearly six thousand people were confronted with starvation. In their distress they appealed to Governor John P. Altgeld, who made a personal inspection of conditions in the town and found them to be alarming. Turning to George Pullman for aid, Governor Altgeld alluded to the ironic fact that men who had worked in the Pullman shops for more than ten years were compelled to apply for relief two weeks after work stopped. Without mincing words, Pullman declined to render any assistance, and the governor was thereupon obliged to issue a proclamation appealing to the people of Illinois for relief.⁸⁹ Normal times eventually returned, but the spirit of the people toward the motives of George Pullman could never be the same.

The Pullman Experiment did not long survive this disastrous labor upheaval. On October 19, 1897, at the age of sixty-six years, the builder and guardian of the model town died, thereby removing an influence which would have resisted the forces bent upon destroying the experiment.⁹⁰ Even more significant, perhaps, was the decision of the State Supreme Court, October 24, 1898, which condemned paternalism and declared the establishment and operation of the model town to be in violation of the corporate privileges of the Pullman charter.⁹¹ The proceedings, which apparently had their origin in the Pullman Strike, were started in August, 1894, by Maurice T. Moloney, attorney general of Illinois. The Pullman Corporation contested the suit vigorously but accepted the final decision without any apparent resentment.⁹² With the defender of the town no longer at the helm, the company bowed to the inevitable and permitted its paternalistic venture to perish.

The dissolution of the experiment was ordered within five years, but upon petition it was extended for five years more.⁹³ The Pullman

⁸⁹ Altgeld, pp. 421-24; *Chicago Tribune*, 1894, Aug. 21, p. 1, Aug. 22, pp. 1, 13, and Aug. 23, p. 1. John P. Altgeld, governor of Illinois during this period, was very friendly to the cause of labor. It was against his protests that President Cleveland sent federal troops to Chicago. Harry Barnard, *Eagle Forgotten: The Life of John Peter Altgeld* (Indianapolis, 1938), pp. 295-307.

⁹⁰ *Inter Ocean*, Oct. 20, 1897, p. 2.

⁹¹ *Reports of Cases at Law and in Chancery Argued and Determined in the Supreme Court of Illinois* (Springfield, 1899), CLXXV, 143-49.

⁹² *Chicago Chronicles*, Jan. 7, 1899, p. 2; *Chicago Tribune*, Apr. 12, 1894, p. 7, Aug. 12, 1894, p. 7, Oct. 25, 1898, p. 7, and Jan. 8, 1899, p. 14.

⁹³ *Calumet Record*, Feb. 18, 1894, p. 1.

Company lost all interest in the aesthetic features of the town and permitted it to degenerate into an ugly shell. Lake Vista was destroyed, and the Playground and Athletic Island were appropriated for industrial purposes. The Arcade Theater was closed, the sewage farm abandoned, and various other institutions and functions discontinued. The library survived, but with different support and under different management.⁹⁴ During the summer of 1907 the public buildings and homes were thrown on the market, the terms being easy and preference being shown to the inhabitants.⁹⁵ On July 9, 1907, a plat of the town was submitted to the City Commissioner of Public Works, thereby terminating officially the existence of the model town as a separate community in Chicago.⁹⁶

The ending of the "noble experiment" did not occasion among the writers and editors any expression of regret.⁹⁷ The logic of circumstances had convinced the idealists and theorists that they would have to search elsewhere for a solution of industrial problems. Paternalism, instead of promoting better relations between employees and employer, had actually provided the laborer with new grievances and placed in the path of industrial peace an insuperable barrier. Improved living conditions and a favorable environment contributed only in part to the contentment of labor. Freedom of action and the right of self-expression were equally important. The strike of 1894, more than anything else, stamped indelibly on the mind of the laborer the true character of the experiment. Convinced that the Pullman corporation had no genuine interest in his fate, the worker became cynical toward the whole venture. The model town thus became a source of bitter disillusionment and finally, exposed with all of its frailties and contradictions, collapsed, joining many other social experiments designed to promote the well-being of the human race.

ALMONT LINDSEY.

Mary Washington College.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, June 13, 1901, p. 9; *Inter Ocean*, Apr. 29, 1909, p. 5; *Chicago Chronicles*, Jan. 7, 1899, p. 2; Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, pp. 37-38, 57; Correspondence of Mrs. George Pullman to Bertha S. Ludlum, Dec. 12, 1907, Pullman Collection, Pullman Branch Library.

⁹⁵ *Calumet Record*, May 9 to Nov. 12, 1907.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, July 11, 1907, pp. 1, 5.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, Nov. 26, 1903, p. 10; *Chicago Evening Post*, Oct. 25, 1899, p. 4; *New York Times*, Oct. 20, 1897, p. 6; *Chicago Record*, Jan. 9, 1899, p. 5; *Chicago Journal*, Oct. 26, 1898, p. 4; *Inter Ocean*, Jan. 9, 1899, p. 5; *Chicago Times Herald*, Oct. 20, 1897, p. 6; Taylor, *Satellite Cities*, p. 74, ch. III being Jane Addams's, "A Modern Lear".

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE CONGRESS OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES AT ZURICH

THE Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences was held in Zurich from August 28 to September 3, 1938, under the direction of the International Committee of Historical Sciences, which was created in 1926. The committee in charge of the Zurich Congress consisted of Harold W. V. Temperley, Master of Peterhouse, Michel Lhéritier (Dijon), Georg Hoffmann and Hans Nabholz (Zurich), Karl Brandi (Göttingen), François L. Ganshof (Ghent), Marcel Handelsman (Warsaw), Halvdan Koht (Oslo), and Giocchino Volpe (Rome), while the Swiss committee on arrangements, representing the Swiss universities and various Zurich interests, had as its executive body Hans Nabholz, president, Georg Hoffmann, secretary, Ernst Gagliardi, and Anton Largiader. These four bore the principal burden of making preparations for the congress and of assuring its success, and to them is due the sincere gratitude of the historical brotherhood.

The advance registration of members and associate members was unusually large: 1185, distributed among all parts of the world (Europe 1097, Africa 11, Asia 19, Australia 2, North America 49, South America 7) and among 49 countries. For various reasons, however, including the uncertainties and difficulties of the political and economic situation, the actual attendance fell substantially below, perhaps by nearly a third, the number of those whose names appeared in the advance issue of the *Teilnehmerverzeichnis*. About twenty-six American scholars are known to have been present; the government of the United States was represented by Waldo G. Leland and Solon J. Buck, who also, with Harold Deutsch, Clyde L. Grose, John L. LaMonte, and Waldemar Westergaard, officially represented the American Historical Association.

The program of the congress, in spite of vigorous efforts to reduce the number of papers read, included 321 communications, of which 145 were in French, 91 in German, 42 in English, 42 in Italian, and one in Spanish. As is normally the case, a considerable number of papers, probably ten per cent or more, were omitted because their authors failed to appear—perhaps not an unmixed evil but a cause of confusion and disappointment.

The program was organized in the following sections: (1) pre-history, (2) ancient history and classical archaeology, (3) auxiliary sciences and archives, (4) numismatics, (5) medieval and Byzantine history, (6) modern history to 1914, (7) history of non-European countries, (8) religious and ecclesiastical history, (9) history of law and institutions, (10) economic and social history, (11) military history, (12) history of philosophy, fine arts, and literature, (13) history of science, (14) historical method, theory, and teaching, (special) historical demography.

In the organization of the sessions a distinction was drawn between those of the mornings, which were reserved for longer communications of more general interest, and those of the afternoons, which were devoted to shorter and usually more specialized papers. The papers showed, as always, a great diversity of interest; inasmuch as summaries of most of them were printed in advance in *Bulletins* XXXIX and XL of the International Committee of Historical Sciences and distributed to all in attendance, those who wish to explore their subject matter can readily do so, an exercise which would undoubtedly be profitable for readers of this brief account. It is with regret that we are obliged to note that only five papers dealt with America, for it is evident that European historical scholarship has as yet but a vague idea of the interest and enlightenment that it would find in the serious study of certain phases of American history.¹ Since, however, only three of the sixteen papers offered by American scholars themselves dealt with American subjects, we are not in a favorable position to lodge a complaint against our colleagues of other countries.

For the program as a whole it should be said that papers of general interest, as well as papers of significance for the study of the present problems of the world, abounded.² Many interesting and some sensa-

¹ The five papers, according to the program, were as follows: Solon J. Buck, "The Services of the National Archives of the United States to Historical Research"; Franklin D. Scott, "Some American Influences on Scandinavia"; Arthur P. Coleman, "The Polish Insurrection of 1830 in the Opinion of a New England City [New Haven, Connecticut]"; Blanche Maurel, "L'abolition de l'esclavage à St.-Domingue et la résistance des planteurs, 1789-1794"; Max Silberschmidt, "Die Bedeutung des Übersten Gerichtshofes [Supreme Court] für die Entwicklung einer Nationalen Politik in den U.S.A."

² Among the papers of general interest may be mentioned, by way of illustration: "Les causes profondes de la ruine du monde antique" by T. Walek-Czernecki of Warsaw; "Kontinuitätsproblem und Denkmälerforschung" by Hans Zeiss of Munich; "Il commercio internazionale nel Medioevo" by A. Sapari of Florence; "Les permanences de l'histoire" by Nicolas Jorga of Bucharest; "L'histoire internationale" by Michel Lhéritier of Dijon; and "The Place of Lord Acton in the Liberal Movement of the Nineteenth

tional antecedents and parallels were presented and discussed with animation. Indeed, discussion of a rather high order, facilitated by the printed summaries, characterized the sessions and will be reported in the proceedings that are to be published in the *Bulletin* of the International Committee.

Of the papers listed in the program, 60 were in the field of modern history, 41 in legal and institutional history, 34 in medieval and Byzantine history, 31 in the history of philosophy, fine arts, and literature, 27 in economic and social history, 22 in ancient history and archaeology, with an equal number on historical method, theory, and teaching, 14 on archives and auxiliary sciences, 7 each in the fields of military history and the history of science, 6 in numismatics, and 3 each in prehistory and Asiatic history. This distribution is, however, only approximate, since numerous papers could logically have been assigned to other groups than those in which the program placed them.

It is difficult to distinguish definite trends of historical thought among the communications. If any single tendency was apparent, it was the effort to relate research, even in remote fields, to problems and interests of today. No one who reads the two volumes of summaries can accuse the members of the Zurich Congress of working in a vacuum; historical problems of nationalism were discussed by many speakers from many different countries; the history of international relations provided papers of striking significance; while numerous communications dealt with the historical development of the state, with the history of revolution and class struggle, and with problems of population.

In spite of the strains and stresses of the international situation, the spirit of the Zurich Congress was one of reasonable harmony and mutual respect; sharp differences of opinion, not always due to purely scientific convictions, were sometimes revealed in the discussions, but they were invariably expressed in courteous form and did not give rise to incidents. Certainly the impression was justified that the historians of the world earnestly desire to dwell together in peace and

Century" by E. L. Woodward of Oxford. Among papers of special interest in the light of present-day problems may be mentioned: "Le procès de la renationalisation de la Silésie au XIX^e siècle" by Marcel Handelsman of Warsaw; "Palmerston and the Liberal Movement, 1830-1841" by C. K. Webster of London; "England and the Dogma of Turkey's Integrity and Independence from Palmerston to Disraeli" by H. W. V. Temperley of Cambridge; "Bismarck's Afrikapolitik" by G. Rein of Hamburg; "Die Schweiz und die ungarische Emigration, 1849-1854" by D. Jánossy of Budapest; and "Anglo-German Diplomatic Relations, 1898-1901" by Stanley Trickett of Madison.

friendship. It is an achievement in which the International Committee of Historical Sciences may take a reasonable satisfaction that during a dozen of the most difficult years of the world's history it has been able to bring about the cordial co-operation of scholars of all countries, even though their subject matter, in these days of conflicting ideals and ideologies, is as full of high explosive as was religion in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The absence of historians from the Union of Soviet Republics was noted with regret, but it was due solely to unsettled difficulties existing for more than a decade between the Union and Switzerland.

The place of the next congress, to be held in 1943, will be decided by the International Committee at its meeting in Prague next May. An invitation has been extended by the Italian government and historians to hold the congress in Rome.

WALDO G. LELAND.

American Council of Learned Societies.

IMPERIAL REFORM AND THE HABSBURG, 1486-1504
A NEW INTERPRETATION¹

A detailed and scholarly investigation of the constitutional reform of the Empire at the end of the Middle Ages has long been a desideratum. German medieval history after the Hohenstaufen period used to be represented, generally, as merely a process of decomposition of the Empire into innumerable small political units, but lately increased attention has been drawn to the factors which enabled the Empire to survive for three centuries after the close of the Middle Ages.

Recent reinterpretations, however, have not yet merged into a harmonious synthesis. Two contradictory theories have been expounded. One is set forth by Bernhard Schmeidler,² the other by the author of the volumes under consideration.

The interpretation given by Schmeidler has met with a widespread response among German scholars. According to his view, the innumerable local struggles which at first sight seem to have con-

¹ *Mittelrhein und Reich im Zeitalter der Reichsreform, 1356-1504*. By EDUARD ZIEHEN. Two volumes. (Frankfurt a. M.: Im. Selbstverlag, Winterbachstr. 46. 1934; 1937. Pp. 1-384; 385-878. 12 M.; 17 M.)

² "Die Bedeutung des späteren Mittelalters für die deutsche und europäische Geschichte", *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXIX (1934), 93-108, especially, 102 ff.; "Das spätere Mittelalter als ein Zeitalter der Auflösung und der Vorbereitung", *Welt als Geschichte*, II (1936), 349-67.

stituted German history in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries eventually served to produce one great effect: the center of gravity, so to speak, in German political life was shifted from the west to the east, from the ecclesiastical electorates and scattered territories on the Rhine to the large territorial states in the colonized provinces of the east—to Bohemia and Austria, to Saxony and Brandenburg. Overshadowed by these new eastern powers and by a few other large territories in the older parts of Germany, the dismembered districts in the west, which had formed the basis of Germany's political life through the Hohenstaufen period, "dragged out an existence which was no longer essential for the destiny of the German community". They lost more and more of their significance in spite of the attempts of the archbishops of Mainz to increase the influence of these petty minor states through a reform of the constitution of the Empire. The destiny of Germany definitely depended on the new strong powers in the east. There, on the eve of the Reformation, the Habsburgs were about to build up a new German state of modern structure.

However impressive this theory may be, it seems to express only half the truth. Besides the efforts of the archbishops of Mainz to reform the constitution of the Empire there was the founding of the Swabian League in the most divided region of the west and the establishment of many local confederations for the maintenance of the public peace and economic life throughout the Empire. Did they not all play their part in the great transformation of medieval into modern Germany?

As a matter of fact, many scholars who, during the last few decades, have studied German history in the late Middle Ages have regarded the confederations (*Einungen*) between individual territories and towns, springing from the free initiative of the partners, as one of the most efficient of the bonds which kept together large sections of the Empire. Ernst Bock describes these free confederations as constituting one of the main factors in the reintegration of the Empire after the interregnum.³ Recently an article by Fritz Ernst has drawn attention to the co-operation of the small estates in the formation of the Swabian League.⁴ After Switzerland had become a more or less independent power and the Palatinate and Bavaria under the Wittelsbachs had de-

³ *Der Schwäbische Bund und seine Verfassungen* (Breslau, 1927); "Monarchie, Einung und Territorium in späteren Mittelalter", *Hist. Vierteljahrsch.*, XXIV (1929), 557-72.

⁴ "Reichs- und Landespolitik im Süden Deutschlands am Ende des Mittelalters", *ibid.*, XXX (1936), 720-31.

veloped into strong territorial states, reaction in interjacent Swabia resulted in the federation of many menaced small princes, knights (*Reichsritter*), monasteries, and towns. The same political evolution which brought about the rise of comparatively large and centralized monarchies in the east and in certain districts in the older parts of Germany strengthened the spirit of free co-operation in other provinces and assisted the reintegration of the Empire, with its old constitutional traditions, on a more modern basis.

The problem is, how far this revival of federative tendencies was capable of creating lasting reforms in the Empire beyond the local and provincial sphere. Was the imperial reform attempted by the Diet of Worms in 1495 and by the council of regency from 1500 to 1502 the work of these invigorated federative forces alone? Ziehen has made this problem the center of his detailed and penetrating study, the outcome of which seems to be in complete opposition to the views of Schmeidler.

Ziehen's interpretation of the *Reichsreform* may be defined as the theory that the movement headed by Berthold von Henneberg, archbishop of Mainz, was the last attempt to lead Germany onto the path which England had trodden after Magna Carta. If Berthold had succeeded in his plans, Germany, in Ziehen's opinion, would have become something like a constitutional monarchy, based on the free collaboration of the crown and the estates. The constitution designed for the imperial council of regency in 1500-1502 would have become the German Magna Carta.⁵ What prevented this was the Habsburg power, above all the personality of Maximilian I. Ziehen agrees with Schmeidler in accentuating the gradual shifting of political power to Germany's colonial east but considers this process as fateful for Germany's future. In the fifteenth century, he thinks, the scales were still balanced. While the Habsburg power and the Prussian and Saxon monarchies were rising in the east, the efforts to reorganize the Empire originated in the old center of German civilization, in the districts along the Rhine. The Empire could be contemplated there in the light of an enlarged Rhenish state on a federative basis, under the guidance of the electors and particularly the archbishop of Mainz as Germany's first ecclesiastical prince and traditional "archchancellor".

The reform failed, in part because of the territorial weakness of the archbishopric of Mainz, even more because of the reluctance of the German east, but mainly because of the opposition of the Habsburg

⁵ Pp. 33, 605, 613, 765 f.

emperor. The frequent dissensions and infrequent collaboration (with lasting results only in the economic sphere) between Mainz, the Palatinate, and the other Rhenish electorates, on the one hand, and the real or alleged resistance of Frederick III and Maximilian I to any attempt at national reconstruction, on the other—these are the two leit-motivs of Ziehen's work. It is pervaded by a grave accusation against Maximilian and the Habsburg monarchy as being responsible for the failure of Germany's national restoration on the eve of the Reformation. All the unfavorable opinions concerning Maximilian which have ever been expressed are collected in this book. The dark traits of his character, which earlier writers did not conceal, have now, says Ziehen, been confirmed from a new point of view. The one decisive thing which was lacking for the reform of the Empire was Maximilian's "goodwill". Whereas Berthold von Henneberg could boast of a "purely German pedigree" (which Ziehen investigates in detail), Maximilian was a stranger to Germany, with the blood of many European nations in his veins. He, not Charles IV, ought to be called "*des Heiligen Römischen Reiches Deutscher Nation Erztiefvater*".⁶

The question on which this theory must stand or fall is the verdict on Maximilian's policy. Unfortunately, it is extremely difficult for the reader of Ziehen's book to re-examine his conclusions; the author refers to a wealth of documents and previous publications in his notes but does not, as a rule, indicate clearly which items of information are to be found in each of them. How far, then, may the reader of his book presume that the foundations of the new and striking theory are sound?

There can be no doubt about the fact that at an early stage of imperial reform, as long as the old emperor, Frederick III, alone conducted the affairs of the Empire, the full initiative in all matters of imperial reform lay with Archbishop Berthold of Mainz. But at the Diet of Nuremberg in 1491 the young king, Maximilian, began to act as a delegate of the old emperor and in his place. Our information about the negotiations in that year is so meager that it is difficult to establish the authorship of the important projects submitted to the diet. Among them there was a scheme that the Empire should be divided into five or six military districts, in each of which the estates should be bound to give each other mutual assistance and to defend the frontier of the Empire. Those who advocated these proposals before the plenum were, it is true, the electors and other princes present at the diet, under

⁶ Pp. 168 f., 185 f., 541, 733, 762 ff., 784 ff., 792.

Berthold's leadership. But they had all been previously summoned to the young king. Did the initiative come from him? Erich Molitor, the last scholar who studied the history of this diet on the basis of the available documents, in his excellent book, *Die Reichsreformbestrebungen des 15. Jahrhunderts bis zum Tode Kaiser Friedrichs III.*, reviews the order of events as follows: The first project for military reform was Maximilian's. He discussed it with Berthold, the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg, and Count Eberhard of Württemberg, and it was then submitted by these princes to the plenum in a modified form. "Maximilian", such is Molitor's conclusion, "was really honestly convinced of the necessity for reform" because he hoped to obtain in exchange the financial and military support of the reorganized Empire.⁷

According to Ziehen, the course of events was different. "The Elector Berthold", he says, "insisted on his old plan of a federation of the estates (*Reichseinung*)". The princes mentioned above supported him. They were all summoned to Maximilian, and after several days' consultation with him they submitted a scheme to the plenum. Maximilian did not make any comment in public. His time was taken up with a gorgeous tournament.⁸ In other words, Maximilian's initiative, which Molitor thought he had established, is not mentioned by Ziehen. The reader is given to understand that Maximilian behaved in an entirely unconcerned manner or even pursued a policy of obstruction to the plan championed by the archbishop of Mainz. There are no indications as to why Ziehen considers himself justified in ignoring Molitor's conclusions, nor does he base his own statements on clear new evidence from source material. One wonders whether any prejudice against Maximilian and the Habsburgs distorts the picture. Ziehen's discussion of the subsequent diet, held at Coblenz in 1492, supplies the answer.

The documents of the diet of 1492 are more abundant and have enabled Fritz Hartung, as well as Molitor, to give a precise account of the negotiations. Maximilian now definitely entered on a policy of *do ut des*. He agreed to the proposals of the estates for public peace, an imperial chamber of justice, and regulation of the coinage, on condition that the reform of the constitution should include military reorganization of the Empire, in order to support him in his war with France. In every diocese throughout the Empire commissaries of the

⁷ Molitor (Breslau, 1921), pp. 209 ff.

⁸ Pp. 399 f.

emperor and the estates, working together, were to levy a tax for a new army, calculated according to the number of hearths; the estates (represented by the electors) were to have a majority of the supervisors appointed in each archbishopric, whereas the army raised with this money was to be led by a general who was to be nominated by the king and controlled by deputies of the estates. From the Brandenburg documents of the diet we know for certain that this well-considered attempt to combine centralized military efficiency with a large measure of control by the estates was Maximilian's work. We also know the reaction of the estates. They agreed to a tax raised according to the method proposed but at a much lower rate; the plan for the military reorganization of the Empire was dropped; the money raised was to be kept for emergencies; the final decision of the estates was to be postponed for a month, until a later diet, the outcome of which could not be foreseen.⁹

Here then we are undoubtedly faced with a constructive scheme and an extremely active policy of Maximilian's for the reform of the Empire—all the more important because later on the famous law of the *Gemeine Pfennig* at the Diet of Worms in 1495 was influenced by this tax project of 1492, although at Worms it was the elector of Mainz who championed the idea of a general tax in the Empire. The conclusion to be drawn from these facts seems to be obvious: although the estates tried to achieve the civil reform of the Empire (*Landfriede* and *Kammergericht*), the king was the driving force in the attempts to reorganize Germany's military power. It was he, indeed, who after Berthold's death continued to work out proposals for a military reorganization and eventually, in 1512, inaugurated the division of the Empire into circles (*Kreise*) headed by *Kreishauptleute*.

How does Ziehen reconcile these facts with his theory that Maximilian was nothing but an opponent of the constitutional reforms attempted by the elector of Mainz? Ziehen merely mentions the counter-propositions of Berthold's group, without saying a word about the fact that these schemes were the answers to projects of Maximilian's and were often nothing but modifications of royal suggestions. We learn from Ziehen's work only that, as "the result" of the diet of 1492, a "remarkable scheme for a tax in the Empire" (the origin is not indicated) was given to the estates to take home with them.¹⁰ This scheme as described

⁹ Hartung, "Die Reichsreform von 1485 bis 1495: Ihr Verlauf und ihr Wesen", *Hist. Vierteljahrsch.*, XVI (1913), 49 ff.; Molitor, pp. 217 ff.

¹⁰ Pp. 424 f.

by Ziehen is in its substance the decision of the estates at the end of the diet. The range of their offer, however, is magnified through the inclusion of some features of the preceding proposals of the king. Thus we hear of the resolve of the estates to reassemble on "25. XI. or (beziehungsweise) 13. XII." to decide definitely on *Reichsreform* and *Reichshilfe*. But we do not hear that this resolution practically implied that the estates did not agree to the date fixed by the king and that they were extending the time for their answer by about a month (from November 11 to December 13). We are also told that, according to the scheme taken home with them by the estates, "knights and foot soldiers were to be raised in Germany by means of a tax". But we are not told that the estates meant only to store up money for emergencies, whereas Maximilian had proposed to them to build up a permanent military organization with army captains throughout the Empire. Finally, we are informed that, "according to another proposal" (the name of the originator is not mentioned), "a commander-in-chief was to reside at Mainz". But we are not informed that this clause had actually been the coping stone of the original royal project and was one of the very points which were canceled in the version taken home by the estates for consideration.

It is this repeated omission of all the facts explaining Maximilian's policy and real aims that makes Ziehen's whole presentation of imperial reform appear in a wrong light. With regard to the Diet of Worms in 1495, for instance, Ziehen correctly states that the law relating to the common penny was in part influenced by the tax scheme proposed at the Diet of Coblenz three years before.¹¹ But as that scheme had not been revealed as Maximilian's creation, the reader cannot correct Ziehen's underestimation of Maximilian's policy. These consequences are felt most of all in the description of the imperial council of regency (set up in the years 1500-1502), which constitutes one of the most important chapters of Ziehen's book. The reader, who is told only that Maximilian, one day in 1501, at the decisive stage of his transactions with the council, left Nuremberg secretly by night and reduced the whole institution to inefficiency,¹² would do well to consult the old but still important monograph, *Das Nürnberger Reichsregiment* by Victor von Kraus.¹³ He would then find that originally Maximilian had favored the establishment of a government by the es-

¹¹ P. 491.

¹² P. 630.

¹³ (Innsbruck, 1883), pp. 116 ff., 120, 154.

tates in continuation of his policy of *do ut des* because he had supposed he would receive from a strengthened Empire powerful military assistance against France and Turkey. But in 1501 he thought that he had been deceived because the estates had not responded to the royal concessions in the administrative sphere with financial support for his foreign policy. Moreover, the council of regency under Berthold's leadership had entered into direct negotiations with France, in almost open revolt against their legitimate overlord, the Habsburg king. "The last remnant of royal authority was at stake", is Kraus's comment, and Maximilian's sudden flight from his false position in Nuremberg was "the only possible measure" left to him.

When these facts are realized, the new interpretation brought forward by Ziehen of imperial reform and of the role played by Habsburg policy in German history about 1500 is untenable. The comparison of the constitution designed for the *Reichsregiment* in 1499-1500 with the development of English history from Magna Carta onward is misleading. The main point of the imperial reform attempted before and after 1495 was not protection of feudal or individual rights against tyrannical royal power or defense of the privilege of the estates to grant or refuse financial demands of the king. The reformers, led by Berthold von Henneberg, had set themselves the task of seizing many of the rights of a decayed royal power, in foreign as well as in home politics, and transferring them to a federative representation of the imperial estates. For a while the estates claimed complete control of the sums brought in by the new imperial tax; they wanted to decide on peace and war and make their own foreign policy, and they entertained direct relations with foreign powers. More appropriate, therefore, than the comparison with Magna Carta in England or the position of the estates general in France would be the interpretation of the policy of the German estates as an approach to a federal state.¹⁴ But even this interpretation is not sufficient, judged by the real course of events. The imperial council of the estates after 1500 lacked farsightedness and initiative in all matters of foreign policy. If Germany as a whole, after a period of thorough dissolution, remained a unit and a factor in European politics and was able to maintain her independence and former structure during the rise of the great Western powers, this was because the confederation of the estates could rely on the military protection of the Habsburg emperors.

¹⁴ Ziehen, p. 68.

A comparison more helpful in explaining the structure of the Empire about 1500 would be with the constitution of the Netherlands a century later. The independence and security of the confederation of the states general was bound up with the fact that military defense and command were centralized in the stadholderate, given to a member of the House of Orange, and that this military command, although repressed in peaceful times, could be renewed in the hour of foreign aggression, as was the case as late as 1672, on the occasion of Louis XIV's invasion. It was a similar type of dyarchy which was at the root of the problems of Germany about 1500. Not only did the Habsburg family defend Germany against the Turks and prevent French predominance in Europe, but Maximilian was also the initiator of all attempts to reorganize the military strength and political efficiency of the Empire.¹⁵ It was not without reason that he was one of the most popular German kings and the center of the humanistic circles in which modern national thought first developed in Germany. Just as the history of the Netherlands can be explained only by reference to the co-operation of the states general and the House of Orange, so the full and final history of German imperial reform must be a picture of the interaction of two factors, both of which helped to bring about a certain reintegration of the Empire. The reform movement of the estates under the leadership of the archbishop of Mainz ran parallel to a regeneration of the royal authority by the Habsburgs.

Ziehen's voluminous work will, therefore, prove useful to future scholarship only if its general conclusions are disregarded, or at least strongly modified, and the book is taken as a monograph which explains one of two contributing factors but leaves the problems connected with the other, the personality of Maximilian, unsolved. The writings of Schmeidler mentioned above, which accentuate too strongly the other factor, should be read with Ziehen's work. Those who study the question should also consult the well-pondered essay of Dr. H. Gerber, "Kaiser Maximilian I", which will give them an excellent idea of what has actually been achieved by scholars during the last few decades for the historical appreciation of Maximilian's personality.¹⁶

One of the reasons for Ziehen's failure in the reinterpretation of the

¹⁵ The same is true of Maximilian's, and even more of Charles the Fifth's, protection of the economic efficiency of the German imperial cities. See my articles, "Religion and Politics in the German Imperial Cities during the Reformation", *English Historical Review*, LI (1937), especially pp. 406 ff., 615 ff., 629 ff.

¹⁶ *Vergangenheit und Gegenwart*, XXV (1935), 149-62.

imperial reform movement of 1486 to 1504 is the restriction of his research to the local history of a small district on the middle Rhine. Under the influence of affection for his Rhenish home, he has obviously been moved by a desire to discover that in the attempts at a constitutional reconstruction of Germany on the eve of the Reformation the most prominent part was played by the lands surrounding the confluence of the Neckar, the Main, and the Rhine, "the heart of Germany" in the terminology of his book. Although the immediate subject of his research is only the relationship of these middle Rhenish districts to imperial reform, he believes that he has solved the problem as a whole because in his opinion the middle Rhenish history of those years was more or less the pivot of the history of the Empire.¹⁷ We have seen the unfortunate effects of this preconception on the description of the diets and reform schemes from 1486 to 1504. But the confusion of a general and a local viewpoint is responsible also for the somewhat complicated architecture of the whole book and for a decided lack of proportion and circumspection in many details.

In the introductory chapters, which take up about two thirds of the first volume, long passages of merely local interest alternate with inquiries into the influence of the Rhineland on general German history from the Golden Bull of 1356 to the period of imperial reform. Two monographs on the lands belonging to the archbishopric of Mainz and the Palatinate respectively—detailed geographical surveys—are followed by a biography of Archbishop Berthold von Henneberg which does not omit a single fact that might be considered to have the slightest connection with his life. Finally we come to the history of imperial reform from 1486 to 1504 and of the part played in it by the territories and cities on the middle Rhine. This principal section of the work occupies the last third of the first and the whole of the second volume. Here, also, perspective is frequently distorted by the introduction into the general history of the Empire of events that are of interest only for the history of the middle Rhine.

In spite of these defects, however, and the more serious misinterpretation to which attention has been called, these two large volumes will be widely studied. The profuse literature on imperial reform and the federative policy of the imperial estates which has appeared since Heinrich Ulmann's fundamental biography of Maximilian has here been collected and utilized for the first time.¹⁸ In addition Ziehen has

¹⁷ Ziehen, p. 7.

¹⁸ *Kaiser Maximilian I* (2 vols., Stuttgart, 1884-91).

studied a great number of documents on the subject in the archives of Vienna, Munich, Frankfurt, Würzburg, and in other important German depositories. Many of these documents will not be available in print for a long time.¹⁹ Thus to the students of late medieval history Ziehen's work will long remain a frequently consulted guide. It is for this reason that it has seemed desirable to indicate its limitations. The book is welcome as a starting point for further studies, but much of the information and general interpretation contained in it requires careful re-examination.

HANS BARON.

New York City.

GREEK AND ENGLISH COLONIZATION

THE student of colonial America acquainted with Greek history cannot fail to be impressed by certain analogies between the Greek colonization of Sicily and the English colonization of America. Edward A. Freeman, for example, wrote nearly half a century ago, "I can never think of America without something suggesting Sicily, or of Sicily without something suggesting America."¹ More recently the statement has been made that in Sicily and South Italy the Greeks found their America.² In view of such bold assertions it is perhaps worth while to look a little more systematically into the causes and phases of the two colonizing movements.

It is commonly assumed that overpopulation drove the Greeks to seek new homes abroad. The pressure of population upon the means of subsistence was acute in Greece chiefly on account of a faulty distribution of property.³ Land was being concentrated into larger holdings, and an ever-increasing number of people were being systematically excluded from a share of what in a previous age had been the common estate of the family. In the case of England a similar development took place with the spread of the enclosure system.⁴

¹⁹ They are to be published by the Historical Commission of the Munich Academy of Sciences in *Deutsche Reichstagsakten*.

¹ *The History of Sicily from the Earliest Times* (Oxford, 1891), I, 342, n. 3.

² Gustave Glotz, *Ancient Greece at Work* (New York, 1926), p. 108.

³ J. B. Bury, *A History of Greece to the Death of Alexander* (London, 1927), pp. 86 ff. For a different view insofar as Euboea is concerned see Arnold J. Toynbee, *A Study of History* (London, 1934), II, 42.

⁴ On the problem of pauperism in England as a reason for English colonization see G. L. Beer, *The Origins of the British Colonial System, 1578-1660* (New York, 1908), pp. 32-45.

Whether land hunger was due to physical insufficiency or to social causes, its reality cannot be denied. Toynbee points out that the Greeks met the Malthusian challenge by three methods: Chalcis by the extensive or quantitative method, that is, through colonization or the seeking of new areas for her ploughs in foreign lands; Athens by the intensive or qualitative method, that is, by manufacturing and by specialized agricultural production for export; Sparta by a less inventive means, that is, by conquering her nearest neighbors, the Messenians, a people of her own mettle.⁵ England, infinitely more populous and powerful than any Greek state, used all these methods combined. Like Chalcis she annexed new areas overseas where she might settle her surplus population. Like Athens she specialized in manufacturing and in one agricultural product for export, in her case, wool. Like Sparta she subjugated a neighboring civilized people, the Irish, who, if they did not immobilize her as thoroughly as Messene for a while immobilized Sparta, did hamper at times her freedom of action.

The Greeks began to emigrate at a time of intellectual ferment.⁶ Hesiod had already questioned the justice of the social system. Archilochus of Paros, like the men of the Renaissance, was writing in the idiom of the people and developing new meters for the man in the street. Before the last colony was planted in Sicily, Thales was explaining the universe no longer in the light of tradition but scientifically, and the younger generation was revolting against the theology of their fathers. It is scarcely necessary to recall that an intellectual renaissance and a revolt against medieval religion preceded and accompanied the English migration to America.

The European colonization of the new world took place after the rise of national consciousness and for the purpose of increasing the wealth of the nation.⁷ Indeed it is significant that only those peoples took active part in colonization who had already attained nationhood. Intense devotion to the city-state and a desire to increase its wealth and power operated in the case of Greek colonization. Corinth and Rhodes did not engage in trade as the result of having founded colonies. The contrary seems true. A priori reasoning is seldom convincing, but does

⁵ I, 24 f.; III, 169.

⁶ H. T. Wade-Gery, "The Growth of the Dorian States", *Cambridge Ancient History*, III, 533.

⁷ In his *Discourse on Western Planting* (1584) Richard Hakluyt pointed out that America could produce ship stores and potash enough for all the needs of England. Thomas Jefferson Wertenbaker, *The First Americans, 1607-1690* (New York, 1927), p. 16. See also Beer, pp. 22-30, 53-77.

anyone seriously believe that the Greek merchant of that day in Corinth, Rhodes, or even Chalcis was so innocent as not to foresee the advantages of trade relations with a new Corinth, a new Rhodes, or a new Chalcis across the sea? Indeed it is held nowadays that commercial considerations alone impelled the Chalcidians to set themselves astride the Strait of Messina.⁸

A glance at the political situation will show that an aristocratic state, causing political discontent, was in a large measure responsible for Greek emigration. The ruling nobility managed public affairs to its own profit. But not all ranks of this aristocracy were satisfied with conditions at home. The *outs* in politics had the choice of making a revolution or seeking abroad those opportunities which they were denied at home. The second alternative was the easier. And so they went to sea. As a first step they engaged in piracy and foreign trade. At a later period they conducted colonies. Their immediate interest in leading these expeditions was the political and economic advantage they were sure to find at the end of the road. Priesthoods, magistracies, honors, privileges, social prestige, large allotments of land, and something like a monopoly of trade with the mother city would be theirs as a matter of course. The *ins* at home gained in the process. Indeed they seem to have encouraged the exodus of their disgruntled peers, since the dangerous tension in which they were living would be materially lessened when the latter left.⁹

The English analogue is striking. In England the ruling class was an aristocracy too—an aristocracy that exercised control in both central and local government. The poorer members of this class, the cadets and the ambitious who saw no opportunity at home, turned to the sea. They too became sea captains, pirates, merchant adventurers, members of joint-stock companies. Piracy, legitimate shipping, and the organization of trade with foreign countries (Muscovy, Turkey, Persia, the Levant, and India) were the first step. The next step was the planting of colonies, and in each case we find aristocrats or country squires, even in bourgeois Massachusetts, leading the common folk to the promised land and getting the lion's share in the economic and the political organization of each settlement.

⁸ For the commercial aims of Corinth in founding Corcyra see Wade-Gery, *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, 535; for the struggle of Corcyra against the imperialistic pretensions of the mother city see Freeman, I, 340-42; for the commercial instinct of the Greeks at an early period see M. Cary and E. H. Warmington, *The Ancient Explorers* (London, 1929), pp. 22 f.

⁹ Bury, p. 87.

No less remarkable is the resemblance of the economic distress of the Greek and English masses on the eve of their migration. Poverty among the Greeks was produced less by the greed of the princes than by causes which escaped human control. Barter was giving way before the use of money as a medium of exchange, and since money could be hoarded more easily than bulky commodities, the rich became richer, and the gap between the rich and the poor was widened. Those who accumulated money inevitably gathered in their hands also the political power. The evil was greater because the hoarder of money was already a landowner on a large scale or soon became one. The poor, entangled in a mesh of debt, with their homes, their families, and their own bodies as security, excluded from the franchise and the protection of the law, saw two avenues of escape, emigration and the clarification of the law. The latter they achieved by codification.

The economic distress of the common man in England prior to the colonization movement is no less apparent. Suffice to recall the uprisings in Cornwall, Devon, Oxfordshire, and the neighboring counties (1549). Whole villages were wiped out by the process of enclosures; towns were depopulated by the transfer of industry to the domestic system, and men were thrown out of work. The flow of bullion from Mexico and Peru sent the value of specie down and the price of commodities up in England as well as on the Continent. Life became harder for the poor. The Statute of Apprentices of 1563, regulating wages and hours of work and providing for the compulsory employment of vagrants in the fields, aimed at tightening the control of the ruling class over the masses. The poor laws of 1563-1601 did not so much alleviate poverty as give the landed and money-owning classes new tools for exploiting the bedeviled pauper. Englishmen saw two ways of escape from this calamitous state of affairs, emigration and constitutional reform. They sought the second objective by settling the question whether the lawmaking power resided in the king or in parliament. The English solution was more advantageous to the middle class than to the poor. It is probably true also that when the Greeks codified their laws, the immediate advantage went to the upper layers of the nonaristocratic classes. Incidentally we know that this was the case in Rome in the struggle of the plebs against the patricians.

A period of discovery, piracy, and trade preceded the actual founding of colonies. The mass of data which the seamen of the Tudor age brought home about rivers, bays, harbors, and sites suitable for settlement in America guided the future colonists. We need not review the

lawless exploits of the Elizabethan buccaneers on the high seas and on the Spanish Main nor recall their traffic in slaves or their dogged determination to break through the trade monopoly of the Spanish empire. They made the seaboard of North America too their field of operation, and they not only stole from the Indians but even went so far as to kidnap and enslave them.¹⁰ Their pursuit of more or less legitimate trade is fully documented. Before a single English town had been planted on the Atlantic coast Englishmen and other Europeans were exploiting the Newfoundland fisheries, at least fifty ships from Bristol and towns in Devonshire coming over every year to American waters during Elizabeth's reign.¹¹ Some of the English adventurers established trading stations up the rivers of Maine, where they exchanged English goods for skins.¹² Captain John Smith was bewailing this concern for trade to the exclusion of colonization proper.¹³

These overlapping phases of discovery, piracy, and trade have their fullest counterpart in the experience of the Greek people.¹⁴ The voyage of the good ship *Argo*, searching for the Golden Fleece, indicates a period of exploration east of the Greek mainland. Odysseus was a discoverer of fair lands to the west and not the first one either. For long before him Greek pirates had gone to Sicily to kidnap the natives and sell them into slavery in the Aegean world.¹⁵ Indeed they had so organized their sailings as to make them pay both ways. Westward bound they took with them their war prisoners whom they disposed of as slaves in Sicily.¹⁶ It is a commonplace that the early Greeks practiced piracy and legitimate trade as two aspects of the same profession. They were pirates whenever they could get away with it, merchants when they came among peoples with whom they were friends or who were able to resist foreign brigandage. There is evidence that for two centuries prior to the foundation of Naxos Greeks sailed regularly

¹⁰ For example, in 1605 George Waymouth captured five Indians by stratagem in Maine and took them as slaves to England. Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, I (New Haven, 1934), 79 f.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 23. The Earl of Cumberland alone sent twelve half-piratical and half-commercial expeditions between 1576 and 1598.

¹² *Ibid.*, pp. 95 f.

¹³ In 1608 Smith berated Sir Francis Popham for sending expeditions to Monhegan "only to trade and make corefish, but for any plantation there was no more speeches" (*ibid.*, p. 95). The settlement at Sagadahoc was a trading post, not a colony (*ibid.*, pp. 90 f.).

¹⁴ Ettore Pais, *Storia della Sicilia e della Magna Grecia*, I (Turin, 1894), 269 ff.

¹⁵ Homer, *Odyssey*, xxiv, 211, 307, 366, 389.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, xx, 383.

to the western island in this double capacity of pirates and traders.¹⁷

The American continent, when the English first saw it, was all one forest of incredible beauty. So was Sicily when the first Greeks arrived. We have no detailed description of the appearance of the island as we have of America, but it is not difficult to reconstruct one. The country was "woodland", "a wooded isle", a land of "tall pines and high-crested oaks".¹⁸ At a later period Theocritus celebrates the oaks and other stately trees of his native country, and Diodorus gives glimpses of the beauty of its wooded mountains.¹⁹ In brief, we may take it for granted that in 700 B.C. the Sicilian landscape was not essentially different from that of a sister island, Corsica, seven centuries later, which Diodorus calls "dark with dense forests".²⁰

The English were enchanted by the natural beauty, the temperate climate, and the fertility of their new home. In the glowing account of Philip Amidas and Arthur Barlow to Sir Walter Raleigh (1584) the country they set out to colonize was "the most plentifull, sweete, fruitfull, and wholesome of all the worlde",²¹ and according to Captain Smith, "heaven and earth never agreed better to frame a place for mans habitation".²²

The earliest Greek references to Sicily are no less enthusiastic.

¹⁷ See below. Theocles was a pirate-merchant. When he was driven by the winds to the shore below Mt. Aetna, he noted the richness of the soil and the inability of the natives to offer effective resistance. On that shore he later founded Naxos. Strabo, vi, 2, 2.

Throughout the period of explorations and raids Greeks and modern Europeans responded in the same manner to the glamor of legendary toponymy. The Trinakia of the *Odyssey* may not have been Sicily but a small isle somewhere in the west (Hom., *Od.*, xi, 107; xii, 127, 135; xix, 275). Freeman identifies it with the corner of Sicily around Messina (I, 106, 462-72). When the Greeks became acquainted with the larger island, they thought of it as Odysseus's Trinakia, and Trinakia they called it. In like manner we find a number of delightful legends about mysterious islands to the west of Europe called Antillia and Bracir (Brazil). Explorers applied these names to some of the lands they discovered because they thought that they had actually chanced upon the places named in the medieval stories. A legendary nomenclature thus became factual. See Justin Winsor, ed., *Narrative and Critical History of America*, I (Boston, 1884), 31 ff.

¹⁸ Hom., *Od.*, ix, 118, 120, 186; xii, 357.

¹⁹ Theocritus, v, 45; Diodorus, iv, 5; xiv, 42, 2.

²⁰ Diod., v, 13, 5.

²¹ The account written by Barlow may be seen in Henry S. Burrage, ed., *Early English and French Voyages* (New York, 1906), pp. 227-41.

²² Lyon Gardiner Tyler, ed., *Narratives of Early Virginia* (New York, 1907), p. 81. I refrain from quoting from the later descriptions of Pennsylvania or Georgia or from the literature which eighteenth century shipowners broadcast throughout Europe because they are clearly prospectuses of promoters. See William Christie McLeod, *The American Indian Frontier* (New York, 1928), p. 549.

Heracles was ecstatic when he beheld the rich plain of Leontini.²³ The northern coast was so fertile that the Sun pastured his cattle in the meadows of Mylae.²⁴ Rams grew so big that Odysseus and his companions could hide under their bellies.²⁵ If the fruits of Virginia excited the imagination of the first English beholders,²⁶ those of Sicily too made their legend.²⁷ The flowers of Sicily also were no less marvelous than those of America. They were so abundant that the Greeks located at Henna, the center of the island, the yearly return of Core from the nether world, bringing with her sweet spring. In Henna, too, so intense was the fragrance of the countryside that hunting dogs were said to lose there the scent of their prey.²⁸ If the oak and pine trees of America provided his majesty's navy and England's merchant marine with an inexhaustible supply of timber and naval stores, the forests of Sicily were so rich that Gelon could plan the construction of hundreds of warships and transports to rescue Hellas from Xerxes.²⁹ And as at a later period in the history of America New England built from her native resources a merchant marine in competition with that of Great Britain, so also later in the annals of Sicily native timber made possible the building of merchant fleets that dominated the Adriatic and the middle Mediterranean in competition with Corinth herself.³⁰ One

²³ Diod., iv, 24, 1.

²⁴ Hom., *Od.*, xii, 127 ff.; Appian, *Bella civilia*, v, 116; Pliny, *Natural History*, ii, 101.

²⁵ Hom., *Od.*, ix, 425-65. These are legends, of course, but they throw light on contemporary opinion.

²⁶ Tyler, "Observations by George Percy" in *Narratives of Early Virginia*, pp. 1 ff. For Maryland see the description by Father White in Clayton Colman Hall, ed., *Narratives of Early Maryland* (New York, 1910), p. 45.

²⁷ To quote from Diodorus's description of a section of Sicily (iv, 84, 1-2): "The Heraei mountains in Sicily are said to be well suited for rest and enjoyment in summer on account of their natural beauty and delightful scenery. They contain many springs of sweet water, and are clad with trees of every kind. They abound in tall oak trees which produce acorns of remarkable size, twice as big and as copious as anywhere else on earth. They are thick with fruit trees which grow of themselves without man's attention. Grapes and apples are so plentiful as to have provided with food a starving Carthaginian army; and although they were several thousand men, the supply was not exhausted."

²⁸ On the sweetness of Sicilian flowers see Diod., v, 3, 2; Columella, x, 268-70; Ausonius, *Epistles*, xiv, 49. They produced the second best honey known to the Greeks and Romans. See Strabo, vi, 2, 7; Ovid, *Tristia*, v, 13, 22; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.*, xi, 32; Virgil, *Eclogues*, i, 54; vii, 37; Silius Italicus, xiv, 199-200; Statius, *Silvae*, iii, 2, 118; Aus., *Epist.*, xxix, 12.

²⁹ Herodotus, vii, 158, 4. Cf. Diod., x, 32, 1.

³⁰ Diod., xiv, 42, 4-5; xv, 13, 1-4.

last word on the yield of the two countries. The first white men in America took special note of wild grapes and wild grain. These same two products arrested the attention of the Greeks in Sicily.³¹

Similar considerations guided the colonists in choosing the location of their settlements,³² and similar causes were responsible for the offshoot of new colonies from the earlier ones.³³ These causes were political and economic and almost duplicated the conditions at home from which the Greeks and the English had escaped.

In the political field, as early as 1632, the people of Watertown began to agitate against the power of taxation assumed by the governor and assistants and for the right to vote. Two years later Newtown was

³¹ For Vinland see Julius E. Olson and Edward Gaylord Bourne, eds., *The Northmen, Columbus and Cabot* (New York, 1906), pp. 15-17. John Hawkins writes that the settlers of Laudonnière in Florida made twenty barrels of wine from native grapes in 1564. John Winthrop says that the Puritans made wine from wild grapes during their first autumn in Massachusetts (Winsor, III, 61). On the wild grapes of Sicily see Diod., v, 2, 3-5; v, 5, 2.

³² Both peoples built on the seaboard for the same reasons: because the coast was nearest to their respective homelands, was the most convenient link between one colony and another, and afforded better protection from the natives; because psychologically the settlers felt safer if their ships were in sight; lastly, because good land was obtainable just outside the settlement's palisade. For America see Wertenbaker, pp. 5 ff. It must of course be added that the Greeks instinctively could not be separated from the sea. Odysseus and the founders of Maryland agreed on the essentials of a town site. Odysseus says: ". . . craftsmen would have made of this isle a fair settlement. For the isle is nowise poor, but would bear all things in season. In it are meadows by the shores of the grey sea, well-watered meadows and soft, where vines would never fail, and in it level plough-land, whence they might reap from season to season harvests exceeding deep, so rich is the soil beneath; and in it, too, is a harbor giving safe anchorage, where there is no need of moorings, either to throw out anchor stones or to make fast stern cables, but one may beach one's ship and wait until the sailors' minds bid them put out, and the breezes blow fair. Now at the head of the harbor a spring of bright water flows forth from beneath a cave, and round about it poplars grow" (Hom., *Od.*, ix, 130-141). The reasons why the first Marylanders settled at St. Mary's were as follows: "This place he found to be a very commodious situation for a Towne, in regard the land is good, the ayre wholesome and pleasant, the River affords a safe harbour for ships of any burthen, and a very bould shoare; fresh water and wood there is in great plenty, and the place so naturally fortified, as with little difficultie, it will be defended from any enemy" ("A Relation of Maryland", in Hall, p. 73).

³³ The earlier Greek and English colonies founded daughter colonies of their own. In Sicily Naxos founded Catana and Leontini, Zancle established Mylae and Himera, Syracuse colonized Acrae, Casmenae, and Camarina, Megara planted Selinus, and Gela gave origin to Acragas. In America, to give only a few examples, Watertown, Newtown, Roxbury, and Dorchester founded Wethersfield, Hartford, Springfield, and Windsor, respectively, and in the larger sense the Bay Colony was the mother of Connecticut and Rhode Island. The time element is worth noting. Naxos sent out her first colony in the seventh year after her own foundation; the Massachusetts towns just mentioned sent out their daughter settlements in the fifth or sixth year of their existence.

astir when the will of the people's deputies was disregarded. When in 1636 the ruling oligarchy won their point that all measures passed by the deputies must have the assent of the governor and assistants, the people of Watertown, Newtown, Roxbury, and Dorchester struck out for the Connecticut Valley. In Sicily, as far as one can make out, Casmenae and Camarina owed their origin to political secession of some of the older settlers from Syracuse.³⁴ As to the economic aspect, the newer immigrants coming into the Massachusetts towns received allotments of land too small or too poor in quality for their needs or their ambition. When they realized that these towns would not give them the lands they wanted, they migrated to more promising fields westward.³⁵ From the little we know of conditions in Sicily it would appear that the older settlers of Syracuse formed a distinct class—the Geomoroi—holding the land, monopolizing the magistracies, and making it difficult for newcomers to make a living. The struggle between this privileged class and the later landless settlers led to migrations and revolutions.³⁶

Abundance of fertile land in the rolling south Sicilian country combined with a good market to develop a farm economy paralleling that of our southern colonies. But these positive factors were neutralized by a dearth of cultivators, and the utilization of slave labor solved the problem. The result was similar in the two countries, that is, in Sicily mass production of wine and olive oil for export to the African market, in America mass production of tobacco and, later, cotton, for the European market. We are familiar with the princely extent of our southern plantations. As for Sicily, several planters in Acragas had as many as five hundred slaves each.³⁷

The impact of the invaders upon the natives presents impressive

³⁴ For the American experience see Edward Channing, *History of the United States*, I (New York, 1912), 398 ff.; Wertenbaker, pp. 95 ff. In the case of Sicily it would appear that Casmenae was founded by the clan of the Myletids, who were banished from Syracuse (Thucydides, v, 5; Freeman, II, 24, 126 f.). Camarina, although a Syracusan colony, was bitter against the mother city from her earliest existence. This hostility, so unusual in the relations of colony to metropolis, suggests some violent parting of the faction that founded it. See Philistus *ap.* Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Epistula ad Pompeium*, 5, 5; *Roman Antiquities*, vi, 62, 1; A. Holm, *Geschichte Siciliens im Altertum* (Leipzig, 1870), I, 201, 412; Freeman, II, 34-36.

³⁵ Anne B. MacLear, *Early New England Towns* (New York, 1908), pp. 28 ff., 81 ff.; Frederick Jackson Turner, *The Frontier in American History* (New York, 1920), pp. 39 ff.

³⁶ Diod., viii, 11; xi, 76, 6. Freeman, II, 11 ff., 37 ff., 328, 436 ff.

³⁷ For wine and olive oil see Diod., xi, 25, 5; xiii, 81, 4-5; xiii, 83-84; for slaves, xi, 25, 2; xiii, 83. Toynbee, III, 169 f.

similarities. To be sure, the margin of safety which the English with their firearms had over the Indians was greater than that of the Greeks over the Sicels. The Greeks' advantage consisted in their iron weapons and protective armor, probably also in their battle formation.³⁸ But the Greeks, like the English, had another means of rendering the natives powerless. Their wines were as devastating to the morale of the barbarians as English brandy or French cognac was to that of the Indians.³⁹

In both America and Sicily the natives retreated steadily before the invader. The Indians went deeper into the wilderness, but they continued to buy more and more of those wares which the English persisted in offering them. The Sicels had lived in and around Syracuse to the end of the Mycenaean period (900 B.C.), importing late Mycenaean ware. All at once there occurs a lacuna of two centuries in the archaeological deposits of the coast. But during the period represented by this lacuna protogeometric pottery was imported from Greece into the interior of the island. The late Senator Orsi construes this as evidence that the natives withdrew from the seaboard before the attacks of Chalcidian pirates but continued to buy in the hinterland the goods which the Chalcidians sold them.⁴⁰

Both in Sicily and America the natives, pushed ever farther and farther back, when they reached the end of their patience, undertook a holy war against the invader. The indignities to which the Sicels were subjected even in their mountainous refuge finally caused them to unite in a powerful league (461 B.C.). Under their national leader, the Hellenized Ducetius, they sought to reoccupy those portions of the island from which they had been expelled. But they failed. It is true that they were allowed to have their own domain and build a city, *Cale Acte*, where presumably they would be free; but a little later the Greeks built *Hadrانum* to the southeast of that city and *Tyndaris* to the east, no doubt to keep the natives in check.⁴¹

The Indians in North America reacted in like fashion. Maddened by the relentless pressure of the English advance, they made a last desperate effort to get rid of the invader. They formed a vast league in

³⁸ Gaetano De Sanctis, *Storia dei Romani*, I (Turin, 1907), 313; Toynbee, I, 24.

³⁹ See the episode of Odysseus and the Cyclops (Hom., *Od.*, ix, 346-402).

⁴⁰ Paolo Orsi, "Siracusa: Nuove esplorazioni nel Plemmyrium", *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, 1899, p. 35; John L. Myres, "The Colonial Expansion of Greece", *Cam. Anc. Hist.*, III, 670. But see L. Pareti, *Studi siciliani ed italiani* (Florence, 1914), pp. 324-30.

⁴¹ Diod., xiv, 37, 5; xiv, 78, 4-7.

which even the Iroquois, long friendly to the English, were represented. Pontiac was as formidable to the English as Ducetius had been to the Greeks.⁴² He nearly succeeded in driving the English from the West. Partly as the result of this lesson the British government decided to be more careful of the rights of the Indian and drew a line beyond which the white man must not go. But the colonial legislatures paid not the slightest attention to this new policy, and the colonists went on clearing the forest and destroying the Indians. The Greeks would probably have been as ruthless had they had the same superiority in numbers and military equipment over the Sicels that the English had over the Indians. Finally we know that behind Pontiac's insurrection there was France. Perhaps behind Ducetius there was Carthage.

The form of government of the Greek colonies was democratic. Each settlement was an independent and sovereign commonwealth. But jealous as these Sicilian Greeks were of their independence, they nevertheless felt the need of acting jointly before Carthage and the Sicels. Their harrowing experience in the struggle against these ever-present enemies developed in them the feeling of a common nationality. When, a little later they faced a new threat, that of Athenian imperialism, they maintained their growing national consciousness even against their brother Hellenes. At the Congress of Gela (425 B.C.) representatives from every city accepted the point of view of the Syracusan Hermocrates that the affairs of Sicily were to be settled by the Sicilians themselves and nobody else, and that all the Greek cities of the island must unite against all foreign intervention, even Athenian intervention.⁴³

The American experience was strikingly similar. The English, who had enjoyed at home a large measure of freedom in local affairs and at the time of the migrations were securing parliamentary independence, established their colonies as substantially self-governing commonwealths. Jealous of one another though the colonies were, they realized that for their own salvation they must submerge their individual claims to freedom and develop a common front before the Indian and French

⁴² Like Ducetius, Pontiac had adopted the culture of the invader. He spoke English, dictated to two secretaries, had visions of making his people learn to weave and forge steel weapons, and paid his debts in promissory notes.

⁴³ Freeman, III, 50 ff. The Siceliot declaration has been compared to the Monroe Doctrine. It seems to me that it resembles rather the American point of view from the Albany Congress (1754) to the First Continental Congress (1774). During those two decades the spirit of American nationalism grew until it challenged Great Britain herself.

menace. The struggle against these enemies sharpened in the colonists a spirit of nationalism which, once it took root, asserted itself even against the mother country.

It was probably not an accident that the strongest advocate of Siceliot nationalism was a Syracusan and that the most ardent champion of American nationalism was a citizen of Massachusetts. Syracuse established a maritime empire and became the largest and richest Greek city prior to the foundation of Alexandria.⁴⁴ Massachusetts and the rest of New England took over in large measure the carrying trade of America. It is probably true that both in Syracuse and New England there was a shrewd realization of the economic advantages to be derived from the emergence of a new nation.

It was perceived both in Sicily and America that the presence of a rival power like Carthage and France effectively blocked the colonists' goals towards the fullest liberty. Dionysius, the master of Syracuse, could have driven the Carthaginians from the island, but he chose to keep them there for the reason that if they remained, the Greeks could not dispense with his generalship and his rule.⁴⁵ John Adams made the removal of "the turbulent Gallicks" the essential condition for the freedom and greatness of America,⁴⁶ while Benjamin Franklin had to use all the resources of his diplomacy to dissuade the British government from being the Dionysius of America. The Syracusan tyrant was wiser in his generation than the British ministry. England expelled France, and with France out of the way the colonists saw that they could dispense with the tutelage of the mother country.

In conclusion, the Greek and English colonizing movements, though far separated in time and place, seem to have risen and developed along similar lines.⁴⁷ A set of like challenges produced a set of like responses. The analogies we have observed suggest that whatever the time and place and actors there seems to be a fundamental element, which may be termed the constant, in the social phenomenon we call colonization. The main features of the expansion of the Hellenes were common also to the expansion of the Phoenicians. Likewise, certain characteristics of English colonization are noticeable in similar enterprises of the Span-

⁴⁴ Diod., xv, 13, 1-4; xv, 14, 3.

⁴⁵ Bury, pp. 641 f.

⁴⁶ *Works* (Boston, 1856), I, 23.

⁴⁷ The religious motive is conspicuous for its absence in Greek colonization. The migration of the Pythagorean brotherhood to Croton to escape the hostility of Polycrates, the ruler of Samos, is hardly a parallel.

iards, the French, and the Dutch. The limitation of our study to the Greeks and the English has the advantage of simplifying the problem. It may be that no other ancient colonizing movement resembles a modern one as closely as the Greek resembles the English, and it is probably too dogmatic to speak of the migration of a people conforming to a pattern. We can, however, hardly dismiss as mere coincidences the striking similarities we find in the stages preceding, accompanying, and following the transmarine migration of civilized peoples to lands inhabited by backward races.

VINCENT M. SCRAMUZZA.

Smith College.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Lasting Elements of Individualism. By WILLIAM ERNEST HOCKING.

[Powell Lectures on Philosophy at Indiana University, Daniel S. Robinson, Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 187. \$2.00.)

IN these lectures, dedicated to John Dewey, a genuinely liberal thinker subjects contemporary political morality and institutions to a searching "rational analysis", condemning the current fashion of wholesale judgments on our institutions, a fashion which he somewhat uncritically attributes to pragmatism. According to him liberalism has failed in three important ways: it has divided men when they needed to be united; it has divorced rights from duties; and it has lost its basis in the emotions and consciences of individuals. This practical analysis is supplemented by a dissection of the theories of Mill and Marx, whom he presents as antithetical and whose genuine contributions to social theory he attempts to synthesize. Mill justified economic individualism on grounds of collective utility; Marx justified a collective economy by an appeal to individual good. Professor Hocking justifies his "co-agent" state on moral grounds, relying on the co-operative or "commotive" impulse in the individual conscience to support a government that carries out a common program while profiting by individual initiative. Thus he develops a political philosophy based on the expert execution of common plans rather than on representative legislation. Radical liberty of expression in Mill's sense he rejects in favor of freedom for thinkers; that is, the "thinker" whose "thoughts" are not approved by others should be made to feel their disapproval (though not silenced), partly to develop moral courage in himself and partly to compel him to present his ideas more persuasively.

These conclusions Professor Hocking derives from what he calls the historical dialectic of liberalism, which he conceives as an experimental process for testing antithetical points of view. This process of "consecutive induction" (p. 71) is neither blind groping nor pure thought; it is thoughtful experience. In various other ways he attempts to reconcile idealism and experimentalism. He agrees with Dewey in regarding a society of well-rounded ("incompressible") individuals as more desirable than one in which each performs a fixed function in the "division of labor". Consequently he repudiates the organic theory of the state and outlines a theory of "commotive" social action which closely resembles Dewey's. He differs from Dewey, however, at many points. Though he regards rights and duties as

correlatives, he does not make the social nature of individual rights explicit; they are prior to the state and appear to be derived from the truth-seeking function, which is neither individual nor political. The same may be said for his theory of conscience, though he insists that conscience is a strictly individual possession and product. It is not clear whether the "commotive" trait in human nature is to be attributed to a specific impulse, a passion, a common will, or a conscious purpose; he speaks of it in all these terms. On the whole, his moral psychology seems more individualistic than Dewey's. His theory of education seems closer to Gentile's than to Dewey's, for he would postpone critical and reflective thought until adolescence, teaching the younger child only what is accepted. Thus he contends that a whole-hearted revolutionist is out of place in public schools but should have a hearing in colleges.

Scattered through the book is a wealth of critical comment, brilliant epigram, and mature wisdom, which makes it enjoyable quite apart from its carefully constructed political philosophy. It is more than a defense of individualism; it is a complete social philosophy gleaned from a wide experience by a critical mind.

Columbia University.

HERBERT W. SCHNEIDER.

The Savage hits Back. By JULIUS E. LIPS, Visiting Professor of Anthropology at Columbia University, formerly Head of the Department of Anthropology at the University of Cologne and Director of the Rautenstrauch-Foest Museum. With an Introduction by Bronislaw Malinowski. Translated from the German. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxi, 254. \$5.00.)

It is much to be regretted that this handsome volume, with its more than two hundred beautifully produced plates (sometimes misnumbered in the text) and its keen critical comment on the art of primitive man, should be marred by so much wrong interpretation and so many examples of the anthropologist's fallacy of reading into the social culture of other peoples his own conclusions as to their meaning.

In the vigorously written polemical preface, which by the way seems strangely out of place in what, in spite of the author's disclaimer, is a scientific investigation, the author gives a graphic account of how he, although an Aryan, was pestered and persecuted by Nazi officials when it became known that he was collecting and proposed to publish artistic work of colored peoples which was critical of the white man and thus at odds with the prevailing racial theories of Nazi Germany. It would seem that Dr. Lips has allowed this perfectly understandable bitterness to color his interpretation of the art of the so-called savage. With reference to the Africans, at least, with whom the writer of this review has had a life-long experience, it is extremely doubtful if what Professor Lips regards as caricatures of the white man are much more than the struggle of the poorly equipped artist with

his difficult material. That the Europeanized and sophisticated African does at times make fun of the white man, imitating his speech, his gait, and other eccentricities, is true, but to suggest, for example, that in his representation of the French soldier in Dahomey (Fig. 33) the African intended to convey "the incarnation of crass obedience, of military discipline, of unreasoning submission, of the stiff execution, of warrants devised and issued by another" is unscientific unless Dr. Lips knew more about the artist than he reveals. An interpretation more in keeping with the African's temperament would be to say that the artist was trying to represent a white man and that he was doing the best he could with his difficult material and his crude implements.

But if we are able to discount the author's persistent efforts to interpret these models, carvings, and drawings in terms of a thesis which seems to obsess him, there is much profit and enjoyment to be obtained from a study of this carefully prepared book. In chapter 1 we have a good account of the motives and procedures of European colonization in various parts of the world, although here again the author fails to do justice to the many benefits which indigenous peoples have received from Western civilization. In the remaining chapters we have examples of the savage's representation of the white man grouped under such headings as soldiers, traders, missionaries, and officials. The objects are described in careful detail and with a real appreciation of artistic merit. Particularly illuminating and penetrating are the author's comments on the savage's representation of white women and of religious figures.

A special word of praise is due to the unnamed translator and to the Yale Press for the handsome appearance and illustrations of this deeply interesting volume.

Yale University.

CHARLES T. LORAM.

A History of Militarism: Romance and Realities of a Profession. By ALFRED VAGTS. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 510. \$4.75.)

FROM the standpoint of general history this is one of the most original and suggestive military studies to appear in a long time. The author served as an officer in the German army during the World War and has written two solid volumes on German-American relations. His present volume reveals acquaintance with an extremely wide range of material, far beyond the conventional military sources, and he presents a thorough, critical, and comprehensive argument for at least one side of his subject.

This book is not an analysis of strategy, tactics, supply, and other essentially military features. It is, rather, a study of the military caste in its social and political aspects. The distinction, according to the opening lines, is "fundamental and fateful". The "military way", we are told, "is marked by a primary concentration of men and materials on winning specific objectives

of power with the utmost efficiency", whereas militarism, the subject of this study, "presents a vast array of customs, interests, prestige, actions, and thought associated with armies and wars and yet transcending true military purposes". The author goes on to say, indeed, that militarism "is so constituted that it may hamper and defeat the purposes of the military way. . . . It may permeate all society and become dominant over all industry and arts".

There is a wealth of pertinent material in this study, which extends from feudalism to the present day, with virtually half the volume devoted to the present century. Space is lacking even to suggest the scores of observations which should give the historian novel viewpoints and illustrations in the field of his particular interest. The course of the military caste is traced from the early modern period, when the new standing armies gave to the younger sons of the nobility congenial employment which they could scarcely have found elsewhere, to its recent ascendancy in the totalitarian states. The conflict of civilian and militaristic interests is analyzed with skill. The most interesting passages are those which deal with Prussia and the German Empire, where military ascendancy was perhaps most thoroughgoing. The other nations of Europe are not neglected, however, nor is the United States.

The author builds up cleverly a powerful indictment of militarism, so powerful, in fact, that the other side does not always seem to receive adequate presentation. Occasionally the borderline between things military and things militaristic seems a bit obscure—when the soldiers failed, the causes were time and again ascribed to considerations of militarism. The author has, at any rate, presented an important new viewpoint and bolstered it with skillfully selected quotations and examples. Possibly it may arouse a counterattack from the military caste. The style is good, and the illustrations contain numerous well-chosen cartoons, but a critical bibliography and an index would have increased the usefulness of the volume.

Princeton University.

ROBERT G. ALBION.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Early Man as depicted by Leading Authorities at the International Symposium, The Academy of Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, March, 1937.

Edited by GEORGE GRANT MACCURDY, Director of the American School of Prehistoric Research. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1937. Pp. 362. \$5.00.)

THIS volume comprises thirty-six scientific papers presented by prehistorians, archaeologists, anthropologists, paleontologists, biologists, and geologists to the International Symposium on Early Man, held in commemoration of the one hundred and twenty-fifth anniversary of the founding of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia. It furnishes the results of

recent explorations and studies concerning human paleontology, prehistoric archaeology, and especially those related subjects which help to illuminate the difficult researches on the evolution, chronology, migrations, environments, and cultural attainments of our remote precursors and ancestors. It will not serve as an introductory or general treatise on the subject of prehistoric man, since there are no descriptive accounts of any of the older-known kinds of fossil humanity. A partial exception is Professor Dubois's interpretive argument concerning *Pithecanthropus*, which, however, requires considerable background knowledge to be appreciated. The title of the book, *Early Man*, is thus perhaps a bit misleading in that a general account of the subject is suggested. The reader who has little acquaintance with the characteristics and geologic occurrence of the various types of fossil man should refer to some standard work on the subject. However, there are clear and informative articles on the two more important recent finds of fossil human remains—Ngandong man (*Homo soloensis*) in Java and Mount Carmel man in Palestine. The especial value of the present volume is for those who wish to go beyond the main and essential subject matter of human prehistory and to learn something of the procedure used in frontier investigations of an elusive but more than ordinarily engaging science. Much of the information contained is widely scattered in periodic literature and institutional publications and would be accessible to only the most diligent specialist.

In "Introductory Remarks" the esteemed president of the Carnegie Institution, John C. Merriam, who also served as chairman of the symposium, opportunely points out seldom recognized values contributed by studies "which have to do with fragments of human beings from a period so remote that there seems little touch with life of today". The discoveries relating to our archaic and grotesque forebears glimpsed through the shadows of immemorial centuries have had a "deep and lasting influence upon our views concerning the nature of human kind".

About one third of the papers are chiefly occupied with the establishment of relative ages of fossil or human remains, of artifacts or other evidences of culture, and of geologic deposits. Members of the human family appear to have been in existence during much of Pleistocene or glacial time, but determination of the proper chronologic sequence of relics and events is a baffling problem. The methods used are various, devious, and ingenious, but often enough, the results are inconclusive and unsatisfying because of the fragmentary or undecipherable character of the evidence. Relations or associations concerned with the sequence of geologic deposits (stratigraphy), relative weathering and erosion of such deposits, climatic fluctuations, the succession of types of fossil animals, changes of zones of plant life as recorded in peat deposits, and the evolution and sequence of implements, weapons, and utensils are important factors considered.

Primitive cultures and cultural relics, both in the Old World and the

New, are considered from various aspects. The many implicating facets of the problems, even though but dimly illuminating, are weighted with significance concerning the beginnings of civilization and history. Aside from the articles on fossil human remains in the Old World there are also discussions concerned with the more recent finds of human remains in North and South America which have been considered to be of respectable antiquity. Several contributions pertain to prehistoric migrations, to those extensive wanderings within the Old World as well as to the routes, circumstances, and dating of the original peopling of America. There seems to be a consensus of opinion that the American aborigines arrived by way of Siberia and Alaska. Much of Bering Sea is very shallow, and there is abundant evidence that a broad land connection existed at a number of times in the geologic past, serving as a corridor for intermigration of mammalian faunas. Estimates of the approximate date at which man first wandered across this intermittent land range from four thousand to twenty thousand years ago.

About half of the articles are especially concerned with New World problems of one kind or another. Among them is the so-called "Folsom problem", which has attained an important place in American archaeology during the last dozen years. At several sites in New Mexico and Colorado numerous bones of extinct species of bison, camel, and mammoth, together with a variety of stone and bone tools, have been excavated from undisturbed deposits. Charred bones indicate that flesh of the beasts had been used for food. One unique kind of stone implement occurs in these finds—a skillfully chipped laurel-leaf shaped blade with a longitudinal flute or channel on each face. This Folsom point is the only type, made by American aborigines, which is unknown in the Old World. No skeletal remains of Folsom man are yet known.

Two essays consider the remains of fossil anthropoid apes which, chiefly because of resemblances in the dentitions, are believed to represent more or less nearly the kind of creature from which the earliest human forms evolved.

The cover is marred by a profile diagram of a curiously deformed Pilt-down man. It is obviously copied from the well-known restoration by McGregor, whose work was done with the utmost care and fidelity to a superb knowledge of comparative and human anatomy. But the present draftsman has carelessly wrenched the neck amiss, with the result that the effigy is more like a puppet-head on a stick than anything near-human.

The American Museum of Natural History,
New York.

GEORGE PINKLEY.

The Haverford Symposium on Archaeology and the Bible. Edited by ELIHU GRANT. (New Haven: American Schools of Oriental Research. 1938. Pp. 245. \$2.00.)

THE purpose of the eight studies included in this volume is to indicate

the chief currents of scholarly research in the several fields surveyed and to note more or less fully the important bibliographical material of the past two decades. The articles, though of unequal merit, are all important for the general student who wishes to keep abreast of what the learned world has to say on matters Biblical and archaeological.

The present state of Biblical studies is set forth by two specialists in the Old and in the New Testament fields, respectively. George A. Barton (University of Pennsylvania) opens and closes his treatment of the former field by noting that the trend has lately been away from purely linguistic and political-historical criticism to a full social-cultural approach to the Old Testament through an attempt to discover the *Sitz im Leben* out of which every part came. Although Henry J. Cadbury (Harvard University) is unable to cite any spectacular developments in New Testament studies, he can review the solid sifting work done in lower and higher criticism, including, under the latter, remarks on the influence of the school of dialectical theology of Karl Barth upon the labors of certain New Testament scholars.

William F. Albright (Johns Hopkins University) surveys the results of excavations in the territory bordering the eastern shore of the Mediterranean. He includes a few judicious remarks on the problem recently created by the discovery of Hellenistic Jewish art in Dura. How is the hostility to human and animal representations which is found in Rabbinic sources to be reconciled with the abundance of both in synagogal art? In tacit opposition to the position involved in the thesis of E. R. Goodenough's *By Light, Light* (1935), the author believes that the ornamental and not the symbolical significance of such art was the more prominent, and that consequently there was no general opposition to art unless used for purposes of pagan worship.

At the risk of having made an invidious choice among these surveys for comment, the remainder, *spatii gratia*, can only be cited. Albrecht Goetze (Yale University) was assigned the Anatolian and Hittite field to review; Theophile J. Meek (University of Toronto), the Mesopotamian field; James A. Montgomery (University of Pennsylvania), the Arabian field; and John A. Wilson (University of Chicago), the Egyptian field. Bits of information from all of these are interwoven in a fascinating essay, "The Present State of Studies in the History of Writing in the Near East", by John W. Flight (Haverford College). The editor of the symposium, Elihu Grant (Haverford College), contributes a supplement illustrating Babylonian business at about 2000 B.C.

The several authors have maintained a high degree of objectivity and fairness in summarizing trends of investigation and opinion. These essays are worthwhile compendia of recent contributions to our knowledge of Biblical criticism and Near East cultures.

Princeton Theological Seminary.

BRUCE M. METZGER.

Latin Monasticism in Norman Sicily. By LYNN TOWNSEND WHITE, JR., Stanford University. [The Mediaeval Academy of America.] (Cambridge: the Academy. 1938. Pp. xiii, 337. \$4.00.)

This excellent and scholarly monograph promises to be definitive on the subject. While pursuing undeviatingly his particular purpose of accounting for the foundation, endowment, and history of the Latin monasteries of Sicily, Mr. White gives us through the evidence on this subject a significant and lucid story of the changes in the population of the island as reflected in the change from Latin to Greek and, through colonization from the north, back to Latin monasticism, and a consistent treatment, based on carefully sifted evidence, of the policy of the Norman rulers. This he does especially in a long and able introduction, in which he traces the history of Sicilian monasticism from the earliest centuries of Christian institutions in the island through the Norman period, giving at each point a judicious summary of the evidence available and of the work done on the subject by previous scholars.

The body of the book discusses the individual foundations, grouping them according to the orders to which they belonged—Benedictines, Augustinian Canons, Cistercians, Sicilian connections of Palestinian monasteries and orders. To this is added an appendix of previously unpublished documents, chiefly from the archives of Patti and the Biblioteca comunale of Palermo, followed by a comprehensive bibliography of printed works. For the monastic establishments of the Norman period, the main subject of the monograph, the material used is, of course, mainly documentary. Great care has been taken in dating the charters and in tracing the history of the forgeries, which are numerous, especially among the privileges of the Palestinian dependencies. At no point does Mr. White fail to do justice to, and when necessary to correct in substance and in interpretation, the work that has been done by other scholars. His own interpretation of the material shows close reasoning and sanely avoids the overuse of slight evidence to prove more than it justifiably should. His conclusions thus gain the reader's confidence. From the unadulterated archival material to which he so strictly adheres Mr. White both adds valuable evidence on the policies of the Norman rulers and suggests by a touch here and there many a human picture of the communities and their abbots, making out of what might have been a dry catalogue a work interesting as well as significant. This successful presentation is in part due to the excellent style, at once clear and compact and yet lightened by felicitous turns of expression that denote a sympathetic and lively perception of the men whose interests were embodied in the charters. For its careful scholarship and its able treatment of a difficult subject this is a work that should be taken into account by all students of medieval Sicily.

Mount Holyoke College.

J. M. TATLOCK.

Mahomet et Charlemagne. Par HENRI PIRENNE. (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions; Paris: Alcan. 1937. Pp. x, 264. 50 fr.)

THE thesis to which this posthumous publication is dedicated was affirmed by its distinguished proponent as early as 1922 in a brief article bearing the same title. He expounded it orally many times, at home and abroad. In the opening chapters of his *Medieval Cities* (1925) the thesis was amplified on its economic and social side, and several of its constituent points received elaboration in articles sequent to that of 1922. When Pirenne died (1935) the manuscript of the present work lay finished as the first draft of a treatise which he probably intended to be definitive. His son, together with a former pupil specially qualified for the purpose, undertook to prepare the copy for the printer. After the text had been lightly retouched by M. Jacques Pirenne, Professor F. Vercauteren applied himself to the twofold task of completing the documentation, in many instances inchoate, and verifying a number of facts, dates, and citations. The evident good judgment with which they have rendered these services leaves no room for doubt that the published volume is "une oeuvre strictement personnelle d'Henri Pirenne" (p. ix).

Nearly half of the book is devoted to substantiating the contention that the Mediterranean unity of ancient civilization was not destroyed by the invasions of the Teutons. In all the Germanic kingdoms, except those founded in Britain, the economic conditions, the social situation, and the intellectual life remained until about 650 fundamentally what they had been in the declining Roman empire. The term of the ancient order came only with the expansion of Islam. By dispossessing Byzantium of all its provinces on the eastern and southern shores of the Mediterranean and by rendering the western Mediterranean a closed Moslem lake, Islam cut short maritime intercourse between the Levant and the Christian Occident. In Frankish Gaul large-scale commerce subsequently vanished, decadence overtook the hitherto relatively prosperous cities, and returns from the tolls dwindled to insignificance. It is insisted that the tolls, rather than the royal *villae* or the ebbing land tax, constituted the principal source of Merovingian state revenue and that the curtailment of this revenue, due to cessation of trade by sea, was the real reason why Dagobert's descendants became so impoverished as to lapse into helplessness and ignominy. If the Austrasian major-domos attendantly rose to power, this was chiefly because they stood at the head of the landed aristocracy, whose dominance gained ground as commerce fell off (pp. 170-74). Stress is laid on the need of recognizing a complete contrast—economic, social, political, intellectual—between the period of the second Frankish dynasty and that of the first. "Avec le royaume franc, mais avec le royaume franc austrasien-germanique, s'ouvre le Moyen Âge" (p. 211). The rupture of the ancient equilibrium involved, further, the separation of West and East, as a result of which the authority of the pope became limited to Occidental Europe. But this mutation too was caused or

conditioned by the Islamic expansion. For the papacy allied itself with the Carolingians in order to secure that protection against the Lombards which the emperors at Constantinople, fully occupied with the Saracens, were unable to extend; and it was the Moslem possession of North Africa and Spain that rendered the king of the Franks master of the Christian West. "Il est donc rigoureusement vrai de dire que, sans Mahomet, Charlemagne est inconcevable" (p. 210). Up to the eighth century, kingship in Western Europe had been (at least in theory) absolute, the church subservient, society lay in character; which is to say that they retained the Mediterranean and Byzantine imprint (pp. 40-43). After Charlemagne the Occident assumed a new aspect; society was fast becoming feudal and ecclesiastical, and the orientation was northern and Germanic (pp. 260-61).

Various questions present themselves as one ponders the implications of this ingenious and fascinating argument. In hinging the Middle Ages on the expansion of Islam, is it possible that Pirenne has oversimplified and unduly foreshortened a long and highly complex cultural transition? Does the persistence in Western Europe well beyond the sixth century of various institutions and traditions inherited from declining antiquity necessarily presuppose an equally long survival of the life and spirit of ancient society? Despite their Roman or quasi-Roman ancestry, do not Gregory of Tours, Pope Gregory the Great, and Isidore of Seville—to mention no others—evinced much more the medieval than the ancient outlook upon the world? Was it not Gregory the Great, rather than the popes of the eighth century, who inaugurated the work of attaching the northern peoples to the Roman Church? Among the factors operative in separating West and East were not the Lombards fully as important as Islam? And does not Clovis take precedence of Mohammed as a conceptual prerequisite for Charlemagne? Have we adequate evidence to substantiate any general comparison of economic conditions in the sixth and seventh centuries with those in the eighth and ninth?

Reservations on the points now indicated must not, however, be permitted to obscure the significance of this volume. It is a book which seems destined to exercise a potent influence in reshaping current ideas concerning the transition from ancient to medieval times. When this transition began may still remain a question open to discussion; but our author appears amply to have demonstrated that it was consummated in the eighth and ninth centuries. By supplying solid grounds for this view and by showing the high utility of restudying in its light the entire transition process, Henri Pirenne's concluding treatise indubitably qualifies as a contribution of signal importance to interpretative historical literature.

The University of Chicago.

EINAR JORANSON.

The Decline of Chivalry, as shown in the French Literature of the Late Middle Ages. By RAYMOND LINCOLN KILGOUR. [Harvard Studies in

Romance. Languages.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xxiii, 431. \$4.00.)

THE ethos of feudalism is chivalry, both as an ideal or concept and later as an institution. In his *Waning of the Middle Ages* Huizinga gave a dramatic account of its decline. Mr. Kilgour's book does not pretend to replace Huizinga's; besides, he confines himself to the manifestations of chivalry in medieval French literature. His most telling observation is taken from Taine: "In the middle and lower classes the chief motive of conduct is self-interest. With an aristocracy it is pride." Nowadays one is apt to forget that personal sacrifice in behalf of pride was the essence of chivalry and, as Mr. Kilgour justly remarks, underlay a "still nobler code, that of the gentleman". The most valuable part of his treatise is its later part; there the historian will find some excellent analyses of texts reflecting the varying attitudes of Frenchmen toward an institution which by the fifteenth century had outlived its day.

Per contra, the weakest part of the book is the introduction on the "Origin and Ideals of Chivalry". Here the author relies too much on older and out-of-date authorities. Such problems as the *beneficium*, the word "fief" and its cognates, and all the intricate relationships of land and military obligations can hardly be treated adequately without reference to the standard works of Calmette, Stenton, Pirenne, Lot, Dopsch, and others. Modern scholarship hardly justifies the view that it was Charles Martel who, "impressed with the speed and flexibility of Arab cavalry", formed the first body of mounted knights to repel an enemy; and to equate the word *fief* with *beneficium* without further explanation is likewise an extreme simplification of the facts. It is doubtless true that "the religious orders helped to free chivalry from feudalism"; but further light on the subject could have been derived by an examination of the "ordre de chevalerie" outlined in Chrétien de Troyes's *Conte del graal* (l. 1637) and in the *Ordene de chevalerie* (Hugues de Tabarie), edited by R. T. House. Again, although the "exaltation of gallantry" was characteristic of the troubadours, the "ideal of chivalry" was more likely indigenous in the north, among the trouvères. Finally, while the causes of the decline (commercialism, pillaging during the Hundred Years' War, the need for disciplined troops, etc.) are adequately traced in the first and succeeding chapters, the institution of the "tournament" (p. 37) and its relation to courtly love is nowhere consecutively brought out; and yet the materials for such a synthesis are now available in all important libraries.

Beginning with chapter v, however, Mr. Kilgour makes some real contributions to his subject. The analysis of Mézières, Bonet, and even Gerson offers interesting sociological material. Here we see the conflict in men's souls, an era in revolt against itself (not unlike the present), and in Gerson a last appeal to the spirit of sacrifice and discipline characteristic of the churchman, especially in his denunciation of tyrannicide as a political

weapon. Chapter VII, on the Burgundian tradition, is perhaps the most informative in the book in its interweaving of history and literature; noteworthy here is the vivid treatment of Le Franc's *Champion des dames* and his defense, in the face of violent opposition, of Joan of Arc. Less good from the literary point of view is the section on Antoine de La Sale. His famous work, *Petit Jean de Saintré*, is artistically a work of high rank; to view it mainly as a "manual of knighthood" (p. 308) rather misses the irony of La Sale's character study. In treating fifteenth century chroniclers, Kilgour shows how the shell of chivalry, namely courtesy, still intact in Froissart, finally cracks until in the Machiavellian Commynes (really Commynes) "chivalric glory is useless", a tinkling cymbal and an empty name.

In spite of certain obvious shortcomings Kilgour's book is worth reading and possessing. It is well written throughout and beautifully printed.

The University of Chicago.

WM. A. NITZE.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

L'organisation corporative du Moyen Age à la fin de l'Ancien Régime: Etudes présentées à la Commission internationale pour l'histoire des assemblées d'états, II. [Université de Louvain, Recueil de travaux, publiés par les membres des Conférences d'histoire et de philologie.] (Louvain: Bureaux du Recueil, Bibliothèque de l'Université. 1937. Pp. xv, 198.)

It is not surprising that nowadays the subject of corporative organization in the Middle Ages stands in the foreground of historical research. There are several countries where a return to similar forms of social life can be observed. In 1933 an international commission for the study of the history of estate assemblies was constituted, which now forms a section of the International Committee of Historical Sciences. As early as 1936 some papers were presented to this committee and were published in its *Bulletin* (Vol. IX, pt. IV, no. 37). The present volume is comprised of six important articles on the subject with an introduction by Alfred Coville, the chairman of the commission previously mentioned. These are reprints of lectures given on various occasions and retain the attractive form of oral discourse, though several of them are thoroughly documented. They are a valuable contribution to our knowledge of the history of political theory and practice.

The first article, "Individualisme et corporatisme au moyen âge", is by Georges de Lagarde, a French scholar already well known by his studies on Marsilius of Padua. His article is the most general of them all and gives an account of the basic principles underlying corporative thought in the early Middle Ages. The author distinguishes five periods in the development of corporative thought. The first was the "barbarian" period—we would perhaps prefer to call it the "pre-feudal"—characterized by a naturally devel-

oped collectivism; the second, the feudal period, was purely individualistic and was displaced by a third, the era of free association, culminating in the medieval towns, guilds, and corporations. The fourth period was that of absolute monarchy, which suppressed all tendencies towards an autonomous corporative life. In the fifth period, which began with the nineteenth century, we are now living.

Such divisions into epochs have a certain general usefulness, to be sure, but we must not forget how dangerous it is to force the living stream of historical evolution into a rigid, preconceived system. The feudal period, for example, can hardly be maintained to have been one of pure individualism. Lagarde emphasizes the influence exercised by lawyers and philosophers. The conception of an *ordo* governing all the Middle Ages came from canon law and was taken by John of Salisbury as the basis for a complete system of sociology. Later on, the overwhelming authority of Aristotle led to new conceptions impregnated with elements of Neoplatonism, and the culminating point was reached in the social philosophy of Thomas Aquinas. But ever since the fourteenth century we can observe a decline toward nominalism and personalism, maintained especially by William of Occam and Marsilius of Padua. In the works of Nicolas Cusanus we find hardly anything but reminiscences of the great age of corporatism.

In the second article, entitled "La formation des ordres dans la société médiévale", Émile Lousse, the leading worker in the field of corporatism, describes the origins of the corporative system in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Here we are led from social philosophy to public law. He points out that the *ordo* was the missing link between the corporations for particular purposes (for example, the merchant guilds) and the territorial estate. The *ordo* was the acme of the trend toward association; its power was strong enough to disintegrate all the old bonds of hereditary rank and to cross the boundaries of all territorial units. It constituted an obstacle to the gradually developing spirit of nationalism. The organization of this new corporative type was very loose and is to be compared with modern syndicates. At a later age we can observe how fixed charters, following the pattern of feudal contracts, grew and developed. Here we have a clearly palpable connection between feudal and corporative law; and it was the same feudal law which formed the basis and constituted the efficiency of the orders of clergy and nobility. In comparison with those first two "orders" the importance of the *tiers état*, the commoners, was very modest; that order never crossed the defensive line of non-co-operation and resistance. Nevertheless, even the commoners had their fixed privileges, and these were the origin of the liberties conceded in the course of the nineteenth century.

In the third article P.-S. Leicht, the Nestor of Italian scholarship, gives us a concise survey of the early history of parliamentary government in Italy. Here we can see that parliaments were the best support for the growth of

territorial government. Where there was no parliament, the formation of territorial states could be checked by towns or town federations. With regard to the origin of parliaments Mr. Leicht puts forward a theory of his own. He does not dispute that parliaments are juridically connected with the former feudal courts, with the right of the vassals to be heard in matters of government. He asserts, however, that there is no historical relation between the two things because feudal assemblies were festivals given at the expense of the feudal lord, whereas the parliaments were to be attended by the members at their own expense. I do not see that this difference compels us to deny the historical continuity. Very interesting is the evidence given by Mr. Leicht that the introduction of corporatism in Italian territories was an immediate result of the decree of Emperor Frederick II concerning the consultation of *meliores et maiores terrae* (1231). The later destinies of Italian parliaments were very varied; only a few developed into genuine representative institutions for the whole country, while others, as for instance the parliaments of Sicily, were entirely dependent on the monarchy. Nevertheless, the Italian parliaments frequently served as a model, and the principles worked out in them found their way into many European countries.

The two following articles deal with provincial parliaments in France and give practical examples illustrating the theoretical conclusions drawn hitherto. Mr. Cardenal gives us a vivid picture of the assemblies in the little country of Périgord. Here we meet a new element, the religious struggles acquiring influence on the composition of the assemblies. Émile Appolis has discovered a new path of investigation by comparing the two most representative parliaments of France, those of Languedoc and of Bretagne. Comparison certainly is very useful in historical matters. But as a rule there are only matters of external formality to be compared. Yet we have to register some interesting particularities, for example the provision for the maintenance of streets and bridges, which is common to both corporations.

Finally, there is the important article of F. Olivier-Martin, the indisputable authority on the history of French law, who favors us with a masterly survey of the last phase of French prerevolutionary parliaments and with interesting glimpses of the origins of the Physiocratic school. It was the theory of this school which suggested the suppression of merchant guilds by natural law and consequently started the dissolution of the obsolete estate parliaments. The revolutionary movement in 1789 sprang from a part of the old estate parliament, from the commoners, who constituted themselves a national assembly and refused to give the new parliament a corporative organization in the old sense. Naturally the other corporations also had to be suppressed, namely the academies and universities.

Vienna.

H. MITTEIS.

Deutsche Einheit: Idee und Wirklichkeit vom Heiligen Reich bis Königgrätz. Von HEINRICH RITTER VON SRBIK. Bände I und II. (Munich: F. Bruckmann. 1935. Pp. 456; 424. 13.50 M. each.)

A major work by the professor of modern history in the University of Vienna, the biographer of Metternich, is in itself an important event. But when that work launches a new basic viewpoint which bids fair to win wide acceptance, then the event becomes epochal in its significance.

Strictly speaking, the viewpoint was first presented by Professor Srbik in 1929. He suggested a merging of the historic *grossdeutsch* and *kleindeutsch* points of view into an all-inclusive *gesamtdeutsch* outlook, arguing that the frame of reference for German history should be the whole nation or people (*Volck*), not the Bismarck state, which was smaller than the nation. Since the universal-federal ideal of the Holy Roman Empire had played at least as long and honorable a role in the development of the nation and its culture as had the national-state ideal, both were important parts of the German heritage. Moreover both would be required for the political arrangements of the future. He saw in the interplay of the universal, the *mitteleuropa*, and the national motifs the deepest problem of German history, of German present and future conditions (I, 9). This interplay he has analyzed in the volumes at hand. It is pertinent to a judgment of this admirable work that its author is Austrian and German by blood, Catholic in religion, and Viennese by environment, experience, and choice.

Srbik's intention was not to write a general history but rather "a history of the political ideas and forms of the German people in the period of *gesamtdeutscher* past", including social history so far as might be necessary (I, 11). He gives as much space to the decade 1849-59 (Volume II) as to all the earlier history (Volume I). And he has reserved two final volumes (yet to come) for the seven years from 1859 to 1866, for at Königgrätz, as he points out, the great struggle between the ideals of German-middle-European universalism and of a Prussian-German national state was brought to a close. So vast is the literature surveyed that the footnotes constitute a bibliography of all the newer contributions. The part since 1800 is based on his own research in the sources.

Judged by Srbik from the *gesamtdeutsch* point of view, the Habsburg sovereigns, from the very nature of their over-German position, usually come off better than the Hohenzollerns. Masterly analyses of the character and achievements of Frederick the Great and of his "more German" opponent, Maria Theresa, heterodox as they are, should gain ultimate general acceptance. Frederick is the destroyer of the *Reich* (I, 98), and yet his personality took on a *gesamtdeutsch* significance as the symbol of creative willpower (I, 104). Maria Theresa's reconstruction of Austria has no counterpart in modern history, and her charm and greatness provided Germans with a spiritual counterpoise to the cold Friderician heroism (I, 110, 114).

The acid test of a German historian's viewpoint is his treatment of the seizure of Silesia, the Treaty of Basel, the Convention of Olmütz, and the Armistice of Villafranca. According to Srbik, Silesia's loss delivered Bohemia over to a future Slavic majority; it annihilated Austria's leadership in the *Reich* and thereby relieved the Habsburgs of the foremost responsibility for the defense of Germany against France; and it forced Austria still further into a Danubian existence and weakened her German cultural mission in the southeast (I, 102). As to the Treaty of Basel, both Austria and Prussia acted from selfish anti-*gesamtdeutsch* motives; Prussia began the disastrous policy, and Austria did not have a correct appreciation of Prussia's needs; Campo Formio was the consequence and counterpart of Basel (I, 151-57). Olmütz was not nearly the humiliation that the Prussian liberals succeeded in making people think it was; Schwarzenberg was greatly disappointed with the result, and at the subsequent Dresden conferences it was Prussia that emerged victorious (II, 86 ff.). As to Villafranca, it is true that the armistice suddenly undercut Windischgrätz's negotiations in Berlin, but an alliance with Prussia was hardly possible anyhow, and the dangers of the situation in Italy and in his own empire forced Francis Joseph to close quickly with Napoleon (II, 400-407). Srbik implies that Prussia missed a great opportunity in 1859 to serve general German interests; when, by assisting Austria, Lombardy could have been rewon, Sardinia humbled, and Napoleon III annihilated (II, 390). As it was, Villafranca marked the beginning of the end of Austria and the Habsburgs (II, 401). With all of these judgments the reviewer is in agreement. The analysis of Schwarzenberg's ironic personality, flexible policy, and great-Austrian (more than *gesamtdeutsch*) objectives is the best that we are likely to have. The author is equally at home in unraveling intricate diplomatic manoeuvres or the political thought of a period.

The most original contributions are the chapter "War Oesterreich geistiges Ausland?" (in the Biedermeier decades), a question which the author answers emphatically in the negative, and the chapters on 1859. In spite of an "innige Liebe" for the German people, Srbik's treatment of foreign powers and of non-German nationalities in Austria is eminently fair. His own political predilections appear nowhere. The one great blemish in the work—an insufficient account of Prussian development—can be supplied by any number of historians who could not have done justice to the equally important Austrian facet. This defect, however, has made the reception of Srbik's book a stormy one.

Though there is artistry in its monolithic form and vigorous expression, this more analytic than descriptive work gives intellectual rather than aesthetic enjoyment—the pleasure which comes from the appreciation of fresh and original interpretations of a creative mind paired with scholarship of the first rank. Changes of emphasis will be made by later writers according to their lights, but the *gesamtdeutsche Geschichtsauffassung* will pro-

vide the basis for them. In this sense, and because of its penetrating judgments and brilliant syntheses, Srbik's *Deutsche Einheit* should become a permanent landmark in German historiography.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

CHESTER W. CLARK.

Die Besiedlung des nordöstlichen Ostpreussens bis zum Beginn des 17. Jahrhunderts. Teile I und II. Von Prof. Dr. HANS MORTENSEN und Dr. GERTRUD MORTENSEN, Göttingen. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (Leipzig: S. Hirzel. 1937; 1938. Pp. xii, 212; viii, 254. 12 M. each.)

Die zweite deutsche Ostsiedlung im westlichen Netze-gau. Von Dr. WERNER SCHULZ, Berlin-Zehlendorf. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (*Ibid.* 1938. Pp. xii, 85. 6.60 M.)

Quellenband zur Geschichte der zweiten deutschen Ostsiedlung im westlichen Netze-gau. Zusammengestellt von Dr. WERNER SCHULZ. [Deutschland und der Osten.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 274. 10 M.)

TOGETHER these four books from the series "Deutschland und der Osten" supply valuable insights into particular phases of the expansion of the Germans eastward. Therewith come striking analogies with American expansion westward which should be of especial interest to American historians and which the authors themselves take pains occasionally to point out. Indeed, their particular problems oblige them sometimes to bring South as well as North America, even Siberia, into their view, thus holding out the promise that ultimately, when more historians discover that there were other national frontiers than their own, a comparative history of frontiers may be written.

There can be no doubt that the studies at hand owe their immediate origin, in part at least, to the difficulties arising from the eastern German boundary and to the kind of history the writing of which the present German government tolerates. It is not meant to suggest that the authors have written official gospel. Except for what seems to the reviewer one notable lapse from fairness, they have written, albeit with a small chip on the shoulder, a certain lack of sympathy for non-Germans, and a pardonable pride in German accomplishment, in a wholly objective manner. Indeed, the Mortensens go so far as at least to hint (I, 124, n. 452) at the great cost to peaceful pursuits which a nation must pay for its military preparations. Since the study of the American frontier will probably never be intensified by national boundary disputes, it may be hoped that we shall not have to wait so long after the event, as is the case with these studies, before rendering a similar account to ourselves of this phase of our past. The admirable methodology of these monographs we could meanwhile take as exemplary.

In their first volume the Mortensens aim to determine for the critical years around 1400 the exact extent of German and Prussian settlement on

the eastern frontier of East Prussia, that is, in the valley of the Pregel and its tributaries. Taking for granted the earlier history of the Teutonic Order and using its abundant and in large part unpublished archives, they show how, rather than wiping out the Prussians in this region, the order founded German villages in the forest regions between the Prussian villages—regions which then had to be cleared. The colonists came, for the most part, from the early German settlements in Prussia. The completeness of the source material makes it possible for the authors to make the following estimates: the proportion of individual Prussian to German landholders at this date was 1:1; the proportion of Prussians to Germans in a population estimated at from 18,000 to 18,500 was 3:2; but, strikingly enough, the proportion of Prussian to German land held in a total of 1700 square kilometers was 1:4. The resulting population density of 11 per square kilometer, they estimate, was only four beneath what was possible in an area of that kind under the given conditions. After Tannenberg the German frontier advanced no farther. There followed a remarkable and tragic decline in numbers of the Prussian peasantry (the authors speak of an earlier decline independent of the conquest) and a concentration of the holdings of Prussian peasants and freemen and even of German peasants in private hands. The decline of the colonization movement was so serious that a contemporary official source could say of the settlements of the region, “dy alle sint daz meyste teyl wüste”. By this time, however, the German and Prussian nobility were hardly distinguishable, and the Prussian villages were undergoing the kind of Germanization that ultimately caused the disappearance of their language. Following the text is a list of every German and Prussian settlement in the region, with such complete references to their mention in the sources as to make of the list a series of short histories of each settlement. The excellent maps present a graphic repetition of the chief results of the text.

In their second volume the Mortensens turn to the area of the so-called Wilderness, between the easternmost extension of German settlement and the Lithuanian frontier, that is, the valleys of the Memel, Minia, and Windau. Here, in an area inhabited by Prussians, Kurs, and probably Lithuanians, the conflict between the Teutonic Knights and the Lithuanians caught these peoples in a trap. To remain heathen in their homelands subjected them to the attacks of the Knights. To become Christian and remain in their homelands subjected them to the attacks of the heathen. They therefore moved into the territory of whichever protector they chose. The authors speak, however, of an emigration previous to the appearance of the Teutonic Order in this region. The lands of the Prussian *Nadrauer*, *Sudauer*, and *Schalauer* became waste land, likewise that of the southern Kurs. The subsequent entrance into this area of Lithuanians and Kurs is to be the subject of the third and concluding part of this study of the Mortensens.

Dr. Schulz turns his attention to the resumption in the sixteenth century of German colonization in the western part of the Netze valley after the cessation of medieval colonization there. In very summary fashion, to be explained perhaps by the richness of the accompanying source book, he traces the movement of German peasants from the Neumark and Pomerania to the estates of the Polish Czarnkowskis and Gorkas, where they found a temporary escape from the oppressions of an intensified capitalistic agriculture at home. By the middle of the seventeenth century the whole region north of the Netze, originally 80 per cent forest and swamp, had become completely German, and by the time the movement had spent itself, at the end of the eighteenth century, the region south of the Netze was predominantly German. Obviously, as Dr. Schulz shows, the region had become German long before it was taken by Frederick the Great. It seems necessary, however, to protest against the cavalier fashion with which the author treats the Jewish participation in the growth of towns accompanying the peasant immigration and the introduction of the textile industry. It would appear quite obvious that the Jews were indispensable to the whole movement, the financial aspects of which the author chooses to neglect. They also paid heavily to share in it. The author's own sources for Filehne in 1773 show that whereas the Polish lords collected from the German inhabitants in rent and taxes more than 3000 Polish gulden, they collected from Jews 4116. It is regrettable to have this shadow of unreliability cast on the remainder of the author's excellent work. The maps, for example, reveal in exciting fashion the gradual clearance of forests, the drainage of swamps, and the infiltration of settlers.

The source book is extremely valuable. It amounts to a short history of each of the 206 villages and towns of the area, arranged in alphabetical order and followed by a register of the family names of German peasants and townsmen involved in the colonization, but apparently omitting Jews. From the sources may be gleaned much of the social and economic history which the author does not take time to narrate. One is struck, for example, by the very great importance of beer in carrying the Germans through their difficult tasks.

It may be remarked finally that the history of these two waves of German colonization reveals again the imaginative limitations set by such terms as medieval and modern. For all the differences between them, one can move from one to the other without feeling any great difference in epoch. The cutting of forests, the draining of swamps, and the desire to be free from oppression—these are neither typically medieval nor modern. Moreover, with such studies as these one is impressed again by the fact that so much of the history of so-called medieval Europe is also the history of an expanding frontier. We may hope for the multiplication of studies similar to these, with maps as good, and extended to Western Europe as well.

University of Nebraska.

EDGAR N. JOHNSON.

Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer: Einleitung zur Geschichte der Besiedlung Amerikas durch die Völker der Alten Welt. VON GEORG FRIEDERICI. Bände II und III. [Allgemeine Staatengeschichte, herausgegeben von Hermann Oncken.] (Stuttgart: Friedrich Andreas Perthes. 1936. Pp. xvi, 571; xvi, 520. 10.75 M. each.)

THE first volume of this work was published in 1925 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXII, 126). The two concluding volumes were to have appeared shortly thereafter, but "die Ungunst der Zeit", leading to the demise of the Allgemeine Staatengeschichte series in 1931, prevented their immediate publication. In 1936 a considerable subsidy from the Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften permitted the completion of the enterprise. Hermann Oncken has written a preface to Volume III which stands not only as an epitaph of the distinguished series over which he has presided but also as a moving "Würdigung" of Friederici's life-work in the field of historical scholarship.

A brief summary will indicate the astonishing scope of Friederici's work. (A detailed summary of Volumes II and III is given in the review by Friederici's close friend, K. Sapper, in *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen*, 199 Jahrgang, 1937, pp. 311-51.) About half of Volume I was devoted to setting the physical scene of the conquest and describing the indigenous peoples of the two Americas. The rest of the volume described the Spanish *conquista*. Volume II begins with the story of Portuguese discovery along the coast of Africa, in the Indian Ocean, and in Brazil (section iv). In section v Friederici examines the slight contribution of Germans in opening the New World, the brief episode of Welser domination in Venezuela. Section vi is devoted to the Iroquois Indians, for whose bravery and political adroitness in maintaining the balance of power between France and England the author expresses high admiration. Section vii describes at length the French discoveries and colonization, with particular emphasis on the demoralizing effects of the rum and weapon trade and the policy of paying premiums to the Indians for enemy scalps. Sections viii and ix, with which Volume III begins, deal with minor episodes, the Dutch and Scandinavian colonizations on the middle Atlantic coast. The author discusses at some length the Viking discovery of North America, which, though it produced no permanent settlement, ranks high in the annals of oversea expansion. Section x, the longest of the entire work, deals with the achievements of the English and the Anglo-Americans. Friederici points out that English enterprise, apart from the dogged attempt to discover the Northwest Passage, contributed but little to the actual knowledge of the New World. Even the penetration of the inland from the middle Atlantic seaboard was delayed for a surprisingly long time, considering the relatively slight natural obstacles which were presented. The bulk of this section is

devoted to an analysis of the social composition of the Atlantic colonies, the nature of their relations with the Indians (exhibited in a very unfavorable light), and finally the character of the pioneering movement which swept in such rapid waves across the continent. The last section describes briefly the penetration into North America from Siberia by the Russians, concluding with the purchase of Alaska by the United States.

A bald summary cannot do justice to the fine workmanship of this book—its wealth of concrete detail, its careful and comprehensive documentation (the index of works cited contains nearly two thousand titles), and particularly its vigorous yet measured style. As Oncken states in his preface it is a fine example “im deutschen universalen Stile”—in the tradition of Humboldt—of scholarly competence in the historical problems of many lands and widely scattered fields of knowledge.

Yet even apart from its wealth of precise information, Friederici's work will be welcomed by historians for reflections which it suggests on one of the most profound themes of world history—the nature and the justification of the impulse for expansion. The author has attempted to avoid final moral judgments on the individuals and groups who participated in the conquest of the New World. He has tried to write in the spirit of Ranke's proud device, “wie es eigentlich gewesen”. He has successfully dodged the perils of “Tendenz”. And yet certain inherent sympathies emerge; certain persistent notes of condemnation bespeak the animus and the passion of a man who feels that we are still living in the shadow of the great events which he is describing.

As Friederici sees it, the discovery and conquest of America was a work of heroic proportions, but in that work the hero is not the conquering European but the dispossessed native. Not only does the author paint in most favorable colors the moral and physical qualities of the Indians. He insists throughout that without their presence and collaboration, without the existence of their means of land and water communication, and in many cases without their active military support, permanent settlement and penetration of the interior could hardly have succeeded. Furthermore, if the role of the Indian was generally both glorious and pathetic, that of the invader—*conquistador*, *bandeira*, *coureur de bois*, backwoodsman—was frequently contemptible and even criminal. The story as Friederici narrates it is monotonously unattractive. Scarcely a vestige of glamor is left. The few orchids which he deigns to distribute are consigned almost exclusively to the giants of exploration, not to the agents of conquest.

Why this persistent denigration of an enterprise which we have been accustomed to view with such complacency? Has Friederici been grinding an axe? As an objective historian should he give way to such notes of personal acrimony as the reference to the World War as a “Raubkrieg” against Germany and the sneer at the official French attitude toward French colored troops (II, 502)?

It is clear that both Friederici and Oncken regard this work as an effective answer to charges that the Germans are unfit, because of peculiar cruelty, to possess and administer colonies. It would be unfair, however, to imply that this monumental book, the fruit of four decades of study, must be regarded as a piece of special pleading. It is true that the reader will feel that he has been listening to a colossal indictment. But it is not France and England sitting at Versailles which are being accused of criminal action. It is the whole of European history. The thoughtful historian may not accept the indictment. But he will surely be left with sober and perhaps melancholy reflections on the impulse for expansion which still stands as the chief enemy of order, justice, and peace in the modern world.

Harvard University.

DANA B. DURAND.

The Voyages of Cadamosto and other Documents on Western Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century. Translated and edited by G. R. CRONE. [The Hakluyt Society.] (London: the Society. 1937. Pp. xlv, 159. £1 5s.)

ONE of the best services of the Hakluyt Society has been to render available in English important documents on and chronicles of Portuguese expansion in the Old World and the New. It is pleasant to learn that Professor Edgar Prestage, the Nestor of Portuguese studies in England and translator of the edition of Azurara published by the Hakluyt Society in 1896, has had a hand in producing this volume; and the editor's introduction, by one of his pupils, is a valuable contribution to the history of West African economics, exploration, and geography.

Over half the volume is devoted to the two African voyages (1455-56) of the Venetian Cadamosto (Alvise da Ca' da Mosto). His own account of them, written in the 1460's and first printed in 1507, was first translated into English in 1745. In making this new translation Professor Crone has had the benefit of a recently discovered manuscript of the original. Cadamosto's voyages have never been popular with Portuguese historians, conflicting as they do with the theory that the South Atlantic was *mare clausum* to all but Portuguese. He has been pilloried as a liar and his claim to have discovered the Cape Verde Islands denied; but, as Professor Crone points out, the document is a thoroughly straightforward, plain, seaman-like narrative, intrinsically credible and supported by the maps of Benincasa and other contemporary sources. And it is particularly useful to have Cadamosto now rendered available, for his voyages go far to support the earlier economic explanation of the activities of the Infante Dom Henrique, in which most people believed before R. H. Major invested him with the cross of a crusader and entitled him "the Navigator". Cadamosto's description of the infante's employees exhibiting samples of African wares to Venetians detained by weather at Cape St. Vincent and urging them to undertake an African trading voyage on a fifty-fifty basis is far more

human and credible than the conventional picture of the Hermit of Sagres planning a hundred per cent Portuguese passage to India. Indeed, the documents here printed raise again that awkward question of Vignaud, did the infante ever think of any India beyond that hither-India of Prester John? Did the heroic age of Portuguese discovery antedate Diogo Cão and Bartholomeu Dias?

Other documents translated for this volume are the interesting letter by Antoine Malfante, first published by Charles de la Roncière a few years ago; a part of João de Barros's *Decadas de Asia* covering this period; and Diogo Gomes's narrative of his voyages, taken down by Martin Behaim in 1482. The first two are fresh translations; the latter is R. H. Major's checked by the Portuguese translation by Cordeiro. It would have been better to have made a fresh translation from the earliest known text, the Latin of the Valentim Fernandez codex at Munich, for Major was notoriously inaccurate, and checking one translation by another often leads to new mistakes. We have for instance:

(Latin codex, ed. 1847, p. 26) . . . venerunt *Mauri* de terra in suis almadiis, et portaverunt nobis de suis mercimoniis sc. pannos bombicinos seu cotonis, dentes elephantum et unam quartam mensuram de *malagueta* in grano et in corticibus suis . . .

(Major's translation, *Prince Henry*, p. 288) . . . the natives came from the shore and brought us their merchandise, viz., cotton cloth, elephants' teeth, and a quart measure of malaguette, in grain and in its pods . . .

(Cordeiro's translation, *Bol. Soc. Geog. Lisbon*, 1898-99, p. 278) . . . vieram os *Mouros* de terra nas suas almadias, e nos trouxeram suas mercadorias, a saber, pannos de seda ou algodão, dentes de elephante, e uma quarta de *malagueta* em grão e nas suas cascas . . .

(Professor Crone's translation, the present volume, p. 91) . . . the Mouros came from the shore in their canoes and brought us their merchandise, viz., cotton cloth, or *algodão*, elephants' teeth, and a quart measure of *malagueta* in grain and in its pods . . .

It will be seen that Mr. Crone restores the canoe lost by Major but not the silk; and why repeat the Portuguese words for cotton cloth and for the Moors? "Quart measure" too is misleading, for a Portuguese *quarta* is a small bushel.

Translations have always been the weak point of the Hakluyt Society publications, and there is still room for improvement.

These documents have a value independent of the light that they throw on the perennial but tiresome questions of motive, emphasis, and priority. Cadamosto and his contemporaries were the first Europeans since the dark ages to make direct contact with the Negro kingdoms south of the Sahara, the first to describe the African elephant and the hippopotamus, to observe strange customs such as the silent barter of salt for an equal weight of gold and the court ceremonial of the Jalof kings. Here and there are data

important for the history of navigation. Cadamosto's sketch and description of the Southern Cross are the earliest on record, unless a passage in Dante may be so interpreted. Diogo Gomes makes the earliest known reference to taking latitude from the height of the North Star. We may rightly stress the economic motives of the African voyages, but it was this Italian and Portuguese sagacity in scientific navigation and boldness in penetrating tropic seas that made possible the discovery of America.

Harvard University.

S. E. MORISON.

European Beginnings in West Africa, 1454-1578: A Survey of the First Century of White Enterprise in West Africa, with Special Emphasis upon the Rivalry of the Great Powers. By JOHN W. BLAKE, Junior Lecturer in History, Queen's University, Belfast. [Imperial Studies, General Editor, A. P. Newton.] (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, published for the Royal Empire Society. 1937. Pp. viii, 212. \$4.20.)

THIS volume is a careful study of the subject with which it deals. It purports to be an introduction, not a comprehensive survey.

In spite of Azurara's failure to mention gold as a motive for Prince Henry's interest in African exploration, the author believes that it was actually the leading motive for European enterprises in West Africa. He rejects the contention of some authors, such as Leroy-Beaulieu, that French discoveries and trade preceded that of the Portuguese on the African coast. On the other hand, he shows that Castilian ships went to West Africa as early as 1454 and thereafter for over a quarter of a century, King John II of Castile even claiming Guinea for himself and demanding Portuguese withdrawal. In the winter of 1478-79 a fleet of no less than thirty-five Castilian caravels was sent to drive the Portuguese away from that region. The chief attraction appears to have been gold, and although Europeans conducted no mining operations there, the term "the Mine" or Mina was applied to the section of the coast where most of the gold was secured. It was obtained from the natives in the form of gold dust washed up by the streams and of gold bangles and bracelets, one ship loading a complete cargo of the latter. In exchange the natives welcomed sea shells and cheap manufactured goods. By the end of the fifteenth century gold dust to the value of "170,000 dobras" was annually being brought from Mina to Portugal, and by the beginning of the sixteenth century "an annual fleet" of twelve caravels for transporting gold had been organized. Huge profits, especially from gold and slaves, reaching from 50 to 800 per cent, were made in these ventures.

Most enlightening is Mr. Blake's discussion of the papal bulls authorizing a Portuguese monopoly of West Africa. Better precedents than the Donation of Constantine for such a grant were found in papal claims to

dispose of Saracen provinces at the time of the Crusades, the grant of Sardinia to Pisa in 1016 and 1045, of Ireland to Henry II of England in 1155, and of Lançerote Island in 1344 to Don Luis de la Cerda. "The Pope could also claim sovereign arbitral power as the spiritual father of the world", says Blake. "He was the representative of Christ on earth. Surely, then, it was incumbent upon him to decide the ownership of new-found lands!" Blake, however, is of the opinion that in reality by 1493, the time of the important bulls, much of this papal authority had been lost, largely through papal dabbling in Italian politics. The Venetians had continued to trade with the Saracens in spite of papal prohibition. Even Portugal and Spain disregarded the papal bulls by making the Treaty of Tordesillas.

The Pennsylvania State College.

JAMES E. GILLESPIE.

L'Empire français d'Amérique, 1534-1803. Par GABRIEL LOUIS-JARAY.

["Choses d'Amérique", Collection publiée sous la direction de l'Institut des études américaines.] (Paris: Armand Colin. 1938. Pp. 376. 40 fr.)

Some La Salle Journeys. By JEAN DELANGLEZ, Assistant Professor of History, Loyola University. [Institute of Jesuit History Publication.] (Chicago: the Institute. 1938. Pp. vi, 103. \$2.25.)

THE character and exploits of Robert Cavalier de la Salle in New France during the latter quarter of the seventeenth century were to his contemporaries and have been ever since the source of great difference of opinion and interpretation. Gabriel Louis-Jaray considers La Salle the founder of the French empire in North America, the man of great vision and accomplishment who was the first to discover and explore the Ohio, the first to plan the basis of the French occupation of the Mississippi Valley. La Salle's great plans were interrupted by his unfortunate assassination on the plains of Texas, after which Pierre Le Moyne, Sieur d'Iberville, carried forward his vision by the founding of Louisiana in the early eighteenth century. Jaray, however, thinks that the French empire in America began to decline with the death of Colbert in 1683 and the weaker administration at home. The Treaty of Utrecht, granting the keys of the St. Lawrence to the British, still further weakened the French hold on North America, which was annihilated after the Seven Years' War.

As the Jesuits even in La Salle's day did everything possible to diminish and decry his fame as founder of French power in North America, so the feud is perpetuated to the present in these two works under review. Father Delanglez herein presents an astute monographic study of La Salle's claims to have discovered the Ohio and the Mississippi. The reviewer has long been of opinion that these claims were false and were prompted by political reasons. Nonetheless Jaray's contention that La Salle was the founder of the French empire in America is sound. His discussion, also, of the later period from 1763 to 1789, of the reasons why Vergennes did not in 1781-83

attempt to recover the French colony in America, is interesting and profound. Finally his chapter on the "heritage of the past"; in which after wide travels in America he evaluates the French influence in North America of today is well wrought and sincere. French influence, transformed from political to cultural forces, he finds still potent in North America from Quebec to New Orleans. His book, the product of a lifetime of careful research and thorough scholarship, is the best presentation yet made of the French empire in America, its rise, fall, and cultural influence.

The State Historical Society of Wisconsin. LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

The Three Voyages of Martin Frobisher in search of a Passage to Cathay and India by the North-West, A. D. 1576-78. From the original 1578 text of George Best, together with numerous other versions, additions, etc., now edited, with Preface, Introduction, Notes, Appendixes, and Bibliography, by VILHJALMUR STEFANSSON, with the collaboration of ELOISE MCCASKILL. [General Editor, N. M. Penzer.] Two volumes. (London: Argonaut Press. 1938. Pp. cxxx, 166; vi, 293. 84s.)

THESE two sumptuous volumes contain a wealth of material and mark a new high in the scholarly study of the eminent Elizabethan navigator. Disregarding the introduction for the present, one considers first the group of seven basic contemporary narratives recording the history of the Frobisher voyages. These make up slightly less than half of the work. Only three of them, those by Sellman, Lok, and Best, were previously printed by the Hakluyt Society under Admiral Collinson's editorship in 1867. Mr. Stefansson adds others: two taken from sixteenth century books not always easily available, a third from the unique perfect copy in the Huntington Library, and the last, an excerpt from Hakluyt's compilation of 1598-1600. This collection is thus richer by far than that assembled by the previous editor and ought to be a great convenience since scholars can now find in one place nearly all the principal texts.

Stefansson annotates this material with fine discrimination. He brings his profound knowledge of the Arctic to bear upon the documents, and the results, always informative, are exceedingly welcome. His remarks on what the voyagers had to say about Arctic climate and Eskimo customs are shrewd and penetrating. Where justified, he bestows authoritative praise on the travelers for their acuteness in observation (I, 39, n. 1; 99, n. 1), and he readily detects their errors and false conclusions (I, 55, n. 2; II, 21, n. 1).

One hundred and thirty-five pages of "Supplementary Material" relating to the financial and other aspects of the three voyages are drawn from his predecessor's publication. In happy contrast with Collinson's method, Stefansson unites this collection of sources and classifies it lucidly. Fourteen appendixes treat a variety of special matters, among others, Frobisher

bibliography, Eskimo words in the narratives, Frobisher's testament, and the chemical nature of the ores he brought back to England. Here, too, are found new documents lately discovered by Dr. George B. Parks in the Huntington Library.

An introduction of 130 pages supplies a masterly preface to the documents and traces the line of explorations into the North and West which culminates in Frobisher. It well deserves republication as an independent piece. Norse colonization in Greenland and Iceland and Norse exploration of lands still more remote are discussed, and rival theories to account for the "disappearance" of the white settlers are canvassed. This brilliant synthesis, to which it is impossible to do full justice here, is erected upon a surpassing acquaintance with the old sources, Latin and Scandinavian, as well as with the modern international literature on the subject. The monograph fittingly terminates with a long biography of Frobisher, which sums up all that has been established concerning him. On that seaman Stefansson bestows the twin citations of "rediscoverer of Greenland and reviver of sailings to north-eastern America".

What of the format of these expensive volumes? The text, printed on Japan vellum, is set in an excellent modernized face of Baskerville Roman, with ample margins to take care of marginalia in Baskerville italic. Binding is in grained vellum with buckram boards of a warm red color. However, it is a pity on the whole that the English tradition of distinguishing between the cased book and the bound book has been compromised in the present instance. Furthermore, collotype or photogravure would have been preferable to the rather coarse screen photoengraving used for reproducing the 1578 title page and for the modern camera shots (II, 247). In all of these examples distinctly muddy effects result from the use of the 120 point screen. A three-color printing job would have made a much neater map (I, cxiv).

Berkeley, California.

FULMER MOOD.

The Golden Century of Spain, 1501-1621. By R. TREVOR DAVIES, Dean of Degrees and Modern History, Tutor of St. Catherine's Society, Oxford. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 327. \$6.00.)

Philip II. By WILLIAM THOMAS WALSH. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xvi, 770. \$5.00.)

THE first of these books is a readable summary of Spanish history from the death of Isabella the Catholic ("1501" on the title page is probably a misprint for "1504") to that of Philip III. One naturally wonders at the exclusion from "The Golden Century of Spain" of the reign of the greatest of Castilian queens and at the inclusion therein of that of one of the weakest of Spanish kings; but Mr. Davies has chosen to summarize the great achievements of 1469 to 1504 in an introductory sketch and doubtless feels that

the literary and artistic splendors of the first two decades of the seventeenth century justify him in carrying on till the death of the monarch who, as Quevedo said of him, "ceased to be king before ever he began to reign".

When one attempts to cover so vast a field in so short a space, it is obviously necessary not only to omit much but also to cut across established lines. Mr. Davies's selections and arrangement will not appeal to all students of the period, but some of them are certainly original and suggestive, as when, for example, he links the confusion in Castile during the last twelve years of the life of Ferdinand the Catholic with the rising of the Comuneros and the Germania of Valencia, in a chapter entitled "The Era of Revolts". The reign of Philip II occupies the center of the stage and is treated in four chapters entitled, respectively, "Philip as a Man and a Statesman", "The Protestant and Mohammedan Perils", "The Unification of the Peninsula", and "Philip's Weltpolitik". There are a couple of useful appendixes on Spanish coinage and bullion imports from the New World, which show that Mr. Davies has kept up with the recent literature on these topics. Unfortunately it is not evident that he is equally familiar with all the works which are listed at the end of the volume, though he comments intelligently on the more important of them.

A number of minor inaccuracies may be found throughout the book (*e.g.*, the misdating of Parma's death on page 220), but it is not worth while to enumerate them here. More serious are the statement on page 21 that the "discoveries of Columbus made Castille the pioneer of all the great colonial empires of modern times", which is to ignore Portugal, and the very misleading account of the councils on pages 121-26, which conveys a totally false impression of the relative positions of the Consejo de Estado and the Consejo Real. And we cannot conclude without a vigorous protest against Mr. Davies's spelling of proper names. To call the western kingdom "Castille" rather than "Castile" is French, not English; "Aragón" does not need an accent in a book in the English language; "Andalusia" is preferable to "Andalucia", and "Douro" to "Duero". In all such matters it is far better to follow the practice established one hundred years ago by William Hickling Prescott.

A famous Venetian ambassador once said of Philip II that when he was an old man his only recreation was repose. The poor king certainly needs it now. No less than seven different accounts of his life and reign have been published within the last ten years; most of them are bad, the one which lies before us unquestionably the worst. The standpoint from which it is written is violently Roman Catholic (*e.g.*, p. 716), and the author's ignorance and credulity are appalling. He is obviously deeply disturbed by the fact that Philip often found himself at odds with the papacy and the Society of Jesus and reverts to it again and again; but he never offers a candid explanation of the reasons why. He is apparently quite incapable of

drawing any distinction between the different authors whom he cites; he is as willing to believe Hilaire Belloc as Ludwig von Pastor. Errors of fact are to be found on almost every page, and the judgments on men and events are extraordinary. "The French Calvinistic education of Anne Boleyn" (p. 31) is a typical phrase. (There may be some question as to whether Anne was sent to France to become "one of the French Queen's women" in 1514 or at later date, but there can be no possible doubt that she returned to England at least as early as the beginning of 1522, before John Calvin was thirteen, and her head was cut off in the year of the publication of the *Institutes*.) Countless other similar lapses might easily be cited. And Mr. Walsh has a most irritating habit of trying to show off his knowledge by ostentatious efforts to correct mistakes that other authors did not make, revealing his own preposterous incompetence in the process. On page 332, for example, he takes pride in pointing out that "Vesalius was not an Italian doctor but a Dutchman", whereas Vesalius, as a matter of fact, was a Belgian, born in Brussels.

The book is handsomely bound, printed, and illustrated; the author loves to dilate on the dramatic and picturesque, and it is by no means impossible that his work will be widely read. The best thing that can be said about it is that his prejudices and ignorance are so obvious that no one with the slightest smattering of historical knowledge or training will be in any danger of taking it seriously.

Harvard University.

ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Kaiser Karl V.: Werden und Schicksal einer Persönlichkeit und eines Reiches. Von KARL BRANDI. (Munich: F. Bruckmann. 1937. Pp. 568. 12.50 M.)

KARL Brandi, who passed the Biblical age a few months ago, has dedicated the greater part of his life as a scholar to the study of European history in the period between 1400 and 1600. His monograph, *Die Renaissance in Florenz und Rom*, and more recently his article on the Italian Renaissance in the *Propyläen-Weltgeschichte* are evidence of his wide knowledge of fifteenth century history, while his two volumes on the German Reformation and Counter-Reformation display his mastery of the confessional age. These books are indispensable for the student of the period who is in need of a fair and critical summary of the great amount of specialized research done by historical students during the last two generations. Thanks to Brandi's soundness of judgment, sense of historical perspective, and literary talent, the diffuse masses of material and problems have been unified into a well-organized picture of the whole epoch.

The present book is, however, of a different type. It is a work of minute and largely original research, based on a complete mastery of the primary sources which have become accessible since Ranke, a century ago, began

the critical examination of the documents of the period. It is unfortunate that Brandi has left us without any information about the preparation of his work, especially about how often he has gone beyond the publications to the archives or has had his younger friends check the originals. He could have given us a key to one of the most intricate and confused chapters of historical bibliography, but all hints of this character have been suppressed. I have a strong suspicion that it was the publisher who forced the omission of footnotes and bibliography upon the author and thus impaired the usefulness of the book in the hands of professional historians as well as of a good many general readers. Even so the author in arranging his text could have done more to relate his own research and interpretation to those of his predecessors in the field. His rare allusions to the work of other scholars will be understood only by a very few students.

Kaiser Karl V. is the historical biography of the statesman, and as such it will become a standard book in sixteenth century history, for there is hardly any significant episode in the general history of the years 1516-58 in which his policy was not an influential element. Brandi tries to interpret the political decisions of the emperor as the results of his universal aims and responsibilities. In the first part of his book he describes Charles's Burgundian education and the ideals of chivalry and medieval piety which he imbibed and was to retain throughout his life. Subsequently he deals with the period in which Charles slowly acquired what his ancestors had left to him, the government of the Netherlands, Spain, and Germany.

The second part of the book treats of the period between 1522 and 1530—in political history the time of the struggle for the domination of Italy; in the biography of Charles a decade of training in the school of his chancellor, Gattinara of Piedmont, who made him conscious of the inherent possibilities of his imperial office and taught him devotion to the duties of a ruler as well as the new rational techniques of government. The successful subjugation of Italy and the death of Gattinara mark the end of the time in which Charles matures to full statesmanship. The years after 1530, dealt with in the third part of the book, see the emperor framing his own policies. The struggle for the control over Germany, the reform of the church, and the termination of the Protestant revolt then form the major objectives of his reign.

Brandi has given his book the subtitle: the growth and destiny of a personality and of an empire. This was well chosen insofar as he wished to express the relation of Charles's character to his political task. It may, however, lead to misunderstanding. Charles was not the founder of his empire but had been born into a position prearranged for him by a shrewd dynastic diplomacy. It was certainly a great personal achievement that he proved himself able to assume control over his kingdoms and to maintain himself successfully during his lifetime. But he was unable to integrate

his provinces into one unified empire. To be sure, he bound Italy to Spain, but in Spain he merely completed the work of Ferdinand and Isabella, namely, that of creating a national government; he did not make Spain the true center of a restored Roman empire. The definite separation of the Netherlands from Germany brought about by him laid the foundation for the autonomous development of a nation, while within the German *Reich* he showed himself incapable of turning the tide that moved towards the establishment of sovereign territorial entities. His ultimate imperial aims were frustrated by the course of events, and none of his successors renewed his aspirations. Still by wielding power for forty years he was able to impress his personality upon the coming age.

The objectivity with which Brandi approaches his subject is admirable, and his wide historical learning enables him to move easily with the emperor from one nation to another. The weakness of the book is that we get only glimpses of the internal life of the people. The domestic problems of Spain and the Netherlands and the deep religious conflict in Germany appear only at moments when they disturb the plans of the emperor and then almost exclusively in the haphazard form of single and isolated individual opponents. The author would probably reply that Charles conceived of the political issues in such a personal manner. But there is no reason why the modern historian should accept this viewpoint. We can arrive at a just appraisal of Charles's statesmanship only by a fuller treatment of the institutional and social forces of the age and by a closer study of the new national societies and their philosophies of life. The reader should feel the contrast between the unalterable personality of Charles and the new historic movements following their own determined course. In the light of these events Charles would not turn out to be a supreme figure, though his stubbornness and his great staying power made him one of the most distinguished personalities of his century.

By focusing his attention upon diplomatic and dynastic history Brandi attaches too great a historical significance to the actions of the ruler. In fact a good many of Charles's moves are less important than his personality as such, which needs comparison with other social types and schools of thought to gain its true proportions and contours. Social and intellectual history could add realistic color to the portrait which emerges from Brandi's pen. But through its able literary presentation, which avoids the pitfalls of false hero worship, and through its rich documentation the work will remain for a long time to come the starting-point of all research on the greatest Habsburg monarch.

Yale University.

Hajo Holborn.

European Civilization: Its Origin and Development. By various contributors, under the direction of EDWARD EYRE. Volume VI, *Political and*

Cultural History of Europe since the Reformation. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. 1624. \$7.50.)

FOUR sections of four hundred pages each (which represents the scope of this fat book) should be sufficient to give a comprehensive, a well-organized, and an illuminating interpretation of European civilization since the seventeenth century. Unfortunately, this work is in organization conventional, in emphasis distorted, and in interpretation limited to the authoritative Catholic point of view.

Nearly half the volume is devoted to "A Chronicle of Social and Political Events". It is difficult to see why the word "social" should have been included, since the chronicle is strictly political. It is also as strictly chronological as possible, passing from one country to another with such disconcerting frequency that all sense of continuity is lost. With these limitations the chronicle is succinct, clear, and accurate enough as to facts, although the interspersed judgments, when any are ventured, are usually conventional and sometimes unwarranted—such, for example, as the judgment of Metternich and the Holy Alliance. A chronicle of political events is no doubt always useful for reference, but after all there are plenty of facts, more conveniently arranged, in Ploetz's *Epitome*.

The last half of the volume is devoted to what we must suppose to be "cultural" as differentiated from "political" history. It contains eleven chapters, "The Paraguay Missions", "Ireland's Place in European Civilization", "The Jews", "The European Tradition in Literature", "The Education of Peoples", "The Exegetical Method of History", "The Scientific Method of Natural Science", "Philosophy", "The Decline of Authority", "The Catholic Church and Modern Civilization", and "Non-Papal Christianity". That by far the longest chapter is the one on the Church, and that the Paraguay Missions should have been elevated to the dignity of special treatment, is significant of the Catholic bias that pervades this interpretation of modern civilization. The chief value of these chapters is indeed not their interpretation of modern history but their presentation, for those who are not already familiar with it, of a nonpolemical, fairly liberal, yet frankly dogmatic version of the Catholic attitude towards modern history.

This attitude is well illustrated by Sir Ambrose Fleming's treatment of modern science. His long chapter is devoted chiefly to an accurate cataloguing of the principal scientific discoveries since the sixteenth century, ending with a qualified approval of the achievements of modern science. The qualification has to do with three "errors" in fundamental assumptions made by "many scientific minds". The first error is the postulate of "Intelligibility in Nature as the test of truth", which leads to the rejection of Creation "because it is said to be inconceivable". The second error is an unwarranted extension of continuity in nature, which requires us to suppose that the processes we observe in the present operated in the past

also. The third error is the unwarranted extension of the mechanistic principle, which rules out the "true fundamental idea" that "the universe is . . . the manifestation of a Supreme Intelligence". An examination of the presuppositions of modern science is indeed worth while, and Whitehead has occupied himself with it to some purpose. But an examination which is confined to rejecting what is inconsistent with Catholic dogma is at the same intellectual level and springs from the same motive as an examination which is confined to rejecting what does not square with the dogma of Dialectic Materialism—or any other dogma.

Historical method, at the hands of M. C. D'Arcy, suffers the same fate. While it has greatly advanced knowledge, he writes, the work of most historians, particularly those engaged in Biblical exegesis, has been vitiated by certain fundamental errors implicit in the historical method. The chief result of these errors is that most historians have "ceased to think of the supernatural as possible; and this defect is like a beam in the eye which prevents them from arriving at the true estimate and interpretation of that Providence which has guided man from the beginning towards the great and final mystery of the Incarnate Word". One of those instances, perhaps, in which the beam proves less obstructive than the mote! "The Decline of Authority" is a fascinating subject which, treated with grasp and insight, should prove most illuminating. Mr. D'Arcy makes no more of it, however, than that "the change over from the authority of God to the authority of the people . . . has been responsible inevitably for the decline and collapse of authority in every direction". Even this theme, properly treated, might have yielded much. But as Bagehot said of Gibbon that the style of his autobiography indicated that he could not distinguish between himself and the Roman Empire, so we may say of Mr. D'Arcy that in his treatment of authority he fails to distinguish between God and the pope. But it is in the long chapter on "The Catholic Church and Modern Civilization" that the pope becomes the measure of all things: Pius IX did not condemn modern civilization in the *Syllabus*, as is so often said, but only those claims which are detrimental to civilization rightly understood. In this chapter, as the author, Mr. E. C. Butler, frankly says, the theme is "the indisputable, up-to-date, authoritative teaching of the Catholic Church by the mouths of her Supreme Pastors and Teachers—a teaching that it would behoove the whole world to listen to".

Perhaps it would. But in understanding the world in which we live, it helps us little to be told that another one, now irretrievably lost, was better.

Cornell University.

CARL BECKER.

European History since 1870. By F. LEE BENNS, Indiana University. (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 925. \$4.50.)

From Sedan to Stresa: Europe since 1870. By VICTOR L. ALBJERG, Professor of European History at Purdue University, and MARGUERITE HALL ALBJERG. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1937. Pp. xxii, 1187. \$4.50.)

A History of Europe from the Reformation to the Present Day. By FERDINAND SCHEVILL, Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago. New Edition. (New York: Harcourt, Brace, and Company. 1938. Pp. xi, 819. \$4.00.)

Readings in Modern and Contemporary History. By ARTHUR N. COOK, Professor of History, Temple University. [The Century History Series.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 361. \$2.50.)

THERE is frequent complaint of overproduction of textbooks. From the standpoint of the historical profession and the needs of the schools it is indeed scarcely necessary that every publishing house should have its own history of every country and every period. But there is another side to the question. Every decade should have its own histories, either entirely new works or corrected and amplified new editions. So swift is the stream of events that none of the books touched on in this review are written as they would have been a few years ago, even with respect to events that took place before that time. It is not merely a question of new evidence, new opinions, and new references; it is quite as much an affair of arrangement and perspective, the sorting out of the enduringly influential event from the transient incident.

Professor Benns's *European History since 1870* emphasizes chiefly the period since 1914, which occupies three fifths of the book. The narrative is factual and almost wholly political. There are very few expressions of opinion. The bibliographies are exceptionally full. This book and the same author's earlier *Europe since 1914* are probably the most purely objective texts on the recent period that have appeared. His self-restraint does not always make for easy reading, but it has value in a work of reference. A few errors that had crept into the early editions of *Europe since 1914*, such as the definition of "Third Reich", are corrected in the present volume (p. 668, n.).

The Albjergs' *From Sedan to Stresa* is a book of the same general type and of about the same length. It devotes approximately half of its pages to the period before 1914, but it does not contain more political material on the prewar years; the difference lies in the insertion of chapters on science and industry. Neither book attempts to say much about art, literature, and general cultural developments. A feature of the Albjerg volume is the number of statistical tables, such as those on the fluctuating value of the mark (p. 889) and on the number of agricultural laborers required before and after the development of machine industry (p. 470).

Professor Schevill's *History of Europe from the Reformation to the*

Present Day is the revision of an earlier work which has been long admired and much employed in college and university teaching. Unlike Benns and the Albjergs, Professor Schevill expresses his own opinion freely on a number of topics. No one doing this can expect, of course, to command universal assent. The present reviewer, for example, cannot but think that in discussing the war guilt program the book lays insufficient stress on the importance of handling the Near Eastern question in the traditional "Concert of Europe" fashion instead of by the unilateral action of Austria. Had this point been conceded, as Britain, Russia, and France all preferred, there need have been no war at all in 1914. Nor will everyone assent to the author's disparagement of idealistic philosophy (p. 766) or his Ruskinian indignation at eclectic architecture (p. 774). The book is well illustrated and attractively prepared.

Professor Cook's *Readings in Modern and Contemporary History* is not a "source book" in the usual sense. It is rather an illustrative series of chapter essays taken from present-day historians on the topics of recent history.

The University of Michigan.

PRESTON SLOSSON.

The Marian Exiles: A Study in the Origins of Elizabethan Puritanism. By CHRISTINA HALLOWELL GARRETT. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 388. \$6.50.)

THIS is a valuable book. It consists in the main of what Miss Garrett calls a Census of the Marian Exiles, that is to say, brief biographical sketches containing all that she has been able to find out about the life in exile of those English men and women who, for political or religious reasons, left England during Mary's reign and found refuge on the Continent. Altogether there are 472 separate entries, but since in 100 cases the entry includes a man and his wife Miss Garrett has taken separate account of 572 refugees, without counting children and servants. She has located, in all, 788 persons, which comes near to the 800 which was John Foxe's rough estimate of the number of those who fled.

Miss Garrett's researches have been confined in the main to German and Swiss archives. She has found relatively little material of significance which is not already in print, but much of what is in print has been neglected by students of English history. Her examination of the archives of Strasbourg has been fruitful, and she prints, for the first time completely, a list of English students at the University of Basel during the years of Mary's reign. It is to be regretted that she did not have an opportunity to examine carefully the archives of Embden, a haven for religious refugees from many quarters. Dr. Hagedorn pointed out many years ago (*Ostfrieslands Handel und Schifffahrt im 16. Jahrhundert*, Berlin, 1910, p. 123, n. 2) that there was good promise of material there on the Marian refugees. But Miss Garrett has this in mind to do later.

She has added considerably to our knowledge of the lives of many Englishmen who were to be prominent figures in the reign of Queen Elizabeth. It is to be noted as a rough index of their importance that of the 472 of whom she treats, 87 were significant enough to find places for themselves in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Many of these biographies will have to be revised in the light of her findings.

Her objective, as she declares frankly in her preface, was to discover "the origin of the cabal against the Queen which certainly existed in Elizabeth's first parliament" (p. vii). Unfortunately we shall have to wait for her promised second volume before we can learn much about this cabal, but this much she vouchsafes, that it was a Protestant cabal and that it found expression in the parliamentary debates over the Act of Supremacy. She is convinced that the origin of this cabal is to be found in the Continental history of the Marian exiles.

It may be there. This much she is convinced is there, to wit: that the migration originated before, not after, the Marian persecution; that it was premeditated, directed, and financed by a group of stay-at-home Englishmen; and that the promoting spirit behind it all was Sir William Cecil.

We admit at once that the migration began before the persecution, though we suspect that the fear of persecution was a strong impelling force. We admit that stay-at-home Englishmen were interested in these emigrants and contributed something to their support. There is some reason to believe that this support was paid into a common purse and distributed by a common treasurer. But Miss Garrett presents no convincing evidence to sustain her views about Sir William Cecil's part in the business. After Elizabeth's accession Cecil was appointed one of a committee of four to make plans for the "alteration of religion". By some logic of her own Miss Garrett concludes that these same four at the beginning of Mary's reign "formed themselves into a kind of executive council for Protestant affairs" (p. 16) and directed the Marian migration. The only evidence she presents for this view of the matter is a list which John Strype gathered together of twenty-six men and women who assisted the refugees with money and clothing and provisions, and neither Cecil's name nor the name of any other of the committee of four appears on that list.

We suspect that a close examination of Cecil's career during Mary's reign will reveal the fact that he was rapidly making his adjustments to the Roman Catholic order of things and might well, if Mary had lived longer, have won for himself a prominent place in her government. Like Bacon, his brother-in-law, he was of the willow and not of the oak. Of course he had friends among the emigrants; his father-in-law and his brother-in-law were prominent among them. And he evidently maintained his contacts. But that is a long way short of the position to which Miss Garrett assigns him.

No one doubts that the Marian emigrants played a large part in the

establishment of Protestantism under Elizabeth, and it will not be surprising if Miss Garrett is able to prove that they opposed the Act of Supremacy because it did not go far enough. But we do not need to assume on that account that the migration was "one of the most astute manoeuvres that has ever carried a defeated political party to ultimate power" (p. 1).

It is a pity that Miss Garrett has not been content to present her findings without imposing upon them more than they can well sustain. Students of Tudor history will find much of great value in her *Census of Exiles*. But they should be careful to distinguish between her facts and her hypotheses. The distinction is not always quite clear in her own mind.

The University of Pennsylvania.

CONYERS READ.

Le secret de Marie Stuart. Par ROGER CHAUVIRÉ. (Paris: Armand Colin. 1937. Pp. xii, 317. 30 fr.)

PROBABLY no man worthy of the name, even though he be a historian, can treat the career of Mary Stuart without being emotionally affected by its romance and its tragedy. Religious partisanship, national sentiment, Mary's fabulous reign and magnificent death—all these combine to quicken the pulses of the most sober scholars and to make scientific objectivity largely an illusion.

The present work succeeds better than most in avoiding the pitfalls which beset a writer on such a theme, and this in spite of the fact that it is intended to appeal to the general reader as well as to the serious student. M. Chauviré very wisely points out that Mary, like Napoleon, would not be the legend she has become in the pages of history without her dramatic captivity and death. It is, however, a little unfortunate that the author tends towards the conception of Mary as an inexperienced, warmhearted woman, driven to desperate measures by treacherous intrigues at home and implacable persecution from England. Elizabethan policy toward Scotland has been nowhere so clearly examined as in Conyers Read's *Mr. Secretary Walsingham*, but this book is surprisingly omitted from M. Chauviré's bibliography. As a matter of fact, Mary's talents were of a very high order. She set herself an impossible task: the overthrow of Protestantism and the restoration of Catholicism in the northern kingdom; the reduction of the feudal Scottish nobility and the establishment of a Renaissance monarchy on the Continental model; the deposition of Elizabeth as a heretic and the ultimate restoration of Catholicism in England with herself as its champion. The wonder is not that she failed, but that she came as near success as she did. She was a worthy antagonist for her great rival to the south, and Elizabeth did well for herself and for England to take her seriously. It is this aspect of Mary's career more than any other which needs elucidation at the hands of future historians, and that gap the present volume, good as it is, does not fill.

After Jean Héritier's excellent chapter on the Casket Letters (1934) as well as M. Chauviré's own article in the *Revue historique* (1934), it was difficult to see what more remained to be said on the subject. We have here a fresh and lively discussion of this always fascinating problem, though no startling discovery was to be expected.

M. Chauviré is eminently readable and has a firm grasp of the sources and a wide acquaintance with most of the important secondary material. His study is a worthy and valuable addition to that array of volumes which, through three and a half centuries, has confirmed the prophecy made by Mary Stuart herself: "Dans ma fin est mon commencement."

Harvard University.

EDWARD A. WHITNEY.

Alexandre Farnèse, prince de Parme, gouverneur général des Pays-Bas, 1545-1592. Par LÉON VAN DER ESSEN, professeur à l'Université de Louvain. Tome V, 1585-1592. Avec une Étude iconographique par FRANCIS KELLY (Londres). (Brussels: Nouvelle Société d'Éditions. 1937. Pp. xiv, 424.

THIS volume completes the admirable biography of Alexander Farnese by Professor Van der Essen. Although it covers only seven years in the life of Farnese, it is the most important of the five impressive volumes, partly because the subject covered has been treated for the first time by a scholar who consulted all the available primary sources and partly because the critical years immediately preceding and following the defeat of the Invincible Armada formed an important period in the political history of Europe, in which the prince (since 1587 called duke) of Parma played a role of major significance.

The author throws much new light upon the career of Farnese and upon the foreign policies of both the king of Spain and the English queen. On the other hand, lack of space or of time appears to have prevented the writer from consulting some of the primary sources that illuminate the aims of the Dutch rebels. The struggle was continued very largely as the result of the policy adopted by Philip II, who was determined to extinguish Protestantism in his dominions. Although the Dutch occasionally insisted upon the maintenance of their ancient political liberties and the departure of the Spanish troops (p. 206), the narrative supports the view presented in the preface of the *Calendar of State Papers, Foreign, 1585-1586*: "It is very probable that if he [the prince of Parma] had been able to offer the more Protestant provinces 'freedom of exercise of religion' as well as 'freedom of conscience', they would have accepted the terms" (p. 18).

Farnese was unfortunately the victim of the misdirected foreign policy of Philip II, who refused to listen to Farnese's advice when in the beginning of 1588 the Armada was equipped and when a little later the incompetent Medina Sidonia was placed in command of the fleet. Farnese realized from

the beginning that the enterprise was bound to fail, for he needed far more money than had been forthcoming. Moreover, the unwieldy Spanish galleons were ships of the wrong type for the undertaking planned by the king of Spain. What was still worse, the latter decided after the assassination of King Henry III of France in 1589 to sacrifice the attempted conquest of the northern Netherlands to intervention in France. The last four years of Farnese were therefore filled with disappointment.

The value of this volume is enhanced by twelve beautiful plates and an excellent iconographical study by Mr. Francis Kelly. The documentation leaves very little to be desired; the absence of an index is compensated for by an extensive table of contents; typographical errors are very few in number, and those that have been noted by the reviewer are not important.

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

The Last Elizabethan: Sir John Coke, 1563-1644. By DOROTHEA COKE. (London: John Murray. 1937. Pp. xvi, 322. 15s.)

The Life, Letters, and Writings of John Hoskyns, 1566-1638. By LOUISE BROWN OSBORN. [Yale Studies in English.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 321. \$3.50.)

SIR John Coke left behind him one of the essentials of a good biography—namely, a voluminous correspondence. On the whole, the authoress has taken full advantage of her opportunities. She shows that Coke was an excellent administrator: clearheaded, industrious, scrupulously honest, and loyal to a master whose policy did not always command his approval. Much of the value of the book, so far as political history is concerned, consists in seeing how the statecraft of James I and Charles I appeared to a devoted servant. Those who wish to vindicate Buckingham and his two royal masters from parliamentary strictures will derive no support from this work. Because neither of the early Stuarts was able to cut his coat according to his cloth, Coke was condemned to a hopeless struggle to maintain a strong navy. A number of letters here cited show how grievously the seamen suffered through lack of pay and food fit to eat. When dealing with Coke's thorough reform of the post office, reference might well have been made to the valuable work of J. C. Hemmeon. Apart from politics, Coke was a fine type of gentleman, devoted to his family and attached to rural life.

John Hoskyns well deserved rescuing from the obscurity into which he had fallen. A minor poet, the author of a prosaic treatise entitled *Directions for Speech and Style*, a friend of the great, a member of parliament who was imprisoned for his bold opposition to the court, and a sergeant-at-law, he was, as an all-round man, a typical Elizabethan. His verse, whether in Latin or English, is mediocre, though occasionally amusing and witty. He was a good letter writer. Perhaps the most interesting passage in his letters

to his wife concerns his hope that his legal practice would yield him more than £200 a year. The thorough research on which the biography of Hoskyns is based and the careful editing of all his literary remains deserve high praise. The only source of information that Miss Osborn seems to have overlooked is the collection of Bridgewater manuscripts in the Huntington Library. Hoskyns had a little correspondence with the Earl of Bridgewater about the sheriffs and legal officials of Pembrokeshire, Cardiganshire, and Carmarthanshire.

2. *The Huntington Library.*

GODFREY DAVIES.

The Theory of Religious Liberty in England, 1603-1639. By T. LYON, Sometime Scholar at King's College, Assistant Master at Eton College. [The Thirlwall Prize Essay, 1937.] (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. viii, 241. \$2.25.)

MR. LYON has contributed a well balanced and critical discussion of the development of the theory of religious liberty in England during the early Stuart period. Grounded in a thorough knowledge of the historical setting of the era, the essay analyzes a difficult and complex subject with clarity, precision, and fine balance.

The survey of the historical development of the idea of toleration provides an adequate summary of the problem, and Mr. Lyon exhibits an admirable knowledge of the philosophical questions involved. It may be suggested that he deals in rather summary fashion with Hooker, who may be held to have stated in classical form the historical attitude of the Church of England on the manifold problems arising from dissent and to have framed a noble and tolerant conception of that church. It would also appear that the author detects Socinian influences in England and in Holland at somewhat too early a date. Though vague charges of Socinianism were occasionally leveled at persons not acceptable to the orthodox, there is little evidence of ordered Socinian thought in England before the revolutionary period.

A skillful treatment of governmental policy during the first four decades of the century provides the foundation upon which the more detailed discussion of the various schools of thought is based. The necessary brevity of Mr. Lyon's consideration of Stuart policy during this critical period probably accounts for his failure to deal adequately with the consequences of the shifting of the position of the Church of England from the bases which Elizabeth had maintained and Hooker had defined. The vigor of the Laudian policy accounted not only for a steady worsening of the political situation but for a rapid hardening of Puritanism into extremism. England was in 1640 divided into two extremist camps in religion, and, as always happens in such periods of crisis, the moderate position, which Mr. Lyon reviews with such sympathetic fullness, was destroyed in the harsh clash of

conflicting systems of orthodoxy. It might also be indicated in this connection that Puritanism became, under the pressure of a short-sighted governmental policy, a symbol of resistance which attracted several groups and many individuals of very diverse character. Sectarian lines became blurred and indistinct; Puritanism was from 1620 to 1640 a coalition movement whose leadership was Calvinistic but which included allies that were to slough off at the moment when pressure was relaxed. Sectarian divisions were hardly as sharply defined as Mr. Lyon would suggest during this confused and nervous era.

The author's consideration of Latitudinarian thought is a valuable and impressive synthesis which displays thorough mastery of the materials, a balanced judgment, and a tempered enthusiasm for what was surely the noblest group of spirits that England has ever known. These men, Falkland, Hales, Chillingworth, and the rest, counseled moderation and tolerance as the finest attribute of the human mind and as the condition of spiritual peace in England; they were destroyed by a civil war which was to hasten the triumph of toleration in England, though that toleration came to rest upon bases which the last of the English Humanists would have declared ignoble.

Scripps College.

W. K. JORDAN.

Essays, Historical & Literary. By SIR CHARLES FIRTH. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 247. \$5.00.)

No single memorial volume could adequately reflect the breadth and variety of the work of Sir Charles Firth, the many-sided scholar who died in February, 1936 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 608). Yet this collection of reprinted essays, primarily devoted to topics which bridge the fields of literature and history, admirably suggests a good many of the other interests of its distinguished author. We read of the ballads and broadsides of Shakespeare's time, of Sir Walter Raleigh, Milton, Clarendon, and Bishop Burnet as historians, of John Bunyan and his allegories, and of the political allusions in *Gulliver's Travels*. In so doing, it is true, we find little to remind us of the writer's teaching activities, his editorial work, and his interest in diplomatic history. But the sample study of balladry brings to mind the many others which Sir Charles made. There is a dash of military history in the account of Bunyan, a bit of Scottish lore in the analysis of Burnet, and more than a little of the Interregnum in the essays on Milton and Clarendon. With a little stretch of the imagination Gulliver may stand for the nautical side of the author's interests. Mr. Godfrey Davies, who performed the editorial labor of love for this volume, has chosen well.

Sir Charles belonged to the school of modern historians which places factual accuracy before emphasis on interpretation. Though a convinced liberal himself, he did not feel it necessary to argue the merits of his case.

His practice consisted in being sure of his facts and then letting them speak for themselves. It is therefore both natural and appropriate that under his able tutelage we can here witness the gradual development of modern critical standards. In Raleigh's work Prometheus, Dido, and the Argonauts are accepted without question as historical characters. A generation later Milton is revealed as hesitating over Brute and the legendary kings of Britain but finally including them on the ground that they had "received approbation from so many". In Burnet, however, with his passion for printing in full—albeit not always accurately—his original sources, we find the dawning of the era to which Sir Charles himself belonged. Burnet was biased enough, it is true, but he understood historical method and the obligations of the historian in the matter of citing his proofs. It is a great pity that the learned critic nowhere mentioned the bishop's splendid work in discovering and making partially available the famous Zurich letters, which have shed so much light on the political and ecclesiastical history of sixteenth century England. In thus putting foreign archives under contribution to the cause of English history Burnet anticipated Froude and his successors by a century and a half. Indeed this feat was, in many ways, the most modern of all his accomplishments.

The author also brings out quite clearly the attitude of the seventeenth century historians that their work should be useful as well as entertaining, their conviction that men can be taught to act wisely in the present by learning the lessons of the past. When the essays were written, thirty or forty years ago, this attitude seemed out of date and possibly a trifle humorous. In an age less certain of the ultimate triumph of the values it cherishes these earnest contenders for their various faiths seem rather more respectable. If Bunyan would probably have classed most of the prominent writers of a later day "with Talkative, the son of Saywell, who dwelt in Prating Row and discoursed glibly of the history and mystery of things", perhaps that should now be food for thought rather than amusement.

The University of Chicago.

M. M. KNAPPEN.

Life in a Noble Household, 1641-1700. By GLADYS SCOTT THOMSON, Somerville College, Oxford. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1937. Pp. 406. \$4.00.)

Glanerought and the Petty-Fitzmaurices. By the MARQUIS OF LANSDOWNE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 225. \$5.00.)

Eighteenth-Century London Life. By ROSAMOND BAYNE-POWELL. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1938. Pp. vii, 385. \$3.75.)

Miss Weeton: Journal of a Governess, 1807-1811. Edited by EDWARD HALL. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1936. Pp. xxi, 351. \$3.50.)

THERE is always a question in that still ill-defined, ill-organized, and too often ill-written department of what is called "social history" as to the point of view, the materials, the mode of presentation, and the emphasis to

be laid on this aspect or on that. The field is still in what may be called the Herodotean rather than the Thucydidean stage of its development. It has not been long since there was published a long and elaborate account of the Victorian era which, while it stressed the cost of living of Manchester operatives and London clerks, omitted any save the most trivial mention of the men who made the Age of Victoria what it was. From its pages, and from too many others like them, one might gather that society, both in its static and its dynamic aspects, was composed almost, if not quite, entirely of the submerged tenth, whose chief chronicler is the statistician.

These are not books of that kind. Miss Thomson's volume, like V. Sackville-West's account of Knole, which appeared some years ago, gives us an admirable picture of the private life and activities of William, fifth Earl and first Duke of Bedford, who, unlike his son, the "martyr" Lord Russell, played no important part in politics. Drawn from the household accounts of Woburn Abbey and Bedford House, it provides a remarkable survey of life in a noble household in the seventeenth century. The volume by the Marquis of Lansdowne, though it is of a different type and covers a far longer period, does a like service for Ireland. It is, in effect, a sketch of the Petty-Fitzmaurice family and its activities from the days of Sir William Petty and the Down Survey to the nineteen-twenties. It is naturally less minute; it is far more anecdotal and less antiquarian than historical, and it provides an infinity of side lights and illustrations of Irish history for some three centuries.

Miss Bayne-Powell's volume is again of a somewhat different character. It is more like the old "microcosm" which was once so fashionable. It partakes of the gossipy, antiquarian, anecdotal history, or rather historical description, which has been popular for generations and is likely to be popular for generations more. It breathes the very spirit of the eighteenth century; it is lively and entertaining, yet it is, as well, extremely informative, good history as well as good literature. In a sense Mr. Hall's edition of the journal of the governess, "Miss Weeton", that amazing bluestocking whose epistolary production for the four years from 1807 to 1811 fill more than three hundred pages, supplements Miss Bayne-Powell's volume. That obscure teacher, whose income never rose above a hundred pounds a year, who spent most of her unhappy life in the country, who poured out her soul in letters destined less for their recipients than for posterity, has in a curious fashion found her niche. She was a gifted but difficult person, introspective and acidulous. Only as a picture of such a person in almost incredibly unpleasant circumstances in the early nineteenth century can this be considered as a contribution to history. How little the outside world meant to her is evidenced by the fact that the only reference to Napoleon in these eventful years is the comment, "Miss Chorley! you are to this house what Buonaparte is to Europe—a scourge".

Yet with all their differences from each other, these volumes are alike in illustrating the difficulty of writing "social" history. For the history of human society is composed of so many and so infinitely different materials, so many individuals doing so many different things simultaneously and wholly independently, that it is difficult to make such generalizations as are, perhaps, too common in political history. If and when a genius appears, able to find a common denominator amid all this mass of detail, to discover a clue—if there be one—to the infinity of individual activities whence is drawn the "history" of society, such volumes as these will provide materials for that Protean study.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

W. C. ABBOTT.

The Agricultural Revolution in Norfolk. By NAOMI RICHES, Associate Professor of History, Goucher College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 194. \$2.00.)

DR. RICHES provides us with a careful and readable study of the rise of capitalistic agriculture in England. She is somewhat more interested in the technique of production than in the buying of supplies and labor or the selling of the grain and livestock. She has made exhaustive research in secondary and primary material both at home and abroad, has come to know the soil, the people, and the buildings of Norfolk, and has made effective use of the evidence collected.

The priority of Norfolk in the agricultural revolution is clearly set forth, as are the soil conditions and land tenure in the county. A chapter is devoted to the high prosperity of the farmers and landlords and the distress of the laborers. And the county itself—after teaching England how to farm—lost in the race to other counties with a greater endowment of fertility.

Dr. Riches is careful to point out that we should not confuse Tull's horse-hoeing husbandry with the crop rotation practiced by the leaders and popularized by Arthur Young. It is this crop rotation which characterizes the Norfolk System. She dwells at length on the factors which gave to Norfolk such remarkable leadership. Why did a county with a thin soil and inhospitable climate show to England and to the world the way to successful agriculture? She quotes a medieval poetic description of the county summarized as follows:

"Satan on the road to Hell
Ruined Norfolk as he fell."

Well, how did Norfolk redeem its past? The author is at great pains to answer this question. In the first place, Norfolk had no rigid three-field system of husbandry to overcome. Secondly, it had the inspiring influence of immigrants from Holland and Flanders—lands where agriculture was

nothing if not progressive. Thirdly, there was a local and metropolitan market available for the chief products. Fourthly, Norfolk had the good fortune to possess outstanding leaders in agriculture. Fifthly, there was a growing demand for one of its chief products—wheat—as England's population increased and its people became industrialized.

A revolution was occurring in eighteenth century agricultural management. We should like to know more about the motives and other drives of the leaders. Their very words would be pertinent. Their experiments in the technique of production are clear enough. Not so much is known about controls and co-ordination of jobs. That capital was invested in the new husbandry is obvious. We should like to know more about this. The author indicates that there was little investment in machinery, and therein she points to a contrast with the contemporary Industrial Revolution.

Harvard University.

N. S. B. GRAS.

Defoe. By JAMES SUTHERLAND. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 300. \$3.50.)

Jonathan Swift. By BERTRAM NEWMAN. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1937. Pp. 432. \$3.50.)

FEW great literary figures of the early eighteenth century have in recent years received more attention than Defoe and Swift. Two men more unlike could scarcely be imagined, yet both possessed genius as political journalists. Swift is probably the outstanding British satirist, and no one of his time could approach Defoe in forcefulness of homely narrative. Each of them proved invaluable to political leaders, and it would be exceedingly difficult to decide which was the more indispensable.

Defoe's political services covered a much longer period, and were far more varied in character than Swift's. He started as a champion of William III; three years later he was Harley's secret service agent; for two and a half years he was the trusted henchman of Godolphin; then he returned as Harley's servant, only to go over to the Whigs for a half dozen years at the death of Anne, before turning to the romances with which his name is most frequently associated. Swift's political career in England was much shorter, a matter of only four years, in which he served the Tory ministry. His work upon the *Examiner* was noteworthy, but his *Conduct of the Allies* was probably the most influential political tract ever written in England and was largely responsible for the approval of the Treaty of Utrecht by parliament. Both men served Harley with great fidelity, and both were rather shabbily treated by him, at least in a financial way. Yet both men insisted upon remaining loyal to their patron in his days of disgrace.

Mr. Newman's account of Swift's early life and his later years in Ireland is very well done. His treatment of Swift's relations to Stella and Vanessa is both sensible and impartial. *Gulliver's Travels* and the *Drapier's*

Letters are most satisfactorily discussed. At times the author's interpretation of Swift tends towards the Freudian, although he insists that Swift was neither a syphilitic nor a misanthrope. He is probably correct in assuming that Swift suffered from Ménière's disease, but he may overemphasize its influence upon Swift's career. In his account Swift most certainly takes an unconscionable time dying.

Mr. Newman's biography is based largely upon the earlier biographies, the *Journal to Stella*, and the better known letters and pamphlets of Swift. Like its predecessors it is weakest on Swift's work as a political writer in England and reveals no profound understanding of the highly involved political intrigues of those critical years. Any satisfactory treatment of that part of Swift's life must be based upon a highly detailed knowledge of the political and literary history of the times. The scholarly studies on Addison and Steele now in train by Professors Blanchard, Bond, and Graham, as well as the recent works upon Pope and Dr. Arbuthnot, should materially assist not only in the proper interpretation of the literary careers of Swift and Defoe but in explaining the political policy of Oxford and Bolingbroke as well.

Professor Sutherland's biography is more scholarly than Mr. Newman's, and it seems quite as interesting. His judgments on Defoe's long and varied career seem to be impartial and eminently characterized by common sense. As a result, both his heroes, Defoe and Harley, are shown to have feet of clay. He demonstrates the modern trend of Defoe's economic theories. Defoe denied the existence of overproduction, frowned on national self-sufficiency, and insisted that "manufacturers must learn to regulate production and distribution" (p. 129). This work is exceptionally free from errors and is in general the most satisfying biography of Defoe that has yet appeared, although it betrays in places an ignorance of some relevant historical monographs.

One might take issue with Professor Sutherland in his treatment of a few topics. It is possible that he errs in attributing to Louis XIV a sincere desire for peace in 1709-10 and in accepting as accurate Defoe's estimate of two million Dissenters in England. The author does not seem to emphasize sufficiently the importance of the *Review* and the *Tour* as historical documents of the first order for the social and economic life of Great Britain. Perhaps the former was, in one sense, "a sort of coffee-house harangue on current affairs" rather than a newspaper, but its significance was very great.

In one respect both biographies are irritating to the scholar. The notes are tucked away at the end of the volumes, to the great inconvenience of those who may wish to consult them. Is this growing practice a concession to the printers or to the excessive cost of high grade printing or to both? Must we put up with it as a necessary evil?

Indiana University.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Lamoignon de Malesherbes, Defender and Reformer of the French Monarchy, 1721-1794. By JOHN M. S. ALLISON. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 177. \$2.50.)

MALESHERBES was one of those secondary figures whose lives and ideas probably throw more light on the temper of an age than do men of the very first rank. It is no doubt dangerous to assume that he is "typical" even of the *noblesse de robe*, to which he belonged; nevertheless he is probably a better example of how ordinary upper-class intellectuals of the France of Louis XVI felt about political and social problems than a genius like Voltaire or Rousseau would be. There was nothing of importance on Malesherbes in English and very little in French. All those interested in the last years of the old regime will therefore be grateful to Professor Allison for this brief biography. It is based on those Tocqueville manuscripts which have already served another Yale scholar, Professor Pierson, so well in his study of Tocqueville and Beaumont in America, and on a good deal of other unpublished materials. It is a clear and straightforward account of Malesherbes's life, emphasizing those points of major interest to us—his relations with the encyclopaedists and with the book trade in general, his activities in the *cour des aides*, his famous defense of Louis XVI—and in spite of its brevity, it manages to cite many interesting passages direct from Malesherbes. It will prove a useful introduction to a study of the man and his times.

But it is no more than an introduction. There is perhaps something ungrateful in a reviewer's asking of an author something he has not tried to do, but here at least there was an obvious opportunity to do a great deal more. In the first place, Professor Allison has not used footnotes, which, in view of his reliance on manuscript materials, is unfortunate. He has provided an excellent bibliographical appendix, and there can be no question of his accuracy and good faith. Nevertheless, for the scholar who would like to follow out some of the paths he opens up, the absence of specific references is inconvenient. Most of us have sinned in this matter, influenced perhaps by contemporary publishers' phobias about the general reader and his dislike of footnotes. It is time we reasserted the best traditions of the profession in regard to the necessary apparatus of scholarship.

More important is Professor Allison's failure to set Malesherbes in the framework of the social and intellectual history of the time. We get tantalizing glimpses, as when he quotes Malesherbes as writing, "I hate the Romans because they created the unhappiness of the world; I despise them because they did not know how to be happy, because they preferred a false, foolish, and cruel glory to a solid and lasting one". But on the whole Professor Allison sticks pretty closely to orthodox political biography. He could not have done much else within the physical limits he set himself. But his materials were evidently so rich that he might have done much

more, might have helped us to solve some of the real problems the old regime still offers—the class structure of the *noblesse de robe*, the influence of the intellectuals on the *esprit frondeur* so evident among the lawyers, the breakdown among the French ruling classes of the ability to rule, the extent to which the career open to talents existed in the last years of the old regime, as well as a number of more detailed and special problems, such as the exact position of men like Malesherbes on tax reform. This last would need a study not only of what Malesherbes thought about taxation—Professor Allison supplies that briefly—but also of just how taxation really worked. We are not asking for an acceptance of the royalist historians' position that the tax system was altogether just and efficient but simply for a recognition that the protests of the intellectuals against the system were probably not accurate descriptions of fact and for a careful and objective account of what facts can be ascertained. This Professor Allison has not given us. His study never gets beyond Malesherbes's own words, never tries to correlate his words and actions with a complex social reality.

Harvard University.

CRANE BRINTON.

Babeuf, 1760-1797, et la Conjuration des égaux. Par GÉRARD WALTER.

[Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris: Payot. 1937. Pp. 262. 25 fr.)

BABEUF, as M. Walter explains in his preface, has two claims to distinction. He was the leader of the last popular movement of the French Revolution—an attempted revolt against the Directory. And, more important, as this uprising was the first of the time to use the methods of direct action in order to put into effect principles definitely and basically socialistic, Babeuf has come to be regarded as the first modern socialist. His fame was due in part to the book by his disciple Buonarroti on the "Conjuration des égaux". This work helped to promote a cult of Babouvisme and became its gospel, and, furthered by the Revolution of 1848, by the founders of the first Internationale, and by successive generations of Marxists, a real legend developed. It is the purpose of M. Walter "to confront the image created by successive generations with the reality pure and simple".

Unlike other biographers of Babeuf, M. Walter takes it for granted that anyone interested in Babeuf will have some knowledge of the course of the French Revolution and of the development of socialistic ideas. He therefore concentrates on Babeuf himself. Beginning with his early life he shows how Babeuf, even before the Revolution, was dreaming dreams of a society based on perfect equality and meditating on ways of overthrowing the feudal regime and putting his Utopia into practice. From 1785 on he wrote and agitated and intrigued, and because of his excessive zeal and lack of discretion he was frequently in difficulties with friends as well as foes.

With Babeuf's career as editor of the *Tribun du Peuple*, the exponent of a really socialistic reform, M. Walter deals in more detail, especially

with the climax of that career when, taking advantage of the discontent and dislocation under the Directory, Babeuf attempted through the "Conjuration des égaux" to establish a state based on equality. That the Directory, through the treason of at least one of Babeuf's followers, was quite aware of what was going on is well proved, but just how far the government went in deliberately fomenting the conspiracy as an excuse for maintaining its own power M. Walter wisely does not attempt to determine. He agrees with other writers in his conviction that the Directory did not lose the opportunity to play up the danger from which the people had been saved.

Such a claim as M. Walter makes in his preface to present "the real facts" is enough to cause any wary reader to regard the book with a suspicious eye. But M. Walter has really achieved a high degree of objectivity, and while he admits the absurdity of some of Babeuf's performances and the utter impracticability both of his immediate goal and of the means by which he tried to attain it, he nevertheless recognizes his exalted ideals. "In times of revolution", he concludes, "as in ordinary times one has to do not with saints but with men."

The work contains a bibliography of Babeuf's own writings, of studies concerning him, and of portraits of Babeuf and of the five Directors.

Vassar College.

ELOISE ELLERY.

The First Fleet: The Record of the Foundation of Australia from its Conception to the Settlement at Sydney Cove. Compiled from the Original Documents in the Public Record Office, with Extracts from the Log-Books of H. M. S. *Sirius*, and an Introduction and Notes, by OWEN RUTTER. (London: Golden Cockerel Press. 1937. Pp. 149. 63s.)

The Foundation of Australia, 1786-1800: A Study in English Criminal Practice and Penal Colonisation in the Eighteenth Century. By ERIS O'BRIEN. (New York: Sheed and Ward. 1937. Pp. xiii, 432. \$5.00.)

Phillip of Australia: An Account of the Settlement at Sydney Cove, 1788-92. By M. BARNARD ELDERSHAW. (London: George G. Harrap and Company. 1938. Pp. 366. 15s.)

Immigration into Eastern Australia, 1788-1851. By R. B. MADGWICK. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 270. \$3.50.)

OF all the means devised for doing honor to the New South Wales sesquicentenary nothing could be finer in conception and in execution than the array of scholarly works detailing the history of the event commemorated and of associated subjects.

For inclusion in *The First Fleet* Mr. Rutter selected all the source material of prime importance that has come to light respecting the inception of the idea of British settlement on the eastern coast of Australia, free or penal, the preparations for the initial expedition, including the choice of a

leader, and the difficulties that confronted that leader, Governor Arthur Phillip, in the accomplishment of his unique undertaking. The material was obtained chiefly from the colonial office, treasury, and admiralty records and collated with the utmost care. A considerable portion of it now appears in print for the first time.

A point stressed by Mr. Rutter in his introduction and commented upon with varying emphasis by the authors of the other three books here reviewed is that genuine colonization was comprehended in the first suggestion ever offered for the following up of Captain Cook's rediscovery of the island continent, and it ought to be of no slight interest to Americans that the colonization so projected would have been a sort of aftermath of their own Revolution, the suggestion having been made by the son of a New York Loyalist and in behalf of Loyalists. This knowledge is not entirely new. Some eighteen years ago the late Professor George Arnold Wood of Sydney University gave utterance to it while endeavoring to give credit, where credit had been long since overdue, to James Matra, born in New York and possibly of Corsican ancestry, who, in the year of the peace, 1783, submitted to the undersecretary for home and plantation affairs an elaborately argued scheme for utilizing New South Wales as an asylum for American refugees. Calling for more immediate consideration by the government, however, was the disposal of the mounting numbers of convicts who crowded the "hulks", which, following the cessation of transportation to the Atlantic seaboard colonies with the Declaration of Independence, had been made to supplement the very inadequate jail accommodation. As events turned out, the place dreamed of for the Loyalists was converted to the uses of transportees, who, had not the rebellion of '76 terminated successfully, would probably have gone to America as had thousands before them. Thus the founding of Australia may be deemed an indirect result of the American Revolution.

The decision to create a penal settlement in the southern seas was not arrived at, however, in any short time. The plans and counterplans of the intervening years all come within the scope of Dr. O'Brien's volume, which is to be commended in its entirety and the more especially for its supremely excellent treatment of the social, economic, and legal background of Australian beginnings. It is, moreover, the most comprehensive work yet produced on what is called the "new" transportation system and the first complete one, since W. D. Forsyth's recent publication, excellent in its way also, deals only with Van Diemen's Land (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 812). Nowhere better than in the O'Brien treatise can one realize how great is the difference between the harsh penal legislation of the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and the Borstal system of our own day. The essential difference between the old and the new system of transportation is pointed out by Douglas Woodruff, who contributes an introductory note,

and may be deduced from the circumstance that the convict transported to the old plantation colonies, his term once served under indenture; was received forthright into the body politic, his criminal past of whatever degree forgotten or, at any rate, obscured. Labor was at a premium. And the distance was not so immense but that he might hope to return home if he wished to do so. Far otherwise was it with the convicts sent to Australia, a journey of many months. Transportation meant for them perpetual exile except in a few rare cases.

The choice of a comparatively unknown captain of the royal navy to be the founder and first administrator of the penal settlement in New South Wales proved to be an eminently wise and fortunate one, and the biography listed above is a fitting eulogy of what Phillip was and did. He threw himself heart and soul into the distasteful work. Among the many things he had insisted upon at the outset were two that mark his wide humanitarianism—no slavery and no exploitation of the aborigines. Terrible though life at Sydney Cove was, the British penal settlements in Australia, thanks partly to the foundation laid by Phillip, never became quite the "ultimate horror" that their French counterpart in South America was destined to be. Admittedly some credit for that belongs to British public opinion.

Dr. Madgwick, of the University of Sydney, does not deal with transportation but devotes himself exclusively to assisted emigration in the years designated. His book is a veritable mine of information, historical and statistical, and if the present reviewer regrets the absence from it of a larger treatment of Mrs. Caroline Chisholm's courageous work, a broader grasp of contemporary Canadian development, and a fuller appreciation of what made the United States more attractive to the British poor than was Australia, she yet concedes it to be of great interest and worth.

A concluding word of praise is due to *The First Fleet*, which is in all respects a beautiful volume. Printed "on Arnold's hand-made paper in Perpetua type", it makes, with its illustrations, its facsimiles, and its well-selected contents, an output worthy of the object for which it was designed. From the viewpoint of research and historical scholarship generally, all these publications are first class.

Aberdeen, Washington.

ANNIE HELOISE ABEL-HENDERSON.

Britain in Europe, 1789-1914: A Survey of Foreign Policy. By R. W. SETON-WATSON, Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. ix, 716. \$9.00.)

AFTER a prologue which sketches formative tendencies Professor Seton-Watson gives an admirable account of British foreign policy in relation to continental Europe from 1815 to 1878. Relations with America and the Far East are for the most part necessarily excluded. Some five hundred pages

are devoted to these sixty odd years from Castlereagh to Disraeli, and they are distinguished by the great merits indicated below.

Only two hundred pages, however, are allotted to the crowded thirty-six years from the Congress of Berlin to the World War. This briefer treatment of the crucial years marking the change from splendid isolation to increasing Continental commitments is relatively thin and lacking in the critical attitude toward British policy shown in the earlier period. There is almost nothing, for instance, about the bungling delays and dog-in-the-manger attitude of Granville and Derby when approached by Bismarck in regard to Southwest Africa. The secret military and naval conversations with France, sanctioned by Sir Edward Grey, and the negotiations for an Anglo-Russian naval agreement in the spring of 1914 are only very briefly dealt with. As to the kaiser, "Salisbury never trusted William II, knowing him to be both false and unstable, and, despite his great lineage, in essence a cad and a bully". Sarajevo and the July crisis of 1914 are not included. For more adequate accounts of British policy of the prewar generation one must turn to books like Professor Langer's *Diplomacy of Imperialism* and Dr. Gooch's *Before the War*.

Among the great merits of the main part of the volume is its clarity and readability and the impression of unity and continuity which it gives. Diplomatic history is too often a rather dry stringing together of more or less disconnected diplomatic episodes. Professor Seton-Watson's narrative carries the reader along with unflagging interest because his foreign ministers, carrying on the British traditions, stand out as such distinct personalities. He skillfully weaves in with great frequency striking phrases or quotations from speeches or state papers which give freshness of flavor and yet in no way interrupt the smooth flow of the story. Numerous significant section headings help to keep clear the varying topics and make the reader feel that he is getting ahead with the subject.

Professor Seton-Watson's fine critical judgments, based on exhaustive study and long experience in observing the course of British policy in his own day, are another very valuable feature. We should like to quote his realistic dissection of Palmerston and shrewdly balanced judgments of other leading figures, but space forbids.

Finally, Professor Seton-Watson is always aware of the close interdependence between foreign and domestic policies. This is especially important in a country like England, where parliamentary exigencies and public opinion exert a strong control over foreign policy. He therefore gives due regard to party politics, cabinet changes, the press, and the personal influence of Queen Victoria, whom he regards very highly. He avoids the mistake of those who write of foreign policy as if it represented at any given moment the single and unified will of the nation, to be treated, as it were, *in vacuo*. Some critics may say, though the present

reviewer is not one of them, that he does not pay sufficient attention to economic factors. Though there were always sharp differences of opinion within the country, and often within the cabinet itself, as to foreign policy, he frequently suggests the essential continuity of British policy in spite of temporary changes. Lord John Russell's cautious observation in 1851 that the "traditional policy of this country is not to bind the Crown and country by engagements, unless upon special cause shown arising out of the special circumstances of the day" makes one think of Sir Thomas Sanderson's similar statement later. With sharp internal cabinet divisions prior to the Crimean War, Lord Aberdeen was not strong enough "to insist upon warning Turkey that Britain would be no party to a war, while Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were not strong enough to warn the Tsar that in the event of war Britain would place herself on the Turkish side". Somewhat analogous was the inability of the British cabinet in 1914 to give a warning to either Germany or Russia. Professor Seton-Watson concludes, "if we consider the broad lines of British policy at the close of the Victorian era (and of the brief period of transition which followed it, from 1901 to 1914) we find that there has been surprisingly little change since the days of Napoleon".

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

The Genesis of Napoleonic Imperialism. By HAROLD C. DEUTSCH, Assistant Professor of History, University of Minnesota. [Harvard Historical Studies, published under the Direction of the Department of History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xxi, 460. \$4.50.)

It is a rare satisfaction to read so neatly and compactly written a volume as the one under review. Basing his study upon an exhaustive examination of archival (French and Austrian) and printed sources and upon most of the relevant secondary literature, Professor Deutsch gives what is undoubtedly the best and clearest account, at least in English, of the foreign policy of the Napoleonic government from the Treaty of Lunéville of February, 1801, to the overthrow of the Third Coalition after Austerlitz in December, 1805.

It is his contention, and he proves it, that during the period of the consulate Napoleon did not deliberately seek war and armed strife in his relations with other sovereigns. Rather, he strove to increase the might of France by skillful diplomatic maneuvering and then was led, by opportunistically following the logic of events, to resort to a renewal of warfare in 1803 and 1805 in order to defend the extensive gains which comprised his "conquests in peace". The instrument of war always loomed as his final sanction, but he preferred the peaceful extension of power while consolidating the gains of the Revolution at home and abroad.

Only after the full consequences of the "battle of the three emperors" became evident did Napoleonic diplomacy fall from its heights. Not until

1806, with all Europe save England at his feet, did Napoleon begin generally to show less farsightedness as a statesman, his policies becoming more and more personal and less and less calculated to benefit the true interests of the French nation. Austria was humiliated and diplomatically alone; Russia was weakened and discredited; Prussia was content to play the role of vassal; but France had changed from a revolutionary republic fighting for its existence to an empire with dynastic ambitions. Now Napoleon began to overreach himself, little checked by a French nation which was proud to be ruled by a man who could issue commands to monarchs and who had raised France to heights of prestige which she had never before approached under her native rulers. Thus it was possible, eventually, "for Leipzig and Waterloo to destroy what Marengo and Austerlitz had established".

Within this framework Professor Deutsch makes a number of interesting points. He shows clearly how, during this period, Napoleon's political views were frequently modified or revised to meet new conditions—and usually to extract the greatest gains from them. Excellently portrayed, also, is the relation between Napoleon and Talleyrand—the alternating agreement and clash of their diplomatic views, particularly with respect to Austria, which the foreign minister consistently hoped to conciliate. The Napoleonic plan of a descent upon England, moreover, is demonstrated to have been entirely sincere and not at all a sham born of a desire to accumulate huge war stocks, especially artillery horses, and thus win a time advantage over Austria in a forthcoming conflict. It was probably only the naval disaster at Trafalgar, Professor Deutsch indicates, which led to the final abandonment of the invasion project. And then, with England secure from direct attack, Napoleon perforce had to "strike the innocent to reach the guilty". Great Britain had to be beaten; therefore "war on the Continent, up to August 1805 only an alternative, henceforth became a necessity". British diplomacy, incidentally, appears in a very unfavorable light in these years. Professor Deutsch maintains in convincing fashion that after the signing of the Treaty of Amiens British policy was both tricky and clumsy and that it was England who forced France again to take up arms after barely a twelvemonth of peace. Basically, the Anglo-French tug-of-war grew out of the circumstance that "the lordship on land has never been able to live in peace with the lordship of the sea".

The volume is enlivened throughout with interesting, sometimes pungent, character sketches of oft-mentioned but little-known diplomats, and the index is well arranged. The viewpoints of the work are refreshing, the revised interpretations are amply fortified by source references, and the style of writing is pleasing. Professor Deutsch's book really is "indispensable" to an understanding of European history in the nineteenth century.

Union College.

WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

Money Powers of Europe in the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries. By PAUL H. EMDEN. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 428. \$3.50.)

IN writing this book Mr. Emden has done the reading public both a service and a disservice. Certainly he may be commended for attempting to portray, to use his own words, "*what has happened during approximately the last hundred and twenty years in the world of high finance*", a subject but lightly touched as yet in historical research and practically unknown to the reading layman. In a narrative, often anecdotal style the activities of merchants, private bankers, and joint-stock bankers, domiciled in the leading cities of Europe, are paraded in rapid succession. Beginning with finance during the Napoleonic wars and ending with banking in Germany and Austria under National Socialism, the author manages to hit many of the high spots of national and international finance between the two periods. Men whose praises are seldom sung—men like Ouvrard, Joplin, Geach, Haber, Blount, Bontoux, Schaaffhausen, Bleichroeder, Lubbock, and Leaf—come to life and are given a high place in the development of modern capitalism. Emphasis is placed upon the interrelationship of politics and finance, upon bond issues and attendant problems, upon reorganization and amalgamation of firms and institutions, and upon the clash of ambitions and plans among the financial giants. Banking, under the pen of Mr. Emden, becomes dynamic and dramatic, which is as it should be when the changes of more than one hundred years are presented in brief compass.

A number of weaknesses, however, reduce the value of the book to the scholar. Its biographical and anecdotal treatment of men and institutions prevents a clear statement of the functional evolution of banking systems and also scrambles markedly even the chronological sequence of events. Have not changes in banking organization proceeded along functional lines? Did not farsighted businessmen effect those changes to take advantage of changing economic conditions? Why did joint-stock banks triumph over merchants and private bankers? How effectively was banking policy modified to conform to altered economic conditions? These are some of the questions to which an adequate answer cannot be found in the pages under review.

Other elements of incompleteness and inadequacy in this avowed portrait of "men and events" must also be mentioned. Commercial banking, characterized as it is by routine and relatively slight publicity, gets less than its just due. Commercial and financial crises, as a consequence of the author's biographical method, receive but little causal explanation and fail to appear in their proper international setting. Business policy throughout is interpreted largely in terms of personal ambition rather than in terms of specific ways and means of making profits under continually changing conditions of economic and political life.

Certain inaccuracies also lessen confidence in the author. To mention a few, Baring Brothers & Co. underwent reorganization in 1828, not in 1825, and their chief sphere of activity during the life of Thomas Baring was the United States, not the Mediterranean, Russia, and South America (p. 35). J. S. Morgan & Co. was a name adopted from that of the former junior partner in George Peabody & Co., not from that of the then young and relatively unimportant J. P. Morgan (p. 383). That information on merchants and private bankers is both small in amount and often unreliable in nature absolves the author of some blame, but such sources should always be subjected to criticism. Readers would have more confidence if they were offered at least occasional specific references to sources of information. In short, the book is a typical popular study, with the virtues and vices of that category of publication.

Wheaton College.

R. W. Hidy.

Deutsche Geschichte im Neunzehnten Jahrhundert. Von FRANZ SCHNABEL. Bände I-IV. (Freiburg im Breslau: Herder & Co.; St. Louis: B. Herder Book Company. 1929; 1933; 1934; 1937. Pp. xi, 628; x, 414; ix, 500; xii, 617. \$5.50; \$3.90; \$4.50; \$5.50.)

It is one of the interesting manifestations of modern German historiography that despite the enormous development of historical research in Germany it has not as yet produced an adequate survey of the history of Germany in the nineteenth century. This was Treitschke's aim, but he never got beyond the 1840's. The problem is indeed a difficult one, for in the nineteenth century Germany passed through a series of developments which had taken several centuries in nations like England and France. Franz Schnabel is now writing such a history, and in the four volumes which have appeared we have the beginnings of a masterpiece of historical writing. It is historical synthesis of the first order, *Geistesgeschichte* without the nebulous pompousness which so often characterizes this type of German historical writing and an example of the "new history" which our American exponents of this idea may well take as a model.

Schnabel's attention is never focused on the past alone. In a most effective way he accomplishes the difficult but necessary task of the historian, to look simultaneously at the past and the present. His purpose is not to "present portraits of epochs and cultures but rather to understand the present through its history and to comprehend life from its development". It is for this reason that there is so much in these volumes that is not only good history of the past but also brilliant illumination of the present. Schnabel also very definitely aims at synthesis of understanding more than at originality of research. He confesses that he was much more concerned with reinterpreting and organizing the presentation of well-known sources than with "chasing around the archives for unpublished sources which

might be only of casual worth for my theme". Nor does he seek to be always strikingly novel. With wisdom he quotes the dictum of Treitschke: "If the historian wants always to be new then by necessity he becomes untrue." Nevertheless the work is marked by a freshness in point-of-view, and this, combined with a beauty of presentation, makes good the author's desire that this be not "a reference book for specialists" but "a book which is to be read".

All of the four volumes under review are concerned with the period before 1848. The first volume presents a long excursus on modern European history as a background for the position of Germany in Europe; then follows a beautiful treatment of the classical humanistic tradition and romanticism, and finally the turn from cosmopolitanism to political nationalism with the regeneration of Prussia and the wars of liberation. Brilliant pen portraits of Herder, Kant, Stein, Wilhelm von Humboldt, and Goethe shine through the treatment of these movements.

The second volume is concerned with the political structure of Germany in the *vormärz* period. It treats of the conservative and reactionary system of Metternich, the national and constitutional movements, the *Burschenschaften*, and the various movements for reform. Of outstanding importance is the analysis of German liberalism and the way in which it is linked up with the rising bourgeoisie and the development of technology, science, and the new economic system. But liberalism never triumphed in Germany, and the realization of the *Rechtsstaat*, which was "the great historical achievement of liberalism", was never effected there. "It has become of decisive significance for the history of Europe and of Germany", says Schnabel, "that the Germans never succeeded in attaining what the Italians and Czechs did attain. Not one of the great leaders of German liberalism became a German Cavour or a German Masaryk. The state of the Hohenzollerns proved itself stronger than the houses of Savoy and Habsburg" (p. 214).

The theme of the third volume is the turn from classical humanism to realistic philosophy and politics and from romanticism to the machine age. It treats of the development of the new historical and political sciences and the new technology. The philosophy of Hegel personifies this trend in German political thought, and Schnabel devotes a powerful chapter to Hegel and his influence in the development of the idea of *Macht* and of historical and moral relativism. With Hegel the state became an end in itself, the *raison d'état* supplanted all other rights, "all individual ethics is rejected, Christianity and Kant negated alike, and religion elevated to become the handmaid of force" (p. 17). In his treatment of the beginnings of the Industrial Revolution in Germany Schnabel is more concerned with the spirit of industrial capitalism and its effect on the lives and thinking of men than he is with empirical and factual data of economic history. Here above all he reveals the deep influence of Max Weber.

The fourth volume is concerned with the religious forces at work in early nineteenth century Germany. It is divided into two parts, one devoted to Catholicism and the other, slightly longer, to Protestantism, and treats of the struggle of Catholics and Protestants against the increased secularization of life—their wrestling with the spirit of eighteenth century rationalism as well as with the absolutism of the state. Both Catholicism and Protestantism had to contend with an increased de-Christianization of the intellectual as well as the proletariat classes. Catholicism met this development by a greater concentration of its own forces, while Protestantism made a heroic effort to Christianize modern culture. This volume, however, does not give the same degree of satisfaction as the preceding volumes. The reason is perhaps to be sought in the problem of periodization. Like its predecessors, this volume is restricted to the *vormärz* period. But whereas the subject matter treated in the earlier volumes had a certain organic unity within the period studied or else achieved such unity by being related to the preceding century, the most interesting aspects of the religious questions discussed in this volume take form only during the middle and the latter part of the century.

A word of criticism might be added with respect to the bibliographical notes at the end of each volume. No attempt is made to provide an exhaustive bibliography, and one looks in vain for some guide to selection. The bibliographies appear more like haphazard and very meager assortments of references, which in most cases do not give due credit to previous studies that helped to supply the author with materials for his own text.

In conclusion, one feature of this work should be emphasized which under other circumstances could be taken for granted. In the bibliography of a popular recent study of German National Socialism by a reputable American author Schnabel's work is characterized as a Nazi book. It is decidedly not so, and it is important for scholars to realize that despite the co-ordination of German scholarship by the government, not all books published in Germany since 1933 are Nazi in their outlook. Scholars like Friedrich Meinecke and Schnabel go on their way in the best humanistic tradition of the old Germany. And it is right to say with Henri Lichtenberger that the "eternal German spirit" lives on under the brown shirt as it did under the military cloak of the Hohenzollerns. Professor Schnabel's numerous quotations from Marx and Heine, his objective treatment of the advent of the house of Rothschild, his characterization of Mendelssohn as "one of the most fruitful creators of religious music brought forth by the nineteenth century", and the constant references in his bibliographies to the works of non-Aryans are indications that he has not compromised with scholarly integrity and objectivity. One only hopes that Professor Schnabel will be able to carry his work to a successful conclusion despite the trying circumstances.

Queens College.

KOPPEL S. PINSON.

Wirtschaftszustände und Wirtschaftspolitik in Preussen, 1815-1825. Von WILHELM TREUE. [Vierteljahrschrift für Sozial- und Wirtschaftsgeschichte.] (Stuttgart: W. Kohlhammer. 1937. Pp. 258. 12 M.)

THE author of this study draws his evidence from all the published works and from unpublished sources in the Prussian State Archives. The bulk of his materials come, not from writings of the economic groups concerned, but from monthly reports to the central government by the presidents of the *Regierungsbezirke*, who, he acknowledges, may have been biased, and from local histories by more or less amateur historians bent, he laments, upon showing the wonderful development of their beloved areas and the glories bestowed upon these areas by the mere fact of Hohenzollern rule.

The author has several theses. The main one is that the law of May 26, 1818, did not improve economic conditions in Prussia, that the depression continued in force throughout the entire country in practically every branch of economic activity. In defense of this thesis he amasses at length detailed evidence, province by province, city by city, town by town, industry by industry, year by year, for the period 1815-18; and in another chapter he does the same for the years 1818-25. The thesis is proved and reproved and proved again. Other subsidiary theses must be taken on faith: that the law of 1818 injured Prussian economy decidedly for years to come; that prosperity at the time depended upon a flourishing industry, not upon sound conditions in "commerce, consumption, and the public income".

In spite of the author's assertion that the law of 1818 was drawn up by liberal theorists more determined to uphold the ideals of Adam Smith than to understand and prescribe adequately for the needs of Prussian economy, the reviewer remains unconvinced. Carl Brinckmann's conception of these men as combining idealism and practicality holds its ground. The author condemns that law as allowing Prussian industry to be handicapped, not to say crushed, by the influx of foreign goods, primarily from England; but he derives his evidence from reports by interested parties about the few industries which suffered from the competition. He maintains that the government should have assisted industry by tariffs as high at least as those of other European countries and by direct subsidies, etc., and that it should have given equal weight to power policy and economic policy. This is a theoretical as well as a practical matter, and since the author renounces at the start any theoretical interest, he handicaps himself severely. By wishing to make this a factual study he oversimplifies all the problems involved and produces a half-baked book.

American University.

E. N. ANDERSON.

Victorian Panorama: A Survey of Life and Fashion from Contemporary Photographs. With a Commentary by PETER QUENNEL. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1937. Pp. viii, 120. \$3.00.)

Locomotion in Victorian London. By G. A. SEKON. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 211. \$5.00.)

THESE two volumes stand in marked contrast with each other. Peter Quennell, author of works on Baudelaire and Byron, describes Victorian England with verve and gusto. G. A. Sekon, former editor of railway magazines, gives a meticulous and prosaic account of how Victorian Londoners got from where they were to where they wished to be.

Mr. Quennell has published a collection of 154 choice photographs illustrating the life of all classes and types. Some of the earlier examples, especially those by Octavius Hill, are surprisingly effective works of art, but for the scholar their chief merit lies in the realism and genuineness which they lend to the England of a century ago. They make new and live human beings of the Victorians—Lord Brougham, Spurgeon, Disraeli, the soldiers, and others. The excruciatingly comic picture of General Sir Hope Grant is a revelation in itself.

The only serious criticism that can be leveled at the photographs is that there are far too few of them. Unfortunately Mr. Quennell has felt it necessary to accompany them by a considerable commentary. The text is interesting and even accomplished in its style, but its substance only reveals the danger of generalizations about the period. The photographs and even some of the text which is inconsistent with the rest show that the Victorian age was in fact not "Victorian". It was nothing like so stuffy and artificial as some of the author's pat remarks would lead us to think. The fact is that he has not always been as objective as he might be. Women's costumes, for example, he explains as reflecting "the Romantic attitude towards helpless and unprotected womanhood". This may be true, but it remains to be proved, and some might incline to an explanation arising out of the growth of middle-class wealth and the increasing variety of ever cheaper fabrics.

Mr. Sekon has written a highly informational account of London traffic and its development. Not only is the reader initiated into the great variety of means of transportation in London—walking, buses, steamboats, cabs, trams, cycles, steam railways, and tubes—but the services are so minutely described that a careful reader, supposing that he could make the chronological journey back to 1850, would be an adept at making his way about in the London of that day. Soapey Sponge would have delighted in this work as a change of diet from his favorite book of cab fares. The impression left is that of an astonishing mobility, whether on foot or on wheels. By 1901 more than six hundred buses were passing Hyde Park Corner every hour.

In a few places Mr. Sekon has been a little overwhelmed by the plenitude of his information, and this fact may account for his confusion regarding the statutory requirement of cheap trains. In one place an extension of the North-London Railway in 1861 is described as "the beginning of compulsory workmen's trains at nominal fares" (p. 17), and in another place

(p. 172) these are attributed to an extension of the London, Dover, and Chatham. Nor is it altogether clear why these instances should be distinguished from the well-known requirements of the Cheap Trains Act of 1844 (discussed on p. 139). But these criticisms are of minor importance when put beside the substantial contribution which the book makes to our understanding of life in Victorian England.

Brown University.

CHESTER KIRBY.

Victoria's Guardian Angel: A Study of Baron Stockmar. By PIERRE CRABITÈS. (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 289. \$3.00.)

DOUBTLESS because he was German-born, Baron Stockmar does not appear in the *Dictionary of National Biography*. Yet from the time Prince Leopold married Princess Charlotte until a few years before Prince Albert's untimely death, the baron exercised a considerable, though not easily measurable influence on the policy of the English royal family. The most detailed account of his doings is to be found in the *Denkwürdigkeiten*, prepared by his elder son, Baron Ernst von Stockmar, from his father's diary and correspondence, and published, together with a brief biographical sketch, in 1872. In 1873 an English translation by "G.A.M." appeared in two volumes, entitled *Memoirs of Baron Stockmar* and edited by F. Max Müller. Readers have shared the editor's disappointment that the *Memoirs* are not more revealing. In the words of the son: "My father was content to remain always half-hidden before the eyes of posterity. Faithful to his spirit, this book lifts the veil but a little." The *Denkwürdigkeiten* and the *Memoirs* are naturally the chief source for Professor Crabitès's work, which is written in popular form for the general reader. Two brief estimates published in 1863, at the time of the baron's death, by Gustave Freytag (*Christian Frederick, Baron von Stockmar, Grenzboten*, no. 31 of 1863) and Friedrich Karl Meyer (*Preuss. Jahrbucher*, 1863) are not mentioned by him. However, he has made use of the available English materials, such as the *Creevey Papers*, *The Girlhood of Queen Victoria*, *The Letters of Queen Victoria*, Grey's *Early Years of his Royal Highness the Prince Consort*, and the condensed edition of the *Greville Diary* by P. W. Wilson, which includes some hitherto suppressed passages. The recently published complete edition of Greville appeared too late to be used. Naturally he is familiar with the Benson and Strachey biographies of Queen Victoria.

While Mr. Benson, though acknowledging the baron's fine character and abilities and admitting his services in recommending a scheme which led to a salutary elimination of waste and confusion in the administration of the royal household, is inclined to minimize his influence in determining larger questions of political policy, Professor Crabitès is an advocate of the older and generally accepted view. In the opinion of the reviewer he is more nearly correct than Mr. Benson in his attitude toward Lord Mel-

bourne's correspondence with the queen after he had ceased to be prime minister. On the other hand, it is obviously a mistake to assert that a memorandum of Stockmar's, which the author dates March 12, 1852, was the basis of the celebrated note which the queen sent to Palmerston on August 12, 1850! Incidentally there are no indications from the page references—and there is no bibliography—that the author made any use of Bell's recent standard *Life of Palmerston*.

A few other points call for comment. In at least one instance, when the baron declined to take any professional part in Princess Charlotte's confinement, the author indulges in conjecture where the *Memoirs* are explicit (p. 7). There could not have been a "new queen", presumably Adelaide, in 1827 (p. 18). Without saying that Stockmar may have been deceived in Leopold, Professor Crabitès shows a great antipathy to the king, to whom the baron was so greatly attached. While in general not contesting the views of previous writers, he takes occasion to differ at least once from Lord Esher (p. 65). Very circumspectly Professor Crabitès has nothing to say regarding the rumor, recently revived on unsubstantiated evidence, questioning the legitimacy of Albert's birth. On the whole, however, this is a sound, as well as an attractively written estimate of a commendable character of not a little historical importance.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Victorian Critics of Democracy: Carlyle, Ruskin, Arnold, Stephen, Maine, Lecky. By BENJAMIN EVANS LIPPINCOTT. (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 276. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Lippincott has written a book about six Victorian dissidents which is puzzling because in his preface and introduction and at intervals throughout his essays he makes sweeping assertions which are open to question and are often contradicted later in his detailed analysis. He starts off with two debatable assertions. "As the problems of democracy and capitalism are today essentially what they were in the Victorian age, the criticism of these intellectuals is as pertinent now as then" (p. 4). "In a fundamental way their criticism is more relevant today than when they wrote, for though their criticism could be ignored in the last century, it can be ignored today only at democracy's peril" (p. vii). Concerning individuals he makes such attributions of pre-eminence and uniqueness as that "Ruskin probed the economic and intellectual foundations of the industrial system that made possible the Victorian age with more acuteness than any writer in the century save Marx" (p. 2), that Fitzjames Stephen's case against democracy "was stronger than Carlyle's and is perhaps the strongest after Plato's" (p. 136), and that Arnold "analyzed the psychological and cultural effects of inequality more keenly than anyone else in the nineteenth century" (p. 96).

Naturally enough, difficulties begin when the author turns to consider

his subjects separately and to sum up his own conclusions, for he finds that on the whole his critics of democracy were inefficacious in their own times and that their criticism is irrelevant to the complex structure which democracy has made for itself today. As he says (p. 189), "the argument from the past is never conclusive", and these men wrote before the Parliament Act, before the social service state, before modern delegated legislative power and semi-autonomous agencies, and before cabinet dictatorship—developments which they could foresee vaguely at best. Lippincott sets up his critics and then knocks them down, individually and collectively. Part of the trouble is owing to the fact that he defines democracy only by diffused implication, and part that these men did not always aim their main batteries at democracy; they often attacked other phases of Victorian society. The chief difficulties and contradictions, however, emerge from the author's negative approach. The material of this book would have fallen more naturally into effective discourse if the writers had been examined positively as contributors to the authoritarian strain in the British governing class and to its reflection in the working of British institutions today. In this light these critics, whose ideas are systematically and fairly set forth (although there will be some disagreement about Arnold), fall in with historical development instead of flying off on tangents. They were earnest and intelligent, and Professor Lippincott's book is valuable as an explicit reminder of the moral sway of Carlyle and Ruskin and of Arnold's professional interest in education, and for its revaluations of such pessimistic conservatives as Stephen, Maine, and Lecky by a democrat of today.

Columbia University.

J. B. BREBNER.

Carlyle et la pensée latine. Par ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. [Études de littérature étrangère et comparée, Collection dirigée par Paul Hazard.] (Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1937. Pp. viii, 442. 60 fr.)

CARLYLE's obvious Germanic affiliations have diverted attention from his relations with Latin countries. Yet Mazzini, in claiming for him the merit of cosmopolitanism in a period of English isolation, could point to his *Voltaire* and his *Diderot*. He befriended exiles from France, notably Saint-Simonians, as well as Mazzini's Italian adherents. His reputation was made by a history of the French Revolution. But these claims to attention in Latin countries were counterbalanced by the non-Latin qualities of his mind and style. He was a Puritan, a humorist, an antirationalist; his Teutonic vocabulary and the disorder of his composition so offended classical taste that he was long considered untranslatable. Dr. Taylor's book has psychological interest in the tracing of the gradual subsidence of this antipathy before the originality of Carlyle's ideas and art.

Dr. Taylor follows Carlyle's fortunes up to the present time in France, Italy, Spain, Portugal, and Rumania, giving most attention to the two

former countries, since Carlyle's penetration into Portugal and Rumania has been slight and in Spain confined chiefly to distinguished intellectuals. The comparatively tardy industrialization of Latin countries delayed interest in his social writings, so that before 1848 the most significant fact to be recorded is the influence of Carlyle's historical method on Michelet, which Dr. Taylor establishes by adding to Aulard's case from internal evidence proof that the French historian had read Carlyle. The experiments in state interference in industry inaugurated by the Revolution of 1848 gave *Past and Present* and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* topical interest for French thinkers, which remained lively until Napoleon III shut off political discussion. A Carlyle revival was produced by the epoch-making study of Taine (originally five articles in the *Journal des débats* in 1860, incorporated in the second edition of his *Histoire de la littérature anglaise* in 1864). Taine's positivism and classicism caused an overemphasis of the Germanic qualities of Carlyle's mind and style, but his enthusiasm for his historical and critical methods was contagious. The *Cromwell*, whose religious bias had hitherto antagonized French critics, Taine praised for its evocation of the spirit of the period it treats, which presented a new resource to historical writers. In literary criticism he also found Carlyle an innovator, who developed from the Germans the practice of seeking in a book "une théorie de l'homme et de la nature, en même temps qu'une peinture de sa race et de son milieu". The imprint of Carlyle is thus not only upon Taine's well-known formula of the time, the race, and the milieu, but also on his effort to graft an intuitive upon his inherited analytic method. Taine's influence was responsible for the first French translation of Carlyle, that of his *French Revolution* (1865-1867), and was operative on the Spanish translators of *Heroes and Hero-Worship* (1892) and of the *French Revolution* (the distinguished Miguel de Unamuno, in 1900-1902) and in making him known in Italy. The French translation of the *French Revolution* was in its turn the inspiration and, as Dr. Taylor shows, an important source of Carducci's important sonnet sequence, *Ca Ira*, written in 1882. The idealistic reaction against positivism in France after 1885 brought attention to a new facet of Carlyle, *Sartor Resartus*. In the cosmopolitanism of the early twentieth century most of his works were accessible in French and enjoyed considerable popularity. The balanced and sympathetic study of his life and writings by Louis Cazamian in 1913 converged with the best British opinion.

The World War had decisive and contradictory effects upon Latin opinion. In France it effectively alienated readers from the panegyrist of Frederick the Great; in Spain he retained favor with both monarchists and republicans; and in Italy he came for the first time into general popularity. In the troubled period preceding the march on Rome appeared three books of extracts from Carlyle's works, one with an introduction stressing

the appositeness of his social doctrine to the Italian situation. Since the fascist revolution many writers have pointed out anticipations in *Past and Present* and *Latter-Day Pamphlets* of the constitution of the totalitarian state. A translation of *Heroes and Hero-Worship* reached its tenth edition in 1933, when a special edition was made for secondary schools. General Italian interest in Carlyle was steadily rising until 1935, when Dr. Taylor believes it probably suffered a setback from the Anglophobia consequent on the Abyssinian crisis.

Dr. Taylor brings to the present work experience acquired in the preparation of his *Carlyle: Sa première fortune littéraire en France* (Paris, 1929), which concluded in 1865. He has thrown a wide net of investigation, summarizing and weighing critical opinion in periodicals, books, and correspondence, examining the quality of translations and indicating where possible their diffusion, estimating influences, supplying social, intellectual, and biographical background, and permitting himself certain interpretative comments, such as the surmise that Carlyle might find some dictators of the present day mere "Copper Captains", as he denominated Napoleon III. The bibliography is well arranged, and the notes are full; the index, however, is limited to proper names. Frequent summaries and the plotting of the curve of Carlyle's reputation in the introduction as well as in the conclusion facilitate use for reference.

Columbia University.

EMERY NEFF.

Michael Bakunin. By E. H. CARR. [Studies in Modern History, General Editor, L. B. Namier.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. x, 501. \$6.50.)

THIS book answers a need that has been keenly felt by all those interested either in the history of West European socialism or in the Russian revolutionary movement. The manuscript biography of Bakunin by Max Nettlau has remained not easily available to most students, and besides it is now almost forty years old. The four-volume work of Iu. Steklov has not been translated into Western languages, and anyhow its value is seriously impaired by the author's strong partisan bias. A life of Bakunin by another Soviet writer, V. Polonski, has remained unfinished, while the fairly recent French book by Helen Izvolski is nothing more than an attractively written biographical essay.

In his attempt to produce a full-size critical biography of Bakunin Professor Carr has been able to make use of all the new documentary material published since the beginning of the present century, more particularly since the Russian Revolution, and in addition he has consulted some unpublished material in the archives of Dresden and Prague. To the performance of his task he has brought a familiarity with the Russian scene of the period (he is the author of a life of Dostoevski and of a book

on Herzen and his friends) and outstanding literary gifts. The result is the best biography of Bakunin so far available.

The book, however, is not an even performance. Bakunin the man has been given a competent and sympathetic treatment. From the days of his turbulent youth to the last years of a rather pathetic decline Bakunin lives on the pages of this biography, with all the eccentricities and contradictions of his amazing nature. I find myself in complete agreement with Mr. Carr's reading of his character. "The call of revolution was in his blood, as some men feel the call of sea or hills." This is very well said, and, I believe, it is profoundly true. The biographer displays great psychological acumen in his discussion of the motives which prompted Bakunin to write his famous and puzzling *Confession*, sent to Nicholas I from the Peter-and-Paul fortress (pp. 210-14). In my opinion, Mr. Carr certainly has succeeded in producing a convincing and skillfully drawn picture of his hero.

On the other hand, not all the phases of Bakunin's political activity have been treated equally well. In spite of the criticism by Dr. Nettlau, who, in his review of Professor Carr's book (published in several numbers of the London periodical *Spain and the World*, beginning with January, 1938) has pointed out a number of minor inaccuracies, I consider the part of the book dealing with Bakunin's activities in the International and his struggle with Marx as being on the whole quite adequate. Here the author had the advantage of a nonpartisan approach equally removed from both anarchist apologetics and Marxist vituperation. But one wishes that more than two pages were devoted to Bakunin's relations with Proudhon, who, as Mr. Carr himself admits, played a very important part in Bakunin's life. Likewise, his relations with Mazzini could be given a considerably ampler treatment (in the discussion of this subject I find no reference to Nello Rosselli's important monograph, *Mazzini e Bakounine*). Incidentally, it is certainly a mistake to assert that Bakunin was the first to advocate publicly the destruction of the Habsburg Empire (p. 175); the priority here belongs to Mazzini.

The chief fault I have to find with Mr. Carr is in connection with his interpretation of the conflict between Bakunin and Herzen (chapter 20). In common with many other writers, Mr. Carr emphasizes Herzen's "moderation" and "democratic liberalism" as opposed to Bakunin's uncompromising radicalism and predilection for revolutionary dictatorship. Such a view is based exclusively on the activities of Herzen during the *Bell* period, when for a few years he concentrated his attention on the problems of immediate reform in Russia. This, however, should not conceal the fact that both before and after the "constitutional interlude" Herzen preached an integral revolution not very different from that of Bakunin's dreams, and that his ideas on the part to be played in the coming Russian upheaval by the

peasantry and the intelligentsia were essentially the same as those of Bakunin. Also, contrary to Mr. Carr's assertion, Herzen began by offering Alexander II leadership in a social revolution in Russia, and it was only after he became thoroughly disillusioned with that sovereign that his thought turned to the idea of a constitutional limitation of Russian autocracy. And lastly, Herzen's break with the new generation of Russian revolutionaries was not as deep or as final as Mr. Carr makes it appear. Likewise, it is wrong to say of Lavrov of the 1870's that he was "a liberal rather than a revolutionary" (p. 453). Here again, behind the conflict of different temperaments and different tactical views, there was a fundamental agreement as to the aims and nature of the revolution to be achieved.

When all this is said, however, one still feels grateful to Mr. Carr for having given us an up-to-date, eminently readable, and on the whole well-balanced biography of Bakunin.

Harvard University.

MICHAEL KARPOVICH.

The Royal Engineers in Egypt and the Sudan. By Lieut.-Colonel E. W. C. SANDES, late Principal, Thomason Civil Engineering College, Roorkee, India. (Chatham: Institution of Royal Engineers. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 571.)

THE inveterate urge of the British military services to commemorate in print their epic deeds for the edification of future generations has produced during the last century and a half a distinct literature of its own. Of this type of writing Lieutenant-Colonel Sandes's tribute to the labors of the Royal Engineers in the valley of the Nile is a characteristic example. Perhaps the most distinctive feature of this work and its greatest value, for that matter, lie in the fact that much of the basic material for the book came not from the author's personal recollections, for Colonel Sandes did not serve in the Sudan, but from the official records of the service amplified largely by contributions from a number of officers yet living who participated in the events recorded. While the pulsations of national imperialistic enterprise are clearly discernible throughout the book, as in so many others of its general type, the principal shortcoming lies in the scrupulous avoidance of any attempt to define or describe the national purposes which supplied the basis for the activities of the sappers in this area of concern. Indeed, a number of the allusions to political and economic objectives which the conscientious author would have permitted himself have been carefully excised by his copy reader and official censor, General Sir Reginald Wingate (a principal figure, of course, in some of the events narrated), who confesses in a foreword that many of the most interesting items which he wishes might have been incorporated in the book "could not well be published at present—dealing as they do with . . . prominent personages, the political significance of certain events of historical importance, and the manner in which the respective governments concerned dealt with critical situations which arose

from time to time." The author, he adds, "has closely adhered to the limits I was obliged to impose on his pen".

Constrained thus to omit the very information which would give point and consistency to his story, the author has had hard shift to achieve any but a meaningless and sterile piece of work. That he has succeeded in producing a book of considerable interest and worth is due to his skill as a narrator and his setting forth of details of conquest and administration which—no moral being pointed—did not fall under the official ban. Much of the account is historically valuable, such as the story of the building of the Sudan military railway, "which may justly be classed as one of the most remarkable engineering feats of modern times", the reconstruction of the Nile Barrage, and the works and improvements carried out in the Sudan since the World War.

When the author ventures beyond the boundaries of his own sphere of technical competence, however, allowance must be made for his background and his loyalties. Apparently it did not occur to him to question those classic accounts—such as Lord Cromer's—which place the British occupation of Egypt and the Sudan in the best possible light. Thus, the Khedive Ismail remains an incompetent wastrel; General Gordon was "sacrificed" to Gladstone's idealistic program; the dervishes who killed British officers in line of duty were "murderers"; Colonel Marchand and his mission welcomed Kitchener's force at Fashoda as saviors. Kitchener himself is pictured as "a man of such outstanding personality and character that he is perhaps without counterpart in history".

Much of the book is good reading after the fashion of vigorous military narratives, especially of operations predestined to success. The account of the battle of Omdurman, in particular, is masterly. At all strategic points in the book the text is supplemented and clarified by the inclusion of numerous excellent maps, plans, drawings, and photographs.

The Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

England and the Maori Wars. By A. J. HARROP. (London: New Zealand News. 1937. Pp. 423. 15s.)

DR. HARROP traces the history of the Maori wars in New Zealand, 1860-70, England's attitude toward them, and their effect on England's imperial policy and intra-imperial relations. The book is, however, not so much a history as a selection from documents. It consists mainly of excerpts from private and official correspondence, speeches in the British parliament, letters to and news reports and editorials in English and New Zealand newspapers, and colonial office minutes, drafts, and memoranda. As a collection of source materials, the book is of great value. Those who are interested in the numerous disputes between successive governors of New Zealand and their ministers, the officers in command of the imperial troops, and the

British colonial office will find a considerable amount of new material. The famous and perhaps generally overrated Sir George Grey, whose second term as governor of New Zealand extended from 1861 to 1868, is shown in a less and the officials at the colonial office in a more favorable light than some may have expected. By and large the evidence presented hardly supports the charge that the imperial government neglected New Zealand and acted precipitantly in withdrawing the garrison.

Dr. Harrop apparently inclines to the view that the policy of placing upon the colonies enjoying responsible government the duty of providing for their local defense was the result of the anti-imperial feeling which allegedly prevailed in England during the 1860's. Against this thesis may be set the fact that the withdrawal of the garrisons had been proposed by Earl Grey and had been advocated by other staunch imperialists such as Sir William Molesworth and E. G. Wakefield. It was not just economy, as asserted by Dr. Harrop (p. 409), but the simple fact that when the colonists in New Zealand had secured control over the public land they had acquired control over the means to provoke a Maori war. There was sound logic in the reasoning that those who caused the war should also bear its burden.

The book is hard to read, and in places the arguments of the author become too involved. He does not give sufficient prominence to the arguments of men like F. A. Weld, who urged their fellow colonists to adopt a policy of self-reliance. Nevertheless the material here presented for the first time will be welcomed by students of the history of the British Empire in the nineteenth century.

The University of Wisconsin.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Process of Change in the Ottoman Empire. By WILBUR W. WHITE, Assistant Professor of Political Science, Western Reserve University. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 314. \$3.50.)

THIS is a book written from the standpoint of political science rather than history and must be so considered. So vast a subject as the disintegration of the Ottoman Empire could not be properly treated by a historian in such small compass, for the causes of the several organic changes would necessitate intensive treatment, even as the changes themselves would require considerable exposition and analysis as well as broad interpretation. But in presenting such changes clearly, stressing their legal significance, and supplying enough links to make a coherent and readable narrative, the author has done an admirable piece of work. Such were apparently his objects, and he has attained them.

The reviewer has discovered few factual slips, for the study has obviously been prepared with great care; and while no excursion has been made into unpublished archival sources, the documentation is careful and usually adequate for the purpose. The inclusion of the regencies and the Arab states

shows the wide range of the subject treated; there would have been, however, some justification for treating more fully the vicissitudes of the Armenians. In respect to the empire in general, one is inclined to feel that in a study of this sort a little more attention might have been given to extraterritorial rights and judicial procedure as determined by the capitulations, for they were often a source of bickering, and the mere fact of an existing law, however significant, does not mean that it is respected. The peculiar status of the consuls in Serbia and the Danubian Principalities from 1856 to 1878 might also have attracted the political scientist. Since the signatory powers of the Treaty of Paris made themselves collectively the protectors of these vassal states, their consuls were expected to see that the vassal princes did not exceed their rights as such; and while their roles were of course less important than that of the resident general in Tunis at a later time, they nevertheless exercised much influence.

It has been shown and indeed emphasized by the author that most of the changes listed were the products of force. Yet a notable exception of recent date, the Convention of Montreux, allowing the remilitarization of the Straits, is historically interesting as raising the question: to what extent could some present-day dictators satisfy reasonable longings without resorting to threats and blackmail?

The University of Texas.

T. W. RIKER.

British War Missions to the United States, 1914-1918. By Colonel W. G. LYDDON. With a Foreword by the Late Marquis of Reading. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 233. \$4.00.)

THIS is a book of real importance to the student of the World War. It throws a very considerable light on a hitherto obscure phase of the war, *i.e.*, the business relations between the British government and the industries of the foremost industrial nation in the world both before and after April 6, 1917. The greater part of the book is composed of descriptive essays on each of the more than thirty missions which Colonel Lyddon lists. The author was himself a prominent figure in the inspection service from 1914 to 1919 and speaks with first-hand knowledge of the whole field.

Each of the missions described was charged with some specific duty in the purchasing of supplies for the British war effort. Without giving the actual arriving time of the first group, the author says it was "very soon after the Declaration of War" (p. 9), and from thence onward the number and scope of the missions increased rapidly. Some of the fields covered were aviation, finance, gas, leather, petroleum, remounts, shipping, tanks, and timber. The types of materials with which these British buyers were concerned ranged all the way from fine copper wire to huge locomotives.

The personnel of the missions included not only the visiting experts but also large American staffs. In many cases the American employees of

the missions "outnumbered the British staff by more than ten to one", and the "total American staffs of the Missions numbered several thousands" (p. 71). Out of this immense ramification of effort, says Colonel Lyddon, came an understanding and a mutual interest between Britain and the United States which were of "more real effect than any amount of so-called propaganda would have been" (p. 72).

Indeed—and this is the one defect the reviewer has noted in the book—the author goes out of his way to deny that there was any official British propaganda in the United States before April 6, 1917. On three separate occasions (pp. 15, 137, 185) he affirms that prior to American entrance into the war the British government neither undertook nor countenanced such propaganda work in America. This is a strange statement to make. Let Colonel Lyddon consult the files of *Who's Who* after 1922 for the sketches of Charles F. G. Masterman and Gilbert Parker; let him read the latter's article in *Harper's Magazine* for March, 1918, or Ivor Nicholson's essay in *Cornhill Magazine* for May, 1931; or let him examine the record of the parliamentary debates for August 5, 1918. In all of these places, and in many other sources too, he will find abundant evidence that the British did not neglect official propaganda in America before 1917.

Lightened with many interesting anecdotes, furnished with six fine illustrations and a map of the United States, and provided with an excellent index, this volume ought not to be found only on professorial shelves. It might well be used as collateral reading in the halls of Congress.

Colby Junior College.

JAMES DUANE SQUIRES.

Transportation on the Western Front, 1914-1918. Compiled by Colonel A. M. HENNIKER. With Introduction by Brigadier-General Sir James E. Edmonds, Director, Historical Section (Military Branch). [History of the Great War, based on Official Documents, by Direction of the Historical Section of the Committee of Imperial Defence.] (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1937. Pp. xxxiv, 531. Case of 14 Maps. \$5.50, including maps.)

THIS book is not for the casual reader in search of easy entertainment. Its subject is wanting in popular appeal, and its lack of the human touch will make it unattractive even to the serious-minded. Nevertheless, it is a valuable contribution to the literature of the World War, dealing as it does with the movement of troops and their supplies, too often lost sight of in the recordings of the more spectacular essentials of warfare—men and munitions. The historian willing to delve beneath its surface will find many facts that throw light on the swayings to and fro of the battle front, the suspension of hostilities, and decisions reached in the councils of state. To the military student aspiring to future leadership it will convey many teachings, omitted in the usual curriculum, which experience has shown are vital

to success in great campaigns. To those in high place, charged with preparations for national defense, it will reveal the need for a peacetime transportation organization adaptable without change to the exigencies of war.

In the twenty-four chapters of the book are told, in sober terms, how at first the British, with a dual organization and inadequate personnel, were totally unprepared for the effective movement of their army in France; how their shortcomings in these respects were, in the face of the enemy, remedied to some extent in the nick of time under a succession of single-headed organizations in which the militarized civilian experienced in transportation providentially came to play his part; and how in the end, approaching and after the armistice, their means of movement became utterly inadequate for their advance as the enemy retreated toward the Rhine. It is a moving tale in more senses than one, if the reader will look beneath the surface and see the internal conflict of personalities and classes within the army itself and the possibilities of failure to the cause had fate been less kindly where man failed. In this the British were not different from the French and Americans, whose attainment of success often hung in the balance where their transportation facilities fell short of meeting the demands.

A hint as to the drama played behind the scenes is conveyed in Colonel Henniker's comment (p. 195) that "from the outset therefore there was a strong undercurrent of feeling both at the War Office and overseas that the D.G.T. [from civil life] should have been subordinate to the Q.M.G.," despite the commander in chief's decision to the contrary. Even more plainly is this feeling betrayed in General Edmonds's introduction (pp. xxii-iii), where he strikes at the British army's civil aids over the heads of the Americans, saying: "The big business men involved the American Lines of Communication and Transportation service in such a muddle that General Harbord himself was sent by General Pershing to try and restore efficiency." Those acquainted with American history will know, of course, that this is untrue. General Harbord was sent to replace General Kernan, who was not "a big business man", and the "muddle", such as it was, came about in large part from the insistence by General Edmonds's own government that the American fighting men in huge numbers should be sent overseas without suitable provision for their transport on land, a policy which Winston Churchill in *The War Crisis* admits "in appearance was so improvident and even reckless" (II, 196-97). What is still more offensive to the spirit of truth which General Edmonds as director of the Historical Section (Military Branch) is supposed to serve, is his quotation of General Dawes's pronouncement in General Harbord's book, *The American Army in France* (p. 360), in criticism of civilians invited by General Pershing to assist him in France, without including a succeeding paragraph (pp. 361-62), in which General Harbord in eloquent terms himself testifies quite to the contrary of the wrongful impression given by General Edmonds. Per-

haps making the Americans a whipping boy is his way of attacking Lloyd George's criticisms of the British high command in France—hardly a proper means for cementing friendship between his country and ours.

Without in any manner detracting from the value of Colonel Henniker's admirable work, attention is called to its lack of a bibliography, its inadequate index, and the omission of important lines on its "Railway Map of France, 1914".

Ascutney, Vermont.

WILLIAM J. WILGUS.

Post-War German-Austrian Relations: The Anschluss Movement, 1918-1936. By M. MARGARET BALL, Wellesley College. (Stanford University: Stanford University Press. 1937. Pp. ix, 304. \$4.00.)

Germany since 1918. By FREDERICK L. SCHUMAN, Professor of Political Science at Williams College. [The Berkshire Studies in European History.] (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 128. \$1.00.)

It is unfortunate that Dr. Ball's book was published just before the final act of the *Anschluss* movement; the "last scene" would have given it a better ending and a longer period of usefulness. This book is a systematic study of Austro-German relations between 1918 and 1936. It is based upon voluminous newspaper materials, government documents, and League of Nations papers. The author does not seem to have used the collections of the Deutsches Ausland-Institut in Stuttgart, but she has brought together an imposing bibliography, which appears to be quite complete. When a definitive account of the *Anschluss* movement is finally written, Dr. Ball's study will probably be the best *Wegweiser* to much of the evidence available in 1937. Students of contemporary Europe who have been in touch with the *Ausland-deutschumfrage* will find little new either in fact or interpretation in this work, but it does provide a convenient, if at times uncritical, account of the important issues of the question and of their reflection in the politics of Europe.

We are well aware of the difficulty involved in handling the imponderables of public opinion, but this study often overburdens its readers with details of speeches, editorials, celebrations, etc., without presenting a sharp analysis of the forces which they represented in Austro-German politics. In dealing with the abortive Customs Union of 1931 the author dismisses in a footnote (p. 142) the possibility of French implication in the failure of the *Kreditanstalt* and fails to mention the fact that French gold policy may have had something to do with the subsequent failure of German banks. It may well be that the evidence will clear the French of any implication, but this moot question deserves some consideration. Dr. Ball also refuses to credit the charge that political considerations influenced the eight-seven decision of the World Court on the ground that a Cuban voted with the majority while a Belgian voted with the minority (p. 176). A

bare statement of the judge's nationality hardly seems sufficient evidence for this interpretation; surely no student of a five-four decision of the Supreme Court would present such facts as proof.

In the discussion of the situation after 1933 Dr. Ball carefully lists the twenty-five points of the Nazi party, but she does not point out clearly how the Nazi conception of citizenship and race has made the extension of the Nazi party beyond the Reich's frontiers a factor unique in the history of irredentism. This omission is strange in view of the fact that she has used much material which clearly illustrates the political implications of this point.

Professor Schuman's little volume was written to provide additional readings for university history courses, but its insight and clearness of style should give it a wider audience. Although the reader may be inclined to differ somewhat with the author's interpretation of the historical meaning and the probable future of the Nazi state, he will find in this volume a brief but highly intelligent analysis of the problems of postwar Germany.

Both of these volumes are well indexed, and both have appendixes which will aid the reader in understanding the problems.

University of Missouri.

JOHN B. WOLF.

The Plough and the Sword: Labor, Land, and Property in Fascist Italy.

By CARL T. SCHMIDT, Department of Economics, Columbia University.
(New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 197. \$2.50.)

A goodly portion of Italy's agricultural population consists of landless workers—wage laborers, tenants, and small holders. The struggle of the rural masses against poverty is not a fascist invention. For generations agricultural reform has been a subject of parliamentary debate.

Beginning in 1900, through organization and by use of the strike, the agricultural laborer and share tenant made considerable progress. By 1920 their lot was materially improved. Their victories, however, were short-lived. Property owners of all classes, urban and rural alike, flocked to the supernationalistic standards of fascism, enforced by terrorism. The year 1922 saw the beginning of the renewal of the reign of the landlord. Working-class resistance was eliminated. Fascism masqueraded in peasant garb. Agriculture was extolled. But action operated largely in the interests of the landlord.

The Battle of Grain, launched in 1925, was the government's first dramatic agricultural move. It did, in large measure, accomplish its purpose—national self-sufficiency in wheat. But the cost to the consumer in higher prices of breadstuffs was enormous. Agriculture is also paying the price through an impoverished livestock and a neglected fruitgrowing industry.

Land reclamation is another much publicized battle waged upon a national front. The real attack was begun in 1928 by the passage of the

"Mussolini Law", which contemplates the expenditure of 7,000,000,000 lire over a period of fourteen years. Roughly one third of this amount is to be advanced by landowners and the other two thirds by the government. Indications are that more projects have been initiated than can be completed within these limits. The author predicts much costly abandonment.

The agricultural laborer has not fared well under the corporate state. The length of his working day has increased. His wages—both money and real—have declined. The opportunity to work has been reduced. Landlordism is still in the saddle. Of the 4,200,000 farm households, 36 per cent are less than one hectare in size. Another 55 per cent range from one to ten hectares.

Mr. Schmidt paints no rosy picture of Italian agriculture. In his estimation the discipline of fascism is the discipline of poverty. The book is not an emotional tirade. The conclusions of the author are generously supported by figures, many of them from official sources.

University of Wisconsin.

ASHER HOBSON.

The Defence of the Empire. By NORMAN ANGELL. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. 245. \$2.00.)

The King, the Constitution, the Empire, and Foreign Affairs: Letters and Essays. By A. BERRIEDALE KEITH. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 194. \$3.00.)

SIR Norman Angell, in his arresting volume, sharply indicts British foreign policy in recent years and then makes suggestions of a way to prevent slipping "down the slope to chaos". Britain's unwillingness to stand for its interests made Manchuria, in the author's view, a preface to Abyssinia, and Abyssinia a preface to further encroachments on "strategic security". Nearly one half of the volume is concerned with this "retreat of Britain", but his seemingly imperialistic viewpoint is not held to be a defense of empire in the older meaning of that term, on the ground that the empire has ceased to be and has become "a loose alliance of practically independent states". Sir Norman is not in favor of the "transfer" solution in the matter of colonies, because "we are ceasing to own them ourselves and cannot well give up what we and the other Haves do not for the most part possess". A reader would naturally reply that there is here a confusion between dominions and colonies and that the territories most in question are surely still "owned" by the Haves. The argument seems a playing with terms.

The author's proposal for a way out of the impending chaos is provision for defense, based on a "Grand Alliance" where "an attack on one is an attack on all". Membership in this renamed League—he believes there is virtue in a new name—would be open to all on equal terms, with "equality of access for all nations to the Colonial territories of the world". He feels

that the Have-Not states should accept a suggestion that does not deny them "any rights", and that they will, at the same time, "respect our needs and rights and the security of the British Empire". One concludes the reading of this closely argued case with the discouraged feeling that such a proposal is an illusion in the present temper of the great states. The old imperialism is yet so much of a reality both to the Haves and the Have-Nots that one naturally wonders whether the author himself, in view of the historical background, believes that his suggestion is workable.

Professor Keith's approach is much more that of the constitutional lawyer, the letters and essays treating a considerable variety of subjects related to British foreign policy and interimperial concerns. Like Sir Norman Angell, he is critical of the Conservative government, but with an especial animus against Stanley Baldwin for aggrandizing power as prime minister. And he is concerned lest the abdication crisis may have grave effects on the unity of the crown. Professor Keith, as would be expected, is much perturbed over possible imperial disintegration: the extremist tendencies of Eire and the Union of South Africa, based on the vagueness of the Statute of Westminster, are not approved. He is especially condemnatory of Herzog in his effort to further the doctrine of the separate crowns rather than the indivisible crown. So opposed is Professor Keith to this idea and its implications for imperial citizenship that he declares that the position of the Union "is now really assimilated to that of Hanover before the separation of the crowns".

In the matter of foreign relations the two volumes have somewhat the same viewpoint on the happenings in the Mediterranean. Professor Keith decries negotiations with Italy because of the "consistent faithlessness of that Power to treaties" but goes further than Sir Norman Angell in the matter of the German colonies by suggesting their return "subject to conditions of demilitarization". Professor Keith's letters and essays, sketchy though they be, are more realistic than Sir Norman's proposals. Both volumes are highly individual and courageously consider problems in world and imperial affairs where solution is still to be sought.

Oberlin College.

HOWARD ROBINSON.

The Northern Countries in World Economy. Published by the Delegations for the Promotion of Economic Cooperation between the Northern Countries. (Helsinki: Otava Publishing Company. 1937. Pp. 237.)

THIS is a valuable addition to the literature in English dealing with Scandinavia. An editorial committee was placed in charge of the study, but the major part of the work appears to have been performed by Professor Bruno Suviranta of the Helsinki Technological Institute, who has served for many years as economist of the Bank of Finland. The fourteen chapters of the book contain an exceptionally informative treatment of Norway,

Sweden, Finland, and Denmark, and Iceland also, in their economic relations not only with the outside world but with each other as well.

The brief opening chapter contains, in addition to a historical summary, the best brief statement that has come to my notice of some of the common features of the Scandinavian culture pattern. Robust traditions of political democracy combined with a relatively highly developed degree of social equality and a high standard of education represent gains and achievements which, in being common to the four states, are of great importance. Conceptions of law likewise derive, in many respects, from a common source and have for a long time developed on similar lines. In recent years a good deal has been done to create uniformity of laws.

During the postwar years and especially in the course of the past decade the Scandinavian states have become increasingly conscious of the similarity of their interests in the foreign trade of the world. As exporters they are outdistanced only by Great Britain, Germany, and the United States; as importers they rank fifth, after Great Britain, the United States, Germany, and France. To put the matter differently, Scandinavia is three times more important, as an exporter, than Russia, more than twice as important as Italy, and sells some 50 per cent more than Japan. As buyers, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Sweden, and Iceland offer a market more important than the combined markets of Italy and Russia.

That the statesmen and men of business in Scandinavia should have come to see in these and related facts a basis for useful co-operation is perhaps natural, and since 1930 co-operation in the formulation of commercial policy toward the rest of the world has definitely passed from discussion to concrete policy making. The chapter on economic co-operation among the Scandinavian states deals with trends that might well become decisive in their future development. It is clearly brought out that for the time being, at least, this co-operation is viewed as a substantial aid in the recapture of economic prosperity. Its bases, as suggested in the study, deserve more than passing mention.

One of the gratifying features of this authoritative volume is its freedom from the childish, uncritically adulatory treatment which has marred several of the recent books in English on Scandinavia. The text is buttressed throughout by revealing graphs and statistical tables.

Columbia University.

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

Lafayette joins the American Army. By LOUIS GOTTSCHALK, The University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 364. \$3.00.)

In the second book of his great Lafayette series Professor Gottschalk has achieved a very impressive result. His thorough knowledge of sources has enabled him to write a continuous and uninterrupted description of

Lafayette's everyday life between June 13, 1777, and September 6, 1779. The way in which he has managed to gather this mass of material and sift it by the most enlightened processes is a model for all research historians. Bibliographical notes at the end of each chapter prove the soundness of his method.

His book is really more than a history of Lafayette—it is Lafayette himself: every other line is a quotation from Lafayette's letters and diary. The great advantage of this is that it brings the reader into direct contact with the man; the drawback is that it puts all events on very much the same footing. I hope that Gottschalk will someday sum up his conclusions in another book. He shows us a Lafayette who is much more "officious" and much less "liberal" than Lafayette himself liked to appear. The great achievement of Gottschalk is to paint Lafayette as a gifted politician, even though he doesn't use the word (which I regret). I think that the main quality of Lafayette was the gift of pleasing people who were below him, and the rank and file of an assembly. But I don't agree with Gottschalk when he says that Lafayette, when he sailed for America, had only "a very elementary military training" (p. xi). The Fabius collection has confirmed my belief that from his boyhood Lafayette received a good general education and military training and that he was much less awkward than is often supposed. On the other hand it is very clear that before coming to America he didn't take the trouble to please everybody—or didn't know how to do it. I disagree with Gottschalk, too, when he says (p. 176): "In effecting that happy alliance along with Franklin, Vergennes and Beaumarchais, Lafayette was a chief agent". The real importance of Lafayette in French diplomacy as an agent comes after his first return to France in 1779. It was only when Dean had been disgraced, unjustly I think (contrary to Gottschalk's opinion, p. 16, n. 6), and when Franklin himself was in strained relations with Congress, that Lafayette became an important agent because, unlike Gérard, the first French minister to the United States, he had been successful in avoiding the antagonism of Congress. He became then the only French ambassador who was listened to by Congress and the only American diplomat whom Congress fully trusted in Europe. Those eventful months of 1777 and 1778 had made of him a politician, at the same time naïve and shrewd, imprudent and lucky—which he was to be for the rest of his life. This volume enables us to watch closely the process by which Lafayette built his popularity in Congress. I only regret that Gottschalk did not analyze the methods which the young hero used so successfully.

Collège de France.

B. FAÿ.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

Studies in Early Chinese Culture. First Series. By HERRLEE GLESSNER CREEL, Assistant Professor of Chinese Literature and Institutions at the University of Chicago. [American Council of Learned Societies.] (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1937. Pp. xxii, 266. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Creel is the author of *The Birth of China* (London, 1936, and New York, 1937), the first general presentation in English of ancient China in the light of recent excavation. That work has been well received and marks a turn from the classical to the archaeological treatment of Chinese antiquity. The present volume contains three papers covering parts of the same field in rigorous detail instead of in the popular terms of *The Birth of China*. The author wrote both while in China, near the end of some years' residence, with access to newly excavated materials and in contact with Chinese scholars such as the archaeologist Liang Ssü-yung and the epigraphist Tung Tso-pin. Many items of fact and opinion appear here in English for the first time. The three papers are the first of a large series intended to deal with pre-Confucian China and have to do with (1) Shang sources, (2) the Hsia, (3) the Shang. In passing, one may be allowed to express regret for the use, throughout, of the English plural for Chinese gentiles—the Hsias, Shangs, and Chous.

Archaeology has not as yet satisfactorily identified any remains of the Hsia. Professor Creel reviews (p. 127) and rightly doubts the theory which would associate the Hsia with the Yang Shao Neolithic in northwest China, a culture distinguished by fine painted pottery. The classic glory of Hsia belongs to legend rather than history, transmitted in documents that "could not have been written earlier than the Chou period". But, "while there was not a Hsia dynasty, in the traditional sense, there was a state by this name", and this state by inference "was the leading exponent of Chinese culture in its day" (p. 130).

Archaeology has found the Shang, however, and has placed the latter portion of the Shang period, from perhaps 1400 B.C., well within historical focus. The opening pages of the volume describe the excavations at Anyang in northern Honan. The inscriptions, in particular, which mostly have to do with royal divinations and are preserved because incised on the shell and bone employed as oracles, afford an amazing variety of information, even such basic matter as lists of former kings, these lists occurring in connection with divinations concerning ancestral sacrifices. The Shang bronzes are unexcelled by those of any other time or place. Of this paper on Shang sources, the larger part (pp. 21-93), more than a quarter of the volume, is mainly negative textual criticism, arguing that the parts of the canonical classics formerly regarded as Shang are not Shang documents. This contention accords with modern critical opinion.

Much of the new data, especially in the third paper, bears strikingly upon the extraordinary continuity of the Chinese race. There is the likelihood that the Peking Man is the direct ancestor of the Mongoloid group (p. 153). "North China has been inhabited chiefly by a very similar type of Mongoloid men from Neolithic times, if not even earlier, to the present" (p. 252). So, too, with the distinctiveness of Chinese culture: "even in the earliest Neolithic culture known in northeast China certain characteristic properties of Shang culture were present. Northeast China has apparently constituted a distinctive culture area from the earliest Neolithic times we know" (p. 253). Probable affinities in design with the Northwest Coast Indians of America are suggested (p. 249).

A fuller index would facilitate the use of the many items of new material which make these papers valuable to the Western student of Chinese antiquity. To the sinologist some of the arguments will seem dead issues. In general, however, the debunking of our conventional histories of ancient China is most welcome. The general historian or teacher of history may be wearied if not lost in the mazes of minutiae and the bypaths of inconclusive argument. For such, *The Birth of China*, in popular and more readable form, offers the same degree of authority as is meticulously evidenced in these papers.

New York University.

ROSWELL S. BRITTON.

Problems of Chinese Education. By VICTOR PURCELL. (London: Kegan Paul, Trench, Trubner and Company. 1936. Pp. viii, 261. 10s. 6d.)

THIS perspicacious study of the problems arising from the introduction of modern education into China, written by a British civil servant resident for some years in China and well-versed in its spoken and written language, is an important addition to the literature bearing on the whole field of the modernization of that country. The first two chapters give concise summaries of education under the *ancien régime* and the development of the modern educational system. They serve as an introduction to the main purpose of the study, which is to examine "the spirit animating the educational movement and the present cultural revolution in China" (p. 75). The remaining chapters deal with the aims of modern education, the language problem, Sun Yat-sen's "Three Principles of the People", which have been required reading in the schools since the Nationalists came to power in 1928, and general aspects of the present period. An appendix gives an analysis of representative textbooks under such headings as the treatment of war and of nationalism, religion, race, economics, and political questions.

The chapter on the language problem is the most original contribution of the book. The author's purpose here is to examine the Chinese language from the point of view of its ability to convey adequately and accurately to the Chinese mind Western philosophical, social, political, and scientific

terms and concepts. His conclusion, after analyzing the traditional Chinese meanings which lie back of the characters selected to express such modern terms as socialism, nationalism, capitalism, etc., is that "for the purpose of teaching Western ideas, especially Western scientific ideas, the best course would be to adopt a Western language as a medium" (p. 160). Many would disagree with the author's implied if not expressed conclusion that the Chinese language itself is not sufficiently flexible and adaptable to convey accurately Western terms and Western modes of thought. The completion in recent years of satisfactory standardized scientific terminologies for the major pure and physical sciences is an evidence of the potentiality for change inherent in the language.

The chapter on the *San Min Chu I* gives a good critical summary of the main ideas contained therein, but the author fails to give an adequate historical background setting forth their origin and development. His failure to bear in mind the historical setting has led him to accept Maurice William's erroneous assertion that Sun Yat-sen was once a communist and was later led to abandon that position through reading William's book on *The Social Interpretation of History*. Dr. Sun was first and foremost a nationalist, and his changing attitudes toward capitalism, socialism, and communism were dictated by the drift of political and intellectual currents which he sought to guide into the main stream of his life purpose, the achievement of Chinese unity and national independence.

These criticisms detract little from the value of this thought-provoking book. It is one which carries the reader to the heart and core of the problems confronting modern Chinese leaders.

Columbia University.

C. H. PEAKE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Letters of John Davenport, Puritan Divine. Edited by ISABEL MACBEATH CALDER, Associate Professor of History in Wells College. [A Tercenary Publication.] (New Haven: Published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by the Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 301. \$3.00.)

Miss Calder's edition of Davenport's letters represents the first attempt at a comprehensive synthesis of the papers of New Haven's most important founder, though many of them have previously appeared in print. From the Public Record Office and the British Museum as well as from many American libraries, public and private, she has assembled this valuable collection edited with her usual unimpeachable scholarship.

The letters fall naturally into groups determined by different stages of Davenport's career. The early ones deal with his denial of Puritanism when

his enemies used the charge to prevent his appointment to the post of vicar of St. Stephen's, London. His defense—that jealousy of his popularity and success as curate of St. Lawrence, Jewry, had prompted the charge—apparently convinced Sir Edward Conway, secretary of state, to whom most of these letters were addressed, of his innocence, and he won the appointment. From this time on until his departure for America the letters reflect the most critical years of his life, when he himself finally became aware that he was not in sympathy with the orthodoxy of the state religion and decided to follow the path of other Puritans, first to the Netherlands and then to the New World, where he could work out his convictions and ideals in practical experiment. He did not find Boston, where he and his followers wintered in 1637, congenial, nor was he, though a member of the Massachusetts Bay Company, satisfied to settle elsewhere within the bounds of its charter. Instead, he and his associates purchased from the Indians land on Long Island Sound, and thither they made their way in March, 1638. The period from the settlement of New Haven to the Restoration must have been the happiest and most interesting of Davenport's life, since he was working out the theocracy along lines of his own conceived religious utopia, but the letters covering that time reveal disappointingly little concerning either his ideas or his problems. They are practically all written to John Winthrop, jr., as physician and for the most part concern the illnesses of the pioneer community.

Letters of the 1660's and official documents which Miss Calder has wisely included tell the story of the fall of the New Haven theocracy. From the arrival of the first news of the Restoration Davenport was never again at ease. When it was reported that times were "as bad as in Queene Maries dayes" he feared a purge of American Puritanism as well. But worse anxiety was to come. He appears at first not to have been alarmed by the report that Connecticut had received a charter, but thought rather that it boded well for the other Puritan colonies. When Connecticut annexed several New Haven towns he became aware of the full import of the "covert" clause, by which the bounds of Connecticut were in the charter extended so as to include New Haven. To him, who disapproved of Connecticut's growing liberalism, the final absorption of New Haven into Connecticut was no union but a conquest won by trickery. After the destruction of the theocracy he had no desire to remain in New Haven. If he had been younger, he would have fared forth again to set up God's kingdom in the wilderness, but since he could not—he was too infirm for that—he accepted the call to the First Church at Boston where he was ordained in December, 1668. Even this move was accompanied by factional strife, in the midst of which he suddenly died in March, 1670.

Though the letters do not open up a great deal that is new concerning the chief events in the history of New Haven, they are nevertheless very

important because they set forth the personality and leadership of one of its two original founders and through him sketch the history of the New Haven theocracy. Students of New England history will find them valuable because of what they reveal of the social as well as the political and religious life of the colony. In addition, they are particularly appealing for their human qualities.

Mount Holyoke College.

VIOLA F. BARNES.

Archives of Maryland. Volume LIII, *Proceedings of the County Court of Charles County, 1658-1666, and Manor Court of St. Clement's Manor, 1659-1672*. Volume LIV, *Proceedings of the County Courts of Kent, 1648-1676, Talbot, 1662-1674, and Somerset, 1665-1668, Counties*. [Court Series 6 and 7.] J. HALL PLEASANTS, Editor; LOUIS DOW SCISCO, Associate Editor. [Published by Authority of the State under the Direction of the Maryland Historical Society.] (Baltimore: Maryland Historical Society. 1936; 1937. Pp. lxvii, 657; xxxv, 816. \$3.00 each.)

STUDENTS of legal history now have available in published form a cross section of the judicial system of Maryland in the seventeenth century, running from the highest to the lowest courts and comprising the records of (1) the governor and council sitting as a court of appeals from 1695 (*American Legal Records*, Vol. I); (2) the provincial court or general law court of the province, 1637-66 (*Archives of Maryland*, Vols. IV, X, XLI, XLIX); (3) the court of chancery, 1669-79 (*ibid.*, Vol. LI); and, in the present volumes, (4) the records of four early county courts and (5) the only known extant manorial court record. Owing to the admirable enterprise of Messrs. Browne and Steiner and the present editors, Maryland joins Massachusetts as the only states to have achieved this end.

Of the eleven counties dating from the seventeenth century the four whose court proceedings have been selected for publication are those possessing the earliest known court records. Of these the fullest are the records of Charles County, whose court clerks showed the greatest knowledge of legal procedure. The Kent County clerks, on the other hand, were only semiliterate and poorly trained in the forms of the law. Of the four counties only Talbot has a complete separation of court minutes and county land records; the latter, however, have been omitted. It is to be regretted that the editors chose to sacrifice some of the later illuminating records of Somerset in favor of some fifty pages of livestock marks. It is also disappointing that brief notes on the disposition of cases on appeal to the provincial court could not have been included. These appeal records were easily accessible to the editors in manuscript.

Where, as in the present instances, inferior court records are supplemented by testimony or depositions, American social historians have at hand a most illuminating source for the study of the seventeenth century. The salty Anglo-Saxon testimony is sometimes revolting or sensational and

sometimes riotously funny, but it is always instructive as to the coarse manners of the day. Certainly it brings us far closer to the common man than do the writs of *assumpsit* and *ejectment*. It is in the record of the inferior courts that one is struck by the full significance of the colonial labor problem. The courts ruled on the terms and conditions of indenture, determined the ages of servants, and provided for payment of freedom dues. Manned by masters, they attempted in half-hearted fashion to curb the punishment which masters ruthlessly meted out to their help. In one instance a boy was so pitifully neglected by his master that the court declared that the "voyce of the People Crieth shame thereat" and gave him his freedom (LIII, 410). Harsh treatment on numerous occasions drove servants to suicide, and it is perhaps significant that no suicide of a freeman is recorded in these volumes. White servitude completely overshadows Negro slavery in these records; a case in 1671 (LIV, 520) involving litigation over slave importations perhaps marks the beginning of a trend from servitude to slavery.

Legal dicta are rarely to be found in county court records of this period, but certain clearly defined legal practices can be noted and occasional principles inferred. In Kent County a Puritan twist was given to the custom of England "that due respect be given to Maiestrates" for it was alleged to be "grounded upon the word of God" (LIV, 139). The system, still in vogue in Maryland, of giving the accused in criminal cases, even when capital punishment might be the penalty, the choice of trial by jury or trial before the court was in operation in that period. It is by no means unusual to find informal verdicts such as, in one instance, that "as it was a drunken buisnes the Charge shall bee equalie deuided" (LIII, 418). When the jury did "not find it valluable to Reach the law of felony" concerning goods which servants took from a master, the court, although judging them not guilty, ordered them to return the goods (LIV, 213). Where a master literally beat his servant's brains out, the jury found that the cause of death was the "want of Looking after" the wounds (LIV, 391). Equitable relief was occasionally provided, as when the court ordered a bill of sale to be written in good ink instead of powder ink (LIII, 5). The courts clearly recognized the validity of postnuptial separation agreements and allowed a married woman to plead coverture in defense of a suit in which her husband was not joined with her (LIII, 14; LIV, 45). They refused to declare contracts made on Sunday invalid, apparently allowed an English statute relating to gambling debts to be pleaded (LIV, 499), and held that a Maryland statute limiting servants' time superseded a London indenture (LIV, 514). Impossibility excused the nonperformance of a bond (LIII, 281). In general, it may be said that informality in the choice of remedies was the rule rather than the exception; for example, trespass is brought by a servant to secure freedom from his indentures (LIII, 593).

To complete the cross section of the judicial system, the proceedings of

the court baron and leet of St. Clement's manor, the only manorial court record known to have survived, are reprinted in the first of these volumes. It is probable that, of the seventy-four manors granted, only a very few, St. Gabriel's among them, functioned with court leet and court baron, which is also true of the New York manors, a few of which are known to have held court before Leisler's time, although no records are extant. The uniqueness of these brief records compensates for the trivial character of the business recorded.

The College of the City of New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS

William Penn: A Topical Biography. By WILLIAM I. HULL, Howard M. Jenkins Research Professor of Quaker History in Swarthmore College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xvi. 362. \$5.00.)

Eight First Biographies of William Penn in Seven Languages and Seven Lands. By WILLIAM I. HULL. [Swarthmore College Monographs on Quaker History.] (Swarthmore: the College. 1936. Pp. xviii. 136. \$2.00.)

It is pertinent at the outset to look at the biographical scheme which Dr. Hull set for himself. He defines the boundaries within which he depicts the life of William Penn. The approach is unique in both arrangement and proportion. The sequence of time in the unfolding of Penn's career is set aside in favor of a topical treatment. Thirty topics are selected, each a detached phase of life, embracing such items as boyhood, preacher, debater, author, prisoner, old age. This plan, Dr. Hull holds, permits unity, avoids repetition, and serves the reader's convenience. But it is fair to remark that repetition is not avoided, the unity and continuity of a colorful career is broken, and one is inclined to think that what was done for the reader's convenience will result in his confusion. Penn's life was woven of many strands of many colors, and to unravel the closely interlaced threads destroys the pattern.

Again, Dr. Hull denies equality of treatment to subjects of equal value. He decided that those parts of Penn's career already well known might be dismissed briefly to make way for a fuller discussion of neglected phases. The biography, therefore, lacks completeness. But a word may be said for this position. Many pages have been written about Penn as the leader of a "Holy Experiment" in America and all too few about him as a distinctive figure in England. Dr. Hull has done a service in presenting Penn's long and dramatic life upon the English stage, where he labored so hard and suffered so much for Quakerism, for religious toleration, and for the rights of Englishmen. The author has laid the ghost of Macaulay's unwarranted aspersions upon Penn and has confounded those who would call him a Jesuit and courtier in the days of James II and a Jacobite and traitor in the age of William III. The author places his subject in the currents of the time. He envisages Quakerism as an expanding force of which Penn was

so great a part and as a struggle for freedom of conscience in which Penn was so great a protagonist.

The study bears the marks of having been built up from the ground and wrought out of all sources at present available. The author brought to his task a deep understanding of Quakerism gained by a life of study in the field. Though well aware of Penn's limitations, he brings out fairly the greatness of the man and his crowning achievements. The book is somewhat lacking in literary craftsmanship. While readable, the style is a bit awkward here and there. One wishes that there were not so wide a sprinkling of such words as "doubtless", "probably", "it must have been". At times one feels a bit wearied under the weight of details and wishes that more stress had been laid upon the bearing and meaning of the evidence. Occasionally one runs upon a historical inaccuracy. The conquest of Jamaica did not lay the foundation of the British Empire in the Caribbean, and the statement that the Revolution of 1689 achieved religious liberty and parliamentary government needs qualification. Mention of faults of style and slips in statement should not, however, detract from the virtues of the biography. Among the many writers attracted to the dynamic personality of William Penn, Dr. Hull ranks high. His work is a valuable study and a welcome addition to historical literature.

The value of the *Eight First Biographies* written in various tongues and lands lies not so much in priority as in other respects. The book has the value of a critical biography. Here is set forth the nature and content of the biographies by Besse and Clarkson in England, Weems and Janney in America, Sewel in Holland, and the others, in French, Italian, Spanish, Latin, and German. Its further value is in exhibiting the extent to which Penn's life and principles cast a widening influence. And finally, the volume presents a good illustration of "history as thought", of how men interpreted Penn and his ideas in the light of their own special times and predilections.

The State University of Iowa.

WINFRED T. ROOT.

Presbyterians in Colonial Pennsylvania. By GUY SOULLIARD KLETT. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 297. \$3.00.)

WHEN the news of Penn's colonial experiment reached Europe it naturally attracted a number of those who were dissatisfied with their lot. A throng of Scotch-Irish Presbyterians, impatient of restriction and desirous of a more prosperous situation than they had found in Ireland, heeded the call of the "Holy Experiment". They came in appreciable though uncounted numbers, particularly in the closing years of the second decade of the eighteenth century and thereafter. The colony was well established by this time, and the lands available to the newcomers were beyond the river counties. Their experience therefore was to be in large part on the frontier.

This study carefully traces the distribution of these Presbyterians and the establishment of their congregations, presbyteries, and synods down to the outbreak of the Revolution. The methods of church government and the regulation of the conduct of individuals and congregations by the churches themselves or their ruling bodies reflect customs and conditions on the frontier. The church members exhibited a moderate interest in charity and missionary activity, but their help was limited by a lack of means and by proverbial caution in money matters. The church displayed a significant respect for education and tried to secure an educated clergy. Politically the Presbyterians were often in conflict with the ruling Quakers, who failed to give the frontier adequate representation in the colonial government or to protect the outlying districts against the Indians. Love of liberty and dislike of control, however, led them to side with the Quakers in opposition to a move to take Pennsylvania from the proprietors and make it a royal colony. They were a force for democracy.

The author is a Presbyterian layman who has worked diligently in the extensive archives of that church. He has written a good history from the ecclesiastical point of view and at the same time made a substantial contribution to social history. He is free from the doctrinal prepossessions of certain church historians and sees the church as a part of an evolving community. He writes well and occasionally adds to the interest by apt quotation and by unconscious lapses into the idiom of the records which he has carefully studied. Although the author has by no means neglected an account of the Great Awakening, it is to be regretted that he did not feature it more; it is worth a chapter. This study could well serve as a model for a number of others describing conditions in other denominations and in other colonies.

University of Pennsylvania.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

Jean Jacques Burlamaqui: A Liberal Tradition in American Constitutionalism. By RAY FORREST HARVEY, Department of Government, Washington Square College, New York University. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. viii, 216. \$2.50.)

AMONG eighteenth century radicals Switzerland excited much admiration by her constitutional organization; quite naturally also her political theorists enjoyed considerable prestige. Of these the most outstanding was J. J. Burlamaqui, jurist and philosopher, whose specific contributions to the birth and growth of the United States are related in this volume. Protesting now and then too much for his hero's benefit (because after all there have been many political theorists since Plato), Mr. Harvey first outlines what he considers the fundamental doctrines and peculiar outlook of Burlamaqui and then devotes slightly more than half his space to the way in which that

philosopher influenced the climate of colonial opinion on the eve of the Revolution and during the infancy of our constitutional system.

He finds Burlamaqui siring the philosophy of the rising middle class, advancing beyond his theoretical predecessors, and contributing uniquely to political theory. At the same time he sees this "last of the great natural law philosophers" returning across the abyss of medievalism to the basic ideas of Plato and Aristotle through his identity of the natural and political man and his acceptance of the state as a natural institution. Moreover, because Burlamaqui found the binding force of law in its content rather than in its source, his concept of fundamental law went beyond nature to include a written constitution. Here, and in his concepts of popular sovereignty and the separation of powers, wherein he rather than Locke and Montesquieu, respectively, shaped the American doctrine, Burlamaqui established his claim to be considered a father of American constitutionalism. How his ideas spread among leaders of opinion forms the substance of some of Mr. Harvey's most valuable pages.

That this study fills a considerable gap in the history both of American constitutionalism and of political theory generally can scarcely be denied. Impregnated so freely with the doctrine that Locke, in justifying an English revolution, fathered the American Revolution, historians have often neglected the most patent evidence concerning the multiple parentage of American independence. Certainly the leading revolutionaries themselves were not unmindful of the contributions of other minds to ends for which they so earnestly and learnedly worked. In consequence, it is hoped that other studies may trace the influence of still more obscure thinkers who furnished ideas and support to the architects of the United States.

Coming after this study, however, others may well avoid some of its shortcomings. More background is desirable. Why, for instance, did Burlamaqui write, and why did he enunciate his particular theories? Better definition and integration of materials is desirable. The style shows too close proximity to the notes and is needlessly repetitious in that sentences are virtually duplicated a page or two apart. Finally, there is no need to claim too much for one's subject. Nevertheless, whether or not we accept all of Mr. Harvey's contentions, he has made it impossible for subsequent students of American constitutional history to disregard Jean Jacques Burlamaqui.

University of Missouri.

CHARLES F. MULLETT.

A Brief Biography of Booker Washington. By ANSON PHELPS STOKES, Canon of Washington Cathedral. (Hampton: Hampton Institute Press. 1936. Pp. x, 42. \$1.00.)

Richard Allen, Apostle of Freedom. By CHARLES H. WESLEY, Howard University. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1935. Pp. xi, 300. \$2.15.)

Sojourner Truth, God's Faithful Pilgrim. By ARTHUR HUFF FAUSET. [The Chapel Hill Series of Negro Biographies.] (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. 187. \$1.00.)

THE first of the books listed above merits its name only within the limitation which the title implies. It falls far short of an adequate estimate of the educator's career, and it reports no discovery of facts hitherto unknown to the public. The usual requirements for a brief sketch are met in that the striking incidents of Washington's life are narrated, but the work is chiefly valuable in giving the reaction of the mind of a white interracial worker to the role played by a distinguished Negro against the background of national and international forces.

Charles H. Wesley's *Richard Allen* is the first effort to produce a definitive biography of a distinguished American Negro. Most sketches of Negroes have been of the popular sort, with a political, religious, or racial bias. It was difficult in this case for Dr. Wesley to forget that the author and the subject of the sketch belong to the same race, but the book has many merits. Allen's achievement in building a religious denomination for his race is amply treated as such an account requires, and his career is projected on the screen with that of other great men and measures of his time. The author shows Allen's interest not only in such movements as those launched by Asbury, Wesley, and Coke, but in the political thought and action which made the American Revolution possible and the social and economic reconstruction which followed that struggle. Dr. Wesley should have read the proof more carefully in order to have his footnotes clear and to eliminate errors as to age and dates on pages 11 and 28. This work, however, is a valuable contribution to American historical literature.

Fauset's *Sojourner Truth* is both interesting and valuable. It narrates striking incidents in a career all but forgotten by the general public which shuffled off the Negro and his troubles not long after the Civil War and began to treat the race as a problem. To remind this waiting generation that such a character as Sojourner Truth actually lived in this country and helped to direct its national policy toward freedom and democracy is a timely service. The story of her humble beginnings, escape from bondage, mysterious communings with the infinite, and attack on slavery makes a gripping narrative. One would think that the author had in mind a dramatization for present-day movies. Reading the story, the student understands better what Fredrika Bremer had in mind when she said to Americans in 1851, "The romance of your history is the fate of the Negro." And yet Mr. Fauset's book is not a definitive treatment. He is concerned mainly with the presentation of facts most of which are known to serious workers in this field. His approach to the task at hand is more psychological than historical. While Sojourner Truth is made an important figure in the abolition movement along with Phillips, Garrison, and Douglass, the

other great forces with which she was identified are not similarly defined. With labor, temperance, and woman suffrage Sojourner Truth was much concerned.

*The Association for the Study of Negro
Life and History.*

C. G. WOODSON.

The Massachusetts First National Bank of Boston, 1784-1934. By N. S. B. GRAS. [Harvard Studies in Business History.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xxiv, 768. \$5.00.)

PROFESSOR Gras tells us that his chief purposes in writing this history are three: "One is the study of the Bank in operation rather than its constitutional aspects. . . . The second aim has been to give the student of banking as much of the original material as possible for the most significant period. . . . The third aim has been to present in the General Introduction a running account of the history of the Bank." He modestly says: "This part will doubtless have to be modified as more information is made available from fresh sources."

The book is in three parts. Part I relates the history of the Massachusetts Bank, the Massachusetts National Bank, and finally the First National Bank of Boston. Part II consists of documents covering the period 1784-1865. They include a letter from Thomas Willing, the petition for the charter, the original charter and two amendments, extracts from the stockholders' minute book and directors' records, and lists of presidents, directors, and cashiers. Part III consists of statistics covering the period 1784-1865, including salaries of employees, lists of shareholders, rates of dividend, prices of the bank stock, bank statements, certain accounts, statistics of discounted bills and collection items, and profit and loss statements.

These records will be a mine for genealogists. There are many portraits, pictures of bank buildings, reproductions of bank notes, and organization charts. There is an excellent eight-page chronology of the bank.

The book suffers in comparison with the histories of the joint-stock banks of England which have recently appeared. Perhaps this is due partly to the character of the English banks, built up from a large number of banks covering the whole country, each with its particular story. But it is due more to the impression one gets that the English histories are "inside jobs" and that Professor Gras has done, very expertly to be sure, an "outside job": Indeed he complains in the preface that minutes and statistics are not enough to give motives for action and wishes that correspondence had been preserved. Perhaps, too, the records are fuller for the English banks.

Those who teach banking history will be grateful for the tracing of the direct influence of the Bank of North America on the Massachusetts Bank;

for the long run of bank accounts with the details of the way the bank kept its accounts; for the interesting history of the slow growth of the idea that deposits might be a source of profit to the bank; and for a new point of view about the Suffolk Bank and its bank note clearing arrangement to replace the almost uniformly favorable accounts usually given.

The student who reads the early records of the Massachusetts Bank will gain a deeper understanding of the problems of the early banks in general. Professor Gras has a wide knowledge of the economic history of the United States, and it is against this background that he traces the history of this particular institution.

New York University.

JAMES D. MAGEE.

The Changing West and Other Essays. By LAURENCE M. LARSON, Professor of History in the University of Illinois. (Northfield: Norwegian-American Historical Association. 1937. Pp. ix, 180. \$2.50.)

THE eight essays that comprise this volume were written by a veteran historian whose life spanned a boyhood home in a pioneer Norwegian settlement in northern Iowa and the distinguished honor of the presidency of the American Historical Association. The late Professor Larson's researches were re-enforced by a background of rich experience that makes his essays sparkle with spontaneous observations and recollections. Salty characters—laymen and men who had taken holy orders, some of whom the author knew intimately—perambulate through his pages. With critical discernment, yet with sympathetic understanding, these contentious and earnest exponents of divergent doctrines and ecclesiastical polity are portrayed in the light of their European training, racial and cultural heritages, and frontier environment.

In the first essay, "The Changing West", the author directs attention to the "human map" of America, acknowledging his obligations to Frederick Jackson Turner, as all students of Western history should. Three facts, he thinks, characterized the entire Westward movement: "It was American; it was democratic; it was Protestant." The most significant fact in the progress of American settlement, especially after 1850, he says, is the appearance of great alien groups. It is to the Norwegian element in the American population that Professor Larson devotes the remaining seven essays. Collectively they contribute to a better understanding of the process of weaving the fabric of American society, a process that, with lengthening perspective, becomes a chapter of major importance in the history of the United States and, indeed, in the history of the world.

Professor Larson's interest in the history of the Norwegian Americans embraced their achievements in the fields of scholarship and literature, political activity, efforts to preserve Old World patterns of culture, customs, and institutions through the instrumentality of parochial schools, colleges,

seminaries, periodicals, and churches, and controversies that divided them into hostile camps commanded by conservatives and liberals or by "Norwegians" and "Americans". In his chapters "The Yankee School" and "The Lay Preacher in Pioneer Times" he has filmed a series of battles and skirmishes that suggest similar civil wars that were fought in other provinces of the Kingdom of God.

In the years intervening since the coming of the "Sloop Folk" in 1825 the impact of America on the civilization the Norwegian pioneers brought with them produced results neither expected nor desired by many of their leaders. In Professor Larson's own lifetime events of catastrophic proportions on both sides of the Atlantic hastened developments that in perspective seemed to be inevitable. The author projects himself into certain controversies to the extent of passing judgment on men who sought to divert the onrushing stream into channels of their own construction; but whether on the one side or the other, he never loses his sense of proportion and judiciousness. In other words, of him it may be said that he fully relishes the new moon, in spite of respect "for that venerable institution, the old one".

In conclusion, it is a pleasure to record that Professor Larson's volume of essays is a worthy addition to the long list of publications sponsored by the Norwegian-American Historical Association during the brief period of its existence. Dedicated to the collection, preservation, and publication of documents and monographs pertaining to a single racial group, it knew neither race, caste, religion, nor social condition in setting forth the claims of this group to serious consideration by students of history.

The University of Minnesota.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON.

The Beginnings of Printing in Arizona with an Account of the Early Newspapers and a Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Broad-sides printed in Arizona, 1860-1875. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Chicago: Black Cat Press. 1937. Pp. 44, facsimis. 2. \$2.50.)

Indiana Imprints, 1804-1849: A Supplement to Mary Alden Walker's "Beginnings of Printing in the State of Indiana", published in 1934. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Indianapolis: Indiana Historical Society. 1937. Pp. [4], 307-93. 75 cents.)

Montana Imprints, 1864-1880: Bibliography of Books, Pamphlets, and Broad-sides printed within the Area now constituting the State of Montana. By DOUGLAS C. McMURTRIE. (Chicago: Black Cat Press. 1937. Pp. 82. \$5.00.)

Vermont Imprints before 1800: An Introductory Essay on the History of Printing in Vermont, with a List of Imprints, 1779-1799. By ELIZABETH F. COOLEY. (Montpelier: Vermont Historical Society. 1937. Pp. xxxii, 133. \$2.00.)

REGIONAL bibliographies such as these are of great value not only to

the historian of printing but also to the student of the beginnings of political, social, religious, and literary history. They record for us the ephemeral writings of our pioneers, and they tell us where we may consult them. They are now available for many sections of the country, but historians have not sufficiently realized their value in spite of the fact that, through interlibrary loan and the use of the photostat and microfilm copying, they may, at reasonable cost, bring the individual titles from distant libraries to their own study tables. Each of the excellent volumes listed above gives lined-off titles and full collations and sizes of the volumes recorded and tells in which library each may be consulted.

Mr. McMurtrie's three volumes are by-products of his *History of Printing in the United States* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 134). In the introduction to his *Beginnings of Printing in Arizona* he gives us in fifteen pages our best published account of the introduction of printing into that state and follows it with a description of the first thirty-five separate publications so far known to have been printed there between 1860 and 1875. They include territorial publications, speeches, and two or three historical works, all of great rarity and nine of them unique.

His *Indiana Imprints*, reprinted from the Indiana Historical Society's *Publications* (Vol. II, 1937), adds sixteen new printing towns to Miss Walker's list and describes 340 titles in addition to the 574 which she recorded. These include state documents and religious, educational, masonic, and political titles.

Montana Imprints is the first attempt to record the pioneer printing of that state. A six-page introduction briefly sketches the history of the pioneer presses, and the main text describes their first 164 separate publications, including 36 titles not printed in the state. There are many titles of historical and political interest and fewer relating to religion, as might be expected in a frontier mining state.

Miss Cooley's *Vermont Imprints before 1800*, originally a thesis prepared for the Columbia University School of Library Service, is the first attempt at a Vermont imprint bibliography, though one or two individual presses have been covered by others. In her nineteen-page introduction she supplies us with our best history of early Vermont printing and follows it with a description of 508 titles printed in that state from 1779 to 1799, including the 33 Dresden imprints previously recorded by Mr. Harold G. Rugg. The volume has an excellent bibliography, author index, and index of printers, and records the holdings of thirty-nine libraries. Vermonters have always been individualists, and their early publications are unusually interesting and varied. The extreme rarity of many of them makes such a finding list as this especially welcome.

The American Antiquarian Society.

R. W. G. VAIL.

The Hidden Lincoln: From the Letters and Papers of William H. Herndon.

By EMANUEL HERTZ. (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. 461. \$5.00.)

IN Lincoln historiography the name of Herndon is outstanding, and the Herndon-Weik collection is unique. Few readers, however, know just how *Herndon's Lincoln* came into existence. It was after the death of Lincoln that Herndon began. Then, despite limited means, he made a valiant search, interviewing and corresponding with a great number of Lincoln's acquaintances and assembling that huge if uneven mass of data now known as the Herndon-Weik manuscripts. After some years Herndon sold copies of his material to Ward Lamon, whose realistic biography, written by Chauncey F. Black, reached its unappreciative public in 1872. The collection grew as the years passed, and in the eighties Herndon became associated with Jesse W. Weik of Greencastle, Indiana. Out of a tentative scheme for magazine articles there evolved the plan of a joint biography to which Herndon would contribute his matchless collection while Weik would serve as literary collaborator. But Herndon did more than submit material. Though underestimating his own literary ability with the true statement that he "wrote in a gallop, with a whoop", he penned hundreds of sizable letters to Weik in the eighties in which he ranged over the whole subject of Lincoln, giving elaborate reminiscences, recalling anecdotes, commenting on phases of Lincoln's life as revealed (or obscured) by the puzzling letters he had collected, and adding an amateurish factor of Herndonian psychoanalysis. He also "wrote up" passages on Lincoln's courtship of Ann Rutledge and Mary Owens, his ways and methods when addressing people, and other subjects. Taking this material, Weik served (in journalistic parlance) as a kind of "rewrite man", and in 1889 there appeared *Herndon's Lincoln: The True Story of a Great Life* by William H. Herndon and Jesse W. Weik. Though other biographers (e.g., Isaac N. Arnold) benefited by Herndon's generosity, the important Herndon-Weik manuscripts were long withheld from historical use; in the 1920's they were used again by Weik and notably by Beveridge but not by Barton, who belittled their significance. Now in 1938 a part of the actual papers is given to the public by Mr. Hertz.

If the reader should get the impression that Mr. Hertz's volume gives the complete Herndon-Weik collection, he would be seriously misled. The bulk of the collection, though drawn upon and quoted from as above indicated, is as yet unpublished. Among those whose writings appear in the collection but not in Mr. Hertz's book are Thaddeus Stevens, John Bell, E. B. Washburne, William H. Bissell, J. B. Turner, J. R. Giddings, J. M. Sturtevant, Richard Yates, John Wentworth, Robert Todd Lincoln, Matilda Johnston Moore (Lincoln's stepsister), J. W. Lamar (a neighbor at Gentryville), Green B. Taylor (of early Indiana days), John Pitcher, and Mentor Graham. The collection contains an interview with John Todd Stuart which Mr. Hertz's book lacks, and the same may be said as to material

from John McNamar (Ann Rutledge's lover), William ("Slippery Bill") Greene, James ("Jimmy") Short, Coleman Smoot, and various others. Only a small fraction of the Dennis Hanks material is reproduced. Many of those mentioned in Mr. Hertz's introduction (p. 22) as having made contributions to the collection are unrepresented by documents in the body of the book. Nor is the collection itself complete as to Herndon's writings—far from it. He had an extensive correspondence, and his "works" have never been collected. Of the hundreds of letters he wrote to Weik, about one third are included in the Hertz volume.

What Mr. Hertz gives is a selection, but hardly a well-rounded sampling of the whole mass. Sensational writings are chosen (*e.g.*, doubts as to Lincoln's legitimacy), and the public is given that of which it has been deprived by a puritanical "Grundyism". One finds much here in repetition of the discredited legend that Abe Enloe was Lincoln's father and that Thomas Lincoln was physically incapable of parenthood. This point will serve as well as any to suggest two tests that are needful in judging this book: an inquiry into the credibility of the Herndon-Weik collection itself and an examination of the adequacy of Mr. Hertz's editorship. Concerning the collection it may be noted, without disparaging Herndon's tireless investigation, that great masses of the material that came to him are of doubtful evidential value. Many of his informants were poorly educated, and their recollection in the sixties or seventies of far-off events in Lincoln's early days was necessarily defective. There will always be a lack of precision about many things in Lincoln's early story which can be "documented" by citation of letters or recorded interviews and yet are far removed from the authenticity of a provable contemporary account.

To the careful historian the editing is most unsatisfactory. There is no adequate account of the Herndon-Weik collection, and the introduction, which contains various errors, answers surprisingly few of the questions that a reading of the volume provokes. The editor gives no indication of the source of each document used. Whether a particular item is from the Herndon-Weik collection, the Huntington Library, or some other source, does not appear. The statement by Mr. Hertz that "the originals . . . of Herndon's draft chapters for Lamon's book and of his letters to Weik" are in the Huntington Library (p. 19) seems definitely erroneous. Spelling and punctuation have been "normalized", which in the case of Dennis Hanks is almost an insult to his originality! This normalization, besides sacrificing flavor, gives the documents a greater appearance of reliability than if they were reproduced with the original peculiarities. Explanatory annotation is lacking, though the material is of the kind that calls loudly for editorial guidance; on the Enloe matter no indication is given to the reader that the scandal was refuted years ago by Barton. Assuredly Mr. Hertz's contribution is not in editing but in selecting and releasing documents hitherto inaccessible.

The volume raises anew the question of the Herndon portrait of Lincoln. Though a bug's-eye view, it remains a classic: the reviewer has just found the re-reading of Herndon a fascinating exercise. Already, however, Herndon has lost somewhat of his none-too-perfect historical standing. The early Lincoln is not nearer by reason of the present volume but more remote. Or perhaps it is that this remoteness, as well as the uncertainties of evidence involved, becomes now more obvious. A book which is advertised as "the most important book on Lincoln since 1889" serves but to remind the critical student that the frontier of Lincoln scholarship (*e.g.*, in the appraisal of evidence) is yet to be considerably advanced.

University of Illinois.

J. G. RANDALL.

Albert Gallatin Brown, Radical Southern Nationalist. By JAMES BYRNE RANCK, Professor of History, Hood College. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1937. Pp. xiv, 320. \$5.00.)

A biography of Albert Gallatin Brown is important for two reasons. He was one of the few nonaristocrats to reach high office in the antebellum South, and he was one of the earliest and most intense advocates of Southern rights and secession in the Gulf states. His story, as here told by Mr. Ranck, throws new light on the attitudes of the much neglected middle class of the South and helps to a better understanding of the extreme role which this group and its leaders played in the move for Southern independence.

Brown was born in the Chester district of South Carolina in 1813 of poor and humble parents. Ten years later the family drifted to southwestern Mississippi, then a typical frontier of retreating Indians, public lands, and pioneer farmers. They prospered as did most others in those "flush times", and young Albert had a turn at college before reading law and entering politics. For thirty-three years, without a defeat, he held public office, always representing the interests of the lesser men of his state.

The political policies by which Brown so steadily held the support of what the *Mississippi Free Trader* called "the farmer—the laborer—the working man—the poor man", and by which he rose to the state legislature, the national House of Representatives, the governorship, and the United States Senate, were of two general kinds. The first, predominating until about 1848, showed a typical Western outlook and purpose; the second, coming to full expression in opposition to the Compromise of 1850, revealed an extreme Southern sectional attitude. In the earlier period Brown was a nationalist. In the early 1830's he favored action by the Federal government to stabilize finances in Mississippi and backed President Jackson in his fight against the South Carolina nullifiers. A few years later he opposed the National Bank, urged the rapid expansion of railroads, the passage of pre-emption and homestead legislation, the establishment of public schools,

the repudiation of state debts contracted in banking efforts, and the annexation of Texas, in thoroughly good Western fashion. With the Wilmot Proviso he swung sharply to a Southern position. By 1860 he was in the vanguard of the secessionists, as rabid in his demands as Yancey, Rhett, or Ruffin.

Mr. Ranck has traced in sound, scholarly fashion the course of Brown's development. He has, better than most writers, understood the thoroughly frontier character of Mississippi life during most of the ante-bellum period. He finds the explanation of Brown's success in the predominance of plain, middle-class men and of pioneer attitudes. He has not, however, quite understood the way in which the later policies fit consistently into this pattern. He sees something of a break where none exists. Brown's rabid Southern position, after 1848, represented the normal reactions of lesser, "more democratic", Southern men, still fundamentally Western in temper, to the threat which the antislavery moves made to their interests. Brown understood, as did his followers, that freedom for the slave meant a social and economic race war between Negroes and middle-class whites. Brown put it this way:

The rich will flee the Country. . . . Then the non-slaveholder will begin to see what his real fate is. The negro will . . . insist on being treated as an equal . . . that his son shall marry the white man's daughter, and the white man's daughter his son. . . . Then will commence a war of races such as has marked the history of San Domingo.

All of which renders understandable the fact that in 1860-61 the large planters were conservative and often openly opposed to secession, while Brown and his farmers and lesser whites were rabid for a complete break with the North.

Mr. Ranck has written a useful biography of a man whose unique position in the ante-bellum South enables us better to understand the less conspicuous but more important groups and forces which shaped the reactions of a section. He writes well, and his book is supplied with a valuable set of maps which show clearly the sectional cleavage and interest concentrations in Mississippi.

The University of Chicago.

AVERY CRAVEN.

A History of the United States since the Civil War. Volume V, 1888-1901.

By ELLIS PAXSON OBERHOLTZER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xii, 791. \$4.50.)

Mr. Oberholtzer's final volume has both the merits and the defects of its predecessors. Its principal merit is the assemblage within two covers of a mass of factual detail for which the student and general reader would otherwise have to search through a large number of volumes. Its principal

defects are its reliance upon limited and in some respects outdated sources of information; its lack not merely of philosophical depth but of any interpretive qualities or skill in synthesis, so that it presents history rather as a jumble than as a design; its literary clumsiness; and its consistent display of the bias of a conservative upper-class observer. Like the work as a whole, this last segment, amorphous, confused, and essentially superficial though it is, will have great temporary value as a work of reference and is indispensable on the shelves of any good library of American history for the period since the Civil War; but it is inconceivable that it will not be quickly and completely supplanted.

Again and again the author shows that his forte is description and his weakness is analysis. Beginning with a spirited and correct account of that campaign of 1888, in which Calvin S. Brice and others threw away the presidency for Cleveland, he closes with a description of the social and economic state of America in 1900. The thirteen years between Benjamin Harrison's nomination and McKinley's assassination afford opportunity for many graphic and accurate pages on the outward aspect of American events: on the panic of 1893, on Coxey's army, on the opening of Oklahoma, on the rousing campaign of 1896, on the Cuban insurrection, on Manila Bay and Santiago, on the return of prosperity, and on the "second battle" of Bryan in 1900. The primary sources for all this are printed biographies, newspaper files, and government documents. While some work has been done in the Cleveland, Gresham, McKinley, and other papers, many manuscript collections have been neglected, no research has been made in departmental archives, and survivors of this crowded epoch have not been interviewed. Moreover, even in using biographies and monographs Mr. Oberholtzer rather signally neglects some of the newest and best works. His materials are often adequate for a vigorous and vivid picture of scenes and personalities. But they seldom suffice for a penetrating inquiry into situations or into the causation of complex events. His discussion, for example, of the situation in 1890 from which emerged the Sherman silver-purchase bill, the antitrust bill, the force bill, and the McKinley tariff is quite unilluminating. So is his treatment of the issues bound up in the long battle between the gold standard men and the Western agrarians; and so is his account of the situation which brought about American intervention in Cuba. The deeper social and economic currents of the time are hardly even indicated in reference to some important events: The rising tide of jingoism or aggressive nationalism, its causes and consequences, in relation to the Venezuela affair and the Spanish War; the special relations of big business to the Harrison and McKinley administrations—even these are hardly more than hinted at. It seems evident that Mr. Oberholtzer's social predilections are responsible for a distinct myopia in various directions. He has neither sympathy with nor understanding of the farmer and laborer

in this period and treats the Populist uprising, the Homestead affair, and the Pullman strike with manifest dislike for the participants in these "clamorous émeutes". His attitude toward Altgeld is that fashionable twenty-five years ago, and he flings some most unfortunate epithets at the immigrants who entered America in the nineties from southern and eastern Europe. On the other hand, a reader of this volume would wonder why there was ever any public feeling on the trust question.

It is for the present an exceedingly useful book, but one of its uses lies in pointing to the need for a truer, more analytical, and more penetrating general history of the period.

Columbia University.

ALLAN NEVINS.

The Formation of the New England Railroad Systems: A Study of Railroad Combination in the Nineteenth Century. By GEORGE PIERCE BAKER, Harvard University. [The Graduate School of Business Administration of Harvard University and the Railway and Locomotive Historical Society.] (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxi, 283. \$3.50.)

The Reorganization of the American Railroad System, 1893-1900: A Study of the Effects of the Panic of 1893, the Ensuing Depression, and the First Years of Recovery in Railroad Organization and Financing. By E. G. CAMPBELL. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 366. \$4.50.)

THESE two volumes, the one by an economist and the other by a historian, afford further evidence of the growing interest in the history of American railways, an important but comparatively neglected phase of the larger story of American development.

Within the rather severe limits which he has imposed upon himself Professor Baker has done an excellent job. His is strictly a study in railway combination in New England in the period prior to 1904, the story of the forging of a few large rail chains out of an innumerable number of small links. After tracing the evolution of the Boston and Albany to its lease by the New York Central, the author describes in successive chapters the growth of the three systems which were combined to form the present New Haven system and to give it control of the territory south of the Boston and Albany. In similar fashion he shows the steps in the formation of the four roads which, when united, gave to the Boston and Maine a dominant position north of the Boston and Albany line. Separate chapters are given over to the Maine Central and to the Vermont systems. The conclusion is an elaborate analysis, by decades, of the various forms of combination. The seventies were the most productive of combinations with 71, followed closely by the eighties with 55. Of the total of 226 combinations, lease accounts for 111, financial control for 36, and consolidation for 25.

The text is profusely illustrated with maps and control charts. The

author has gathered his material chiefly from the reports of the railway companies, from railway and financial periodicals, and from the reports of the state railroad commissioners. The work would be of more general interest if the background material, ruthlessly condensed in the introduction, were substantially expanded and diffused through the various chapters. The multiplicity of company names makes heavy reading. Little attention is given to the personalities engaged in railway promotion, to methods of financing, to sources of capital, or to the aspirations, the disappointed hopes, and the rivalries which railway construction engendered among the various communities within New England. Mr. Baker has given us a model study in railway combination; he has not written a history of railway transportation in New England.

The title of Mr. Campbell's book calls to mind Stuart Daggett's *Railroad Reorganization*, which appeared just thirty years ago. The difference between the two books is largely that of time and the professional interests of the two authors. Campbell has the advantage of the better perspective afforded by the lapse of thirty years. He is a historian; Daggett, an economist.

The theme of Mr. Campbell's book is the transformation of the American railway system in the wake of the panic of 1893: the appearance of the first of the great railway combinations and the transfer of control of them to a select group of bankers. It is his contention, however, that the depression of the nineties was merely the occasion rather than the fundamental cause of the financial reorganization of the numerous systems. The basic cause he finds in "trends already well established in the quarter century following the Civil War". In support of this thesis is the fact that railways which had previously been well and honestly managed not only came through the depression safely, but, in certain instances, emerged larger and financially stronger than before the panic.

Very appropriately the author devotes almost one third of his book to the period between 1865 and 1890, in which the evils of overexpansion and the gross mismanagement of the time are clearly set forth. These factors had brought many systems to the brink. The panic merely served to push them over. An account of the descent into bankruptcy is then followed by chapters dealing with the Morgan reorganizations, the Morgan-Hill alliance, and the rise of E. H. Harriman. As the country emerged from the panic it found these three men for the first time in the front rank in the American railway industry, and it discovered that a half-dozen financial groups dominated the railway scene. Depression had inaugurated a movement towards consolidation which has not yet run its course.

Campbell's treatment of the details of financial reorganizations is less exhaustive than that of Daggett, but he makes abundantly clear the larger significance of that turbulent decade in the railway world.

Brown University.

JAMES B. HEDGES.

Republican Hispanic America: A History. By CHARLES EDWARD CHAPMAN, University of California. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xvii, 463. \$3.00.)

A History of Latin America. By DAVID R. MOORE, Oberlin College. [Prentice-Hall History Series.] (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1938. Pp. xii, 826. \$4.00.)

THE national period is the sole concern of Chapman's book and the main concern of Moore's. The latter begins with the fifteenth century but devotes only about one third of his space to the colonial period, which the former discussed in a separate volume published in 1933. Since Hispanic (or Latin) America is only a geographical expression, the textbook writer dealing with the national period finds the problem of organization of his material a difficult one. Both of these writers have solved it in the usual way by devoting most of their space to brief histories of each of the score of states composing that region. Chapman follows the national scheme less closely than Moore. The former has seven chapters (almost one third of his whole text) on subjects which cut across national boundary lines; the latter, in the national period, has only one such chapter (a long one on foreign relations).

The most striking difference between the two lies in Moore's far stronger accent on the contemporary, to which, in a section entitled "Latin America Today", he devotes more than one third of his space. For example, he has forty-seven pages on Mexico since 1910, including nine pages on the Cárdenas administration, whereas Chapman has only four pages on Mexico since 1910 and five lines on Cárdenas. On the other hand, Chapman's discussion of the earlier period is sometimes more penetrating, as in his emphasis on the importance of federal intervention in Brazil and Argentina—a point which seems to have escaped Moore's attention.

Chapman's bibliography contains an essay on authorities; Moore's does not, and though it is a long one it omits important works by Irving Leonard, Eyler Simpson, Frank Tannenbaum, J. F. Normano, and others. There are eleven maps in Moore's book and three maps and six illustrations in Chapman's. Both indexes are good; Chapman's is elaborate.

The resemblances between these two books are probably more important than the differences. The main theme of both is political history (political parties, constitutions, dictatorships, international relations, church and state), although both make frequent reference to racial and economic factors. Neither author discusses systematically the recent, rapid, and highly significant development of air transportation and the radio. Cultural history does not fare very well in either book; and both give less attention to political and social ideas than these seem to deserve in view of the interest that the Latin American people have taken in them.

In their main outlines (national treatment and emphasis on political

history) these two books do not differ greatly from other textbooks in the field; but within this scheme both have made important contributions. Every part of Chapman's book—text, footnotes, and essay on authorities—is studded with sagacious and refreshing observations; and Moore's long account of "Latin America Today" is unquestionably the best thing of its kind. Both deserve and will doubtless win wide acceptance in our colleges and universities.

University of Pennsylvania.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, Second Emperor of Brazil. By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS, Professor of History, Goucher College. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1937. Pp. xi, 413. \$3.50.)

UNDER the searchlight of historical scrutiny the majority of biographies of eminent Latin Americans have fared badly. During recent years a host of men, acclaimed in their respective countries as peerless statesmen and generals, have shrunk notably in both moral and intellectual stature. But a few have risen to hitherto unsuspected heights. Among these perhaps the outstanding is Dom Pedro II, emperor of Brazil from 1840 to 1889. It is one of the anomalies of Latin American history that one of the nineteenth century's most intriguing and sympathetic characters should only now possess a fully satisfactory biography.

Dr. Williams's book was written *con amore* and with infinite patience. No important sources in Brazil, the United States, or France were neglected. She found a particularly rich quarry in the Chateau d'Eu in France, where the archives of the Bragança family were freely thrown open to the author by the grandson of the emperor. The resultant book might well be entitled "The Life and Times of Dom Pedro II". Some of the chapter headings will suggest how rich is the texture of the narrative: "Dom Pedro's Brazil in the 1840's", "Dom Pedro Struggles with a Premature Political System", "Among the Intellectuals". Unusually entertaining is the chapter devoted to Dom Pedro's visit to the United States in 1876. The number of anecdotes relating to the emperor is legion, but the writer, with rare self-control, cites them only when they are pertinent.

Though his defenders far outnumber his detractors, Dom Pedro has been the victim of caustic and at times vitriolic attacks by Brazilian writers. Only two of these charges merit attention. It is alleged that the emperor, though apparently scrupulously fulfilling his duties as constitutional monarch, was in reality a despot and through clever manipulation of the machinery of state contrived to wield absolute power. The other gravamen is to the effect that he was so engrossed in political and intellectual affairs that he took but a perfunctory interest in the economic development of the country. Dr. Williams has directly or indirectly answered both charges. The so-called "despotism" of the emperor was in reality a conscientious and

successful attempt to impress upon a politically immature and inexperienced people a rectitude in public affairs hitherto unapproached in either Portuguese or Spanish America. In the words of the late Oliveira Lima, "if there was any despotism it was the despotism of morality".

Dr. Williams is possibly less successful in acquitting the emperor of the second count of the indictment. In her chapter entitled "Promotion of Internal Progress" she describes the economic advance under Dom Pedro. Considering the length of the emperor's reign and his many opportunities, it must be confessed that the rhythm was slow and halting. The truth of the matter is that his major interests lay in other fields. During this time there lived and wrought the greatest financier, entrepreneur, and practical economist of the empire, the Visconde de Mauá. He accomplished much, but he might have accomplished more had Dom Pedro offered him greater support and encouragement. It is unfortunate that Mauá receives but two lines in Dr. Williams's book.

In writing what is unquestionably the best life of Dom Pedro which has thus far appeared in any language the author has placed all students of the period greatly in her debt. She has, moreover, given to the general reader a book which is characterized throughout by charm, dignity, and restraint.

Stanford University.

PERCY ALVIN MARTIN.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Truth in History and Other Essays. By WILLIAM A. DUNNING. With an Introduction by J. G. de Roulhac Hamilton. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 228, \$2.75.) This volume is composed of reprints of various addresses and reviews written by Professor Dunning from 1900 to 1919. The spirit and purpose of this collection are admirable, but in view of the distinguished works of Professor Dunning already in print and fully expressing his mature views on the subjects of his competence, it may well be questioned whether any very useful purpose is served by the present compilation. The Charleston presidential address before the American Historical Association (1913) on the subject of "Truth in History" is admirable, but this is already available in the *American Historical Review* (XIX, 217-29). The review of the *Education of Henry Adams* is distinguished in character, but this, too, is already available, in the *Political Science Quarterly* (XXXIV, 305-11). The most valuable part of the book is the notable introduction by Professor Hamilton, full of pith and presented in attractive style. The comments on Dunning's testimony in the Henry Ford libel suit recall a little known but significant phase of his activities. I take pleasure in comparing Hamilton's account with my own recollections of my former professor and in finding that his observations are of the same general tenor and type as my own.

CHARLES E. MERRIAM.

University of Michigan Historical Essays. Edited by A. E. R. BOAK. [University of Michigan Publications.] (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1937, pp. vii, 182, \$2.25.) This volume embodies a collection of eight historical essays on widely differing subjects in both European and American history. The titles and authors are as follows: "Wreck of the Sea" by Frederick C. Hamil; "The Rejection of Columbus by John of Portugal" by Charles E. Nowell; "Efforts to secure an Austro-German Customs Union in the Nineteenth Century" by Dwight C. Long; "The Délégation des Gauches and its Critics" by Rudolph A. Winnacker; "Russian Embassies to Peking during the Eighteenth Century" by John W. Stanton; "Transportation and Naval Defense in the Old Northwest during the British Régime, 1760-96" by Nelson Vance Russell; "The Connecticut Clergy and the Stamp Act" by Karl H. Reichenbach; and "The Catholepistemiad, or University, of Michigania" by Egbert R. Isbell. These essays appear, with some exceptions, to be of fairly even quality as to scholarship. The value of the volume is not enhanced, however, by the inclusion of Mr. Russell's essay, since the paper in question is strikingly similar to one published on the same subject some fourteen years ago by Milo M. Quaife, entitled "The Royal Navy of the Upper Lakes" (Burton Historical Collection Leaflet, Vol. II, No. 5, May 1924). The same approach, the same sequence, and in many instances the same language is found in the two articles. Only about a dozen of the twenty-six pages of Russell's paper are entirely free from reliance upon Quaife's text with respect either to verbatim language or paraphrase. It is only fair to state, however, that Russell cites Quaife's article and that he adds some additional information and cites sources which were not available when Quaife wrote.

CLARENCE E. CARTER.

Index Generalis, 1938: The Year Book of the Universities, High Schools, Academies, Astronomical Observatories, Scientific Institutions, Libraries, Learned Societies. Published annually. Edited by S. DE MONTESSUS DE BALLORE. (Paris, Masson; New York, Crofts, 1938, pp. 2614, \$12.50.) In the twenty years of its existence the *Index Generalis* has developed from a volume of 768 pages giving information on the universities of thirty-seven countries to one of 2614 pages furnishing material on many varied kinds of educational and learned institutions in fifty-three countries. There are seven sections: (1) universities and colleges, arranged alphabetically by country and under each country alphabetically by place name—under the United States, however, the arrangement is alphabetical by the name of university or college; (2) observatories; (3) libraries; (4) scientific institutions; (5) learned societies; (6) special lists—Nobel prizes, docteurs honoris causa, intellectual exchanges, and principal publishers of the various countries; (7) indexes—personal, geographical by country, geographical by city, and table of contents. The information for each institution is revised at the institution, and in most cases the date of revision is given at the head of the notice. For universities, there is given the name, date of founding, number of students, names of officers, and members of the various faculties. For societies, libraries, etc., the address, purpose, size, hours of opening, specialties, and officers are usually included.

CONSTANCE M. WINCHELL.

The Hero: A Study in Tradition, Myth, and Drama. By LORD RAGLAN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xi, 311, \$3.50.) The author shows the valuelessness of traditions, myths, and dramas as history, referring particularly to the Norse sagas, the King Arthur stories, and the Tale of Troy. He goes even further than this and presents as his thesis the view that "the traditional narrative, in all its forms, is based not upon historical facts . . . or imaginative fiction . . . but upon dramatic ritual or ritual drama" (p. 281). As a part of his discussion he refers to what others have called "folk memory" and considers how long "an incident which is not recorded in writing can be remembered"; he decides that one hundred and fifty years is the maximum length of time (p. 13). Lord Raglan has written a book that will be helpful to students of historiography.

ELEANOR D. SMITH.

Christianity, Capitalism, and Communism: A Historical Analysis. By ALBERT HYMA. (Ann Arbor, published by the author, 1937, pp. 303, \$2.75.) To deal with the interrelationships of three such large movements as Christianity, capitalism, and communism in three hundred pages is a bold undertaking. The principal topics treated are wealth and poverty in the medieval church, Luther's attitude toward capitalism, the economic theories of Calvin, sixteenth century communism, sixteenth century Protestantism and the rise of capitalism, Calvinism and capitalism in the Dutch Republic, Puritanism and capitalism, present-day communism, and the sit-down strike. The author brings together a great deal of information, and the book is carefully documented. It is more valuable from the standpoint of factual data than of interpretation. The Weber-Troeltsch thesis regarding the influence of Calvinism on capitalism is brusquely rejected. The author holds that Calvin's economic theories differed scarcely at all from Luther's—a judgment which will be disputed by most students of the period. The concluding chapter on the sit-down strike, which seems distinctly out of place in a historical treatise, reveals a strong antilabor bias and ends with diatribes against liberal ministers who get mixed up in such matters.

GEORGIA HARKNESS.

The Way of a Ship: An Essay on the Literature of Navigation Science. By LAWRENCE C. WROTH. (Portland, Southworth-Anthoensen Press, 1937, pp. xii, 92, \$3.00.) The importance of this book by the librarian of the John Carter Brown Library is incommensurable with its size, for it is the first work to present in English, adapted for a layman's reading, the early history of that science by which men find their way across the great waters. There are chapters explaining the mariner's instruments, from those used by Columbus, through Halley's quadrant, to the chronometer. The use of declination tables is explained and the significance of the Portolan Chart described. "Rutters" and "waggoners" are defined, and examples given. There is a bibliography of early Iberian *regimentos*, of manuals of navigation (ancestors of our modern *Bowditch*), and of seamen's almanacs, from which the American Nautical Almanac is directly descended. Map projections, great circle courses, and rhumb lines are all explained. For the historian who is curious to know how the great navigators of the past "got there", Dr. Wroth has provided the simplest introduction; for librarians and collectors he has pointed out the really significant works on navigation that have appeared since the invention of printing.

S. E. MORISON.

Jugoslovenski istoriski časopis. Edited by VIKTOR NOVAK. Volume III, Nos. 1-4. (Ljubljana, Jugoslovensko istorisko društvo, 1937, pp. vi, 647.) This issue of the Yugoslav historical review, which was founded in 1935 by the Yugoslav Historical Association, is published as a voluminous yearbook. The contributions are printed in Serb, Croat, or Slovene, according to the language of the contributor; all articles contain at the end a synopsis in a Western language or in Latin. The articles and shorter notes occupy about 300 pages, the book reviews about 320 pages. The volume opens with an obituary of Stanoje Stanojević, the founder of the Yugoslav historical review, who died in July, 1937. Most of the articles in the volume deal with the ancient and medieval history of the Yugoslav peoples.

HANS KOHN.

The Jew in the Medieval World: A Source Book, 315-1791. By JACOB R. MARCUS. (Cincinnati, Sinai Press, 1938, pp. xxiv, 504, \$3.00.) This volume, primarily intended for school use, ought to prove very useful in and outside the classroom. More advanced students of medieval history will likewise appreciate this collection, in English translation, of some 160 excerpts from the original sources in Hebrew, Latin, etc. Selected from a multitude of extant records, they are sufficiently significant and varied to be of interest also to the uninitiated reader. Following a custom, well-established in Jewish historiography, the author extends the range of the term "medieval" from 315 A.D., the beginning of the anti-Jewish legislation of the Christian Roman Empire, to 1791, the year of the emancipation of French Jewry. In the first two sections he deals with the respective attitudes of the medieval state and church to the Jews and devotes the third and largest section to the various aspects of inner Jewish life. The translations, whether taken from available English renderings (with some minor, generally felicitous, adaptations) or especially prepared for this compilation, are on the whole both accurate and readable. Each excerpt or group of excerpts is preceded by a brief introduction, accompanied by a number of explanatory notes, and followed by a short bibliography. The latter gives references to relevant chapters in single-volume textbooks and suggested readings for advanced students (for the most part in such standard works as Graetz's *History* and the *Jewish Encyclopedia*) and points out some additional source material in

English. One may question, however, the wisdom of the author's decision to reduce the scholarly apparatus to an absolute minimum on the ground that "the relevant literature is known to the research historian; others are probably not interested in such detail" (p. xii). Even the references to the original publications from which the excerpts are taken are relegated to the end of the volume.

SALO W. BARON.

Old Parish Life in London. By CHARLES PENDRILL. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 295, \$8.00.) This is one of those books which are likely to be widely read and are useful in arousing interest but are of little value to scholars. It contains few references and various dubious statements, for example on ecclesiastical history and the history of local government, which are to be explained, no doubt, by the fact that the author has read numerous historical documents and collected much interesting material without having had preliminary historical training.

Atlas historique. III, Les temps modernes. By ARMAND RÉBILLON, with the collaboration of VICTOR-L. TAPIÉ. (Paris, Presses Universitaires, 1937, pp. 26, maps XXIV, 36 fr.) This is one of a series of four volumes, by different authors, concerned respectively with *L'Antiquité*, *Le Moyen Age*, *Les temps modernes*, and *Époque contemporaine*. The present volume hardly justifies the claim made for the series by the publisher—"un travail entièrement original", and its black-and-white maps are less clear than those in Shepherd's *Atlas*. The bibliography, however, is a useful contribution, listing not only the most important atlases of earlier days but also contemporary publications of a type which are too often overlooked by American college libraries. An outstanding example of these recent studies and a model of its kind is A. Gasser's *Die territoriale Entwicklung der Schweizerischen Eidgenossenschaft* (Aarau, H. R. Sauerländer), which covers the territorial changes of the Swiss Confederation up to 1797.

T. H. THOMAS.

Carl Schurz: Vom deutschen Einwanderer zum amerikanischen Staatsmann. By CHESTER VERNE EASUM. [Die deutsche Leistung in der Welt, herausgegeben von der Deutschen Akademie München und dem Deutschen Ausland-Institut Stuttgart.] (Weimar, Hermann Böhlau, 1937, pp. xi, 219, 4 M.) This volume, shorter in length but more inclusive biographically than the American edition (1929, *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 928), was written by Professor Easum for the German public. He has taken pains to give German readers, especially by means of footnote sketches, a picture of the country and the people with whom Carl Schurz came in contact. He has properly laid emphasis upon the care with which Schurz mastered the ideals of American life and government and strove to further them, rising to influence without sacrificing his political and intellectual independence. The last third of the book, dealing with Schurz after about 1870 and not included in the American edition, is too sketchy to be of equal value with the rest, although a more detailed treatment of Schurz's attitude toward imperialism, the next phase in the development of his adopted country, would have been of interest. Technically the book leaves much to be desired, for the translation is indifferent, and there are many printers' errors because of circumstances beyond the author's control. It deserves, nevertheless, more German readers than it will probably find today.

E. N. ANDERSON.

The Last Spanish War: Revelations in "Diplomacy". By ORESTES FERRARA. Translated from the Spanish by William E. Shea. (New York, Paisley Press, 1937, pp. 151, \$1.50.) After thirty years of intermittent investigation the author of this

monograph has succeeded in throwing considerable new light on the diplomatic maneuvers of the European powers in the period of the Spanish-American War. It is a detailed story of the intrigues and carefully concealed plots to form a European bloc of powers to oppose United States intervention in Cuba. Dr. Ferrara was able to obtain information about hitherto unused correspondence in the archives of Italy and France, copies of Spanish documents, and a digest of the Russian materials. This, together with the printed collections so richly available for Germany and Austria, has enabled him to piece together a fairly convincing reconstruction of the course of events. At many points actual quotation of the documents, rather than allusions to papers the writer was informed about but had not actually seen, would have been much more satisfying. References to the growing body of European studies in diplomatic history which impinge on the author's subject are lacking. The work has no formal bibliography or index. The archival citations are so abbreviated that difficulty would be experienced if anyone tried to use them. In spite of these defects this volume contains the first clear picture of the operations of the European chancellories during the Spanish-American crisis and is a welcome addition to the scanty literature of the subject.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

International Law Situations, with Solutions and Notes, 1936. [Naval War College.] (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. vii, 144, 15 cents.) Situations are posed and discussed involving insurrection, belligerency, statehood, and visitation by and internment of belligerent aircraft. The volume also contains a treatment of the changing attitude of the United States as a neutral from 1914 to 1936.

An Introduction to Current Affairs. By RAPHAEL LEVY. (Washington, James Sylvan Shank, 1372 Randolph Street, N. W., 1938, pp. 107, \$1.75, mimeographed.)

Nationalism on the Defensive. By GERALD M. SPRING. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1937, pp. 55, \$1.50.) The author of this pamphlet defends cultural regionalism and traditionalism and believes that even within the fascist countries these two forces are more powerful than nationalism. He emphasizes the ideals which fascists, communists, and liberals hold in common and hopefully regards the long-run effect of those dividing them as slight. In a special section devoted to the intellectual he advises the latter to heed the criticism of uprootedness which Barrès, Julien Benda, the National Socialists, and others have leveled at him and to cultivate "a keener sense of social responsibility and a deeper understanding of history". He opposes the ideal of equality in favor of that of hierarchy and announces the coming of a new society, regionalistic and cosmopolitan. The author never defines his terms carefully or weighs the relationship between regionalism and traditionalism on the one hand and nationalism on the other. The essay is an expression of faith.

E. N. ANDERSON.

International Aspects of German Racial Policies. By OSCAR I. JANOWSKY and MELVIN M. FAGEN. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xxi, 266, \$2.00.) In this book the authors present a collection of material the substance of which was submitted in support of a petition to the League of Nations asking League intervention against racial persecution in Germany. The basis of the book is the letter of resignation, including its appended report, of James G. McDonald, former high commissioner for German refugees, which is printed in full in the present volume. The McDonald report, made in December, 1935, still remains one of the most impressive exposés of German National Socialist policy. In addition to this report the book contains a section on international practices

bearing on human rights, particularly on the international problem of forced emigration. This is an elaboration of material presented to the League in support of a petition asking for League intervention "not only on humanitarian grounds, but also because the actions and policies of the German National Socialist Government, having their immediate effects and working direct injury in the territory of other states, constitute a series of violations of the rights of these states, as well as a breach of solemn international undertakings and obligations". The authors' presentation of the problem is, unfortunately, the least impressive part of the book. It bears too strongly the marks of a lawyer's brief. There is an interesting preface by James Brown Scott, an introduction by James N. Rosenberg and Morris R. Cohen, and a postscript by Josiah C. Wedgwood, M.P.

M. W. ROYSE.

Problems of War and Peace in the Society of Nations. [Lectures arranged by the University of California Committee on International Relations.] (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. viii, 155, \$1.50.) Of the six addresses in this publication three are useful: "Socialism in Relation to War and Peace" by Professor Carl Landauer, "The Problem of World Organisation" by Professor Malbone W. Graham, and "Is World Peace an Attainable Ideal?" by Professor George M. Stratton. Professor Landauer shows clearly how and why socialists came to fight for their countries in 1914. Professor Graham attributes the weakness of the League of Nations to Woodrow Wilson's attempt to give a confederal institution functions proper to a federal institution. Professor Stratton thinks that world peace is an attainable ideal by reason of man's desire for wealth, justice, and defense. Professor Edwin D. Dickinson's address, "The Great Community", is a sketch of the history to date of international law and is thus masquerading under a misleading title. Professor Charles G. Haines's address, "Constitutional Government as a Means to Promote Peace", is a sketch of the constitutional history of the United States and, as such, wholly irrelevant to his title and to the theme of the series. Professor Robert A. Brady delivers a tirade, not upon "Fascism in Relation to War and Peace" as his title suggests, but upon fascist social forms. Furthermore, he greatly overstates what is, soberly stated, a perfect case.

RUSHTON COULBORN.

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ANCIENT HISTORY

T. R. S. Broughton

Ritual and Cults of Pre-Roman Iguvium. By IRENE ROSENZWEIG. [Studies and Documents edited by Kirsopp Lake and Silva Lake.] (London, Christophers, 1937, pp. vii, 152, 15s.) This volume is concerned with the so-called Iguvine tablets, a series of elaborate ritual texts inscriptionally preserved at Iguvium, the modern Gubbio. The tablets preserve the practice and formulations of a time when Iguvium was a small community set among enemies. Miss Rosenzweig gives a detailed discussion of the ceremonies, from which she seeks to recon-

struct a plan of Iguvium on the basis of the processional route. She discusses also the religious organization involved and gives exhaustive consideration to what has been done by way of linguistic interpretation (see J. Whatmough's review, *Am. Jour. Phil.*, LIX, 250-53). No document gives a clearer picture of the difference between Greek and Italian customs in worship and in its control.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

A Numismatic Commentary on the Res Gestae of Augustus. By JESSIE D. NEWBY. (Edmond, privately printed, 1938, pp. xvi, 117, plates IV, \$3.50.) The definitive work suggested by this title still remains to be done. Miss Newby has "generally . . . cited only one coin in support of any one claim" of Augustus (p. xv). This will do for illustration, but since, if the coins are to enlighten us concerning Augustus's career, it is in the aggregate that they must do so rather than singly, Miss Newby might easily have added to the usefulness of her dissertation by including references to pertinent coins not described. The author depends on statements of others, even in easily ascertainable matters. What comment of her own she does venture reflects that naïveté and starry-eyed, romantic veneration only too frequently encountered, in the light of which the heroes of antiquity were completely noble altruists. Thus the comparative absence from the coins of Augustus's widespread building operations means for her that "apparently Augustus did not crave the recognition that was to be had from the expending of vast sums" (p. 62). Such idolizing actually does Augustus less than justice and betrays a complete lack of understanding of the character and policy of a man who was clever enough to realize the effective propaganda that a well-calculated modesty constitutes. There is no justification for Miss Newby's thinking that her coin No. 80 (Br.Mus.Cat., Emp.I, 26, No. 124) shows the statue of Agrippa which stood in the pronaos of the Pantheon—Mattingly's suggestion that it may be the one which stood in the temple of Mars Ultor has some basis, at least—and the interpretation of this coin, presented as her own, has long been the generally accepted one. Limitation of space prevents detailing of minor failings. The four plates are poor. Their omission might have resulted in a more reasonable price.

NAPHTALI LEWIS.

The Mind of the Ancient World: A Consideration of Pliny's NATURAL HISTORY. By H. N. WETHERED. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xv, 301, \$4.00.) Mr. Wethered has written a sort of epitome of Pliny's *Natural History*, with liberal quotations from Philemon Holland's Tudor translation. The organization of the material is well illustrated by the very first chapter, entitled "Of Man", where we find the following sequence of topics: the Stoic conception of nature and man, longevity, abnormal births, change of sex, long-distance running, feats of strength, memory, happiness, immortality. Wethered believes that "by knowing too much we only succeed in the end in starving the imagination" (p. xii), and in his chatty comments we learn that Aristotle was the "first evolutionist" (p. 44) and that Herodotus "constituted the very foundation of the knowledge accepted by all ancient writers" (p. 251). In his necessarily unsuccessful search for "the mind of the ancient world" he replaces historical criticism by exaggerated reverence, unable to see that truth is not the inevitable foe of appreciation.

M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Storia della logica in Occidente. By CARLO PRANTL. *Età Medievale*, Parte prima, *Dal secolo VII al secolo XII*. Versione Italiana, condotta sopra la seconda edizione Tedesca da Ludovico Limentani. ["Il Pensiero Storico" sotto gli auspici dell' Ente Nazionale di Cultura.] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. xx, 469, 44 l.) Prantl's *Geschichte der Logik im Abendlande*, which appeared in four volumes between 1861 and 1870, is still an indispensable storehouse of scholarly material for the student of logic and medieval philosophy in general. A considerable part must naturally be read in the light of more recent researches; some of its conclusions are no longer acceptable, and the attitude of the author towards medieval thought does not meet with favor today. But nevertheless it is the only great synthesis which we possess on this important subject, and the quality of its scholarship and the vigor of its exposition give it an abiding value. The entire work was published in a photographic reproduction by Fock in Leipzig in 1927. The Italian translator has seen fit to begin with the medieval part and has given us here the translation of the volume which covers the period from the seventh to the twelfth century, based on the second edition of that volume which appeared in 1885. The text is practically unchanged. No attempt

has been made to bring the work up to date. The copious notes, which constitute the greater part of the work, have, however, been carefully revised and edited.

DINO BIGONGIARI.

Commentarius Cantabrigiensis in Epistolas Pauli e Schola Petri Abaelardi. Volume I, *In Epistolam ad Romanos.* By ARTUR LANDGRAF. [Publication in Mediaeval Studies, The University of Notre Dame.] (Notre Dame, the University, 1937, pp. xlii, 223, \$2.25.) This is a commentary by an unknown author, whose reflections of the teachings of Abelard may possibly be traced to knowledge acquired from the oral teaching of the master or to a *lectura* by Abelard on all the Pauline writings. The text was written by a copyist between 1141 and 1152.

The Economic History of England. By E. LIPSON. Volume I, *The Middle Ages.* Seventh Edition, Revised and Enlarged. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xii, 674, \$5.75.) This is a complete revision of a work which appeared first in 1915. New material has been incorporated in it, particularly in the chapters on the manor, the agrarian revolution, towns, fairs, markets, guilds, and the woolen industry. The additions have led to the enlargement of the volume by more than one hundred pages.

The Registrum Antiquissimum of the Cathedral Church of Lincoln. Volume IV. Edited by the late C. W. FOSTER and KATHLEEN MAJOR. [The Lincoln Record Society.] (Hereford, printed for the Society by the Hereford Times, 1937, pp. xxxix, 344.) This volume continues the admirable tradition of its predecessors and like them will serve as a model of editing. Miss Major, who assisted Canon Foster before his death and now serves as sole editor, contributes a short preface, and Professor Stenton a longer memoir of Canon Foster, accompanying the dedication of the book to his memory. The memoir creates for us a picture of Canon Foster's great work in making Lincoln's unrivaled medieval material accessible, both by founding the Lincoln Record Society and also by his own continuous work in editing. He had great knowledge of fact and a mastery of all the tools of the best modern scholarship. He published in all twenty-nine volumes, amongst which were not only authoritative studies of medieval manuscripts but also important works on the history of the church in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This particular volume, begun by him, contains 357 charters of the west and north ridings of Lindsey. They are the record in the main of small gifts of land to the church made by small men, ranging in date from the middle of the twelfth through the early thirteenth century, with a few later documents. They include a few grants of men and their families—one of a man with his heirs and homage. They indicate the prevalence of the two-field system of husbandry and contain references to local agrarian arrangements, measures of land, rents, and similar matters of some interest. Like the earlier volumes of the *Registrum* the fourth has its full quota of notes, tables, beautiful illustrations of manuscripts and seals, and careful indexes. Three more volumes are promised to complete the series on the present excellent scale of editing.

N. NEILSON.

Les annales de Saint-Pierre de Gand et de Saint-Amand: Annales Blandinienses, Annales Elmarenses, Annales Formoselenses, Annales Elnonenses. Published with an Introduction and Notes by PHILIP GRIERSON. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1937, pp. lxvi, 214, 30 fr.) This edition of the annals of St. Peter of Ghent and of St. Amand renders easily accessible to students of history very important material for medieval Flanders and excellent examples of a particular type of source material. It subjects the older

editions of three sets of annals, the *Annales Blandinienses*, *Formoselenses*, and *Elnonenses*, to the critical and corrective standards of modern scholarship and adds a fourth set, the *Elmarenses*, heretofore unprinted but now combined with the other three by the editor. Annals of this kind, as is well known, developed from notes kept in the margins or between the lines of the tables from which the monks in various monasteries determined the date of Easter, using the astronomical calculations of Bede and Denys le Petit. Such notes developed in length and content, as is clearly seen in this particular collection, until they exceeded in importance the tables themselves—"the annals have become chronicles". They contain miscellaneous material dictated by interest in ecclesiastical matters, gifts to monasteries, earthquakes, miracles, deaths, translations, floods, eclipses, famines, pestilences, and references to great personages—emperors and kings, saints and bishops—together with some notice of current historical events, usually in very brief form. The editor gives in the introduction the necessary information on the dates and provenance of the manuscripts, their relation to one another, and to other annals now lost. The documents are fully equipped with notes on textual matters and with the elucidation of historical questions. There is a full index of persons and places.

N. NEILSON.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

The Court Book of the Barony of Carnwath, 1523-1542. Edited with an Introduction by WILLIAM CROFT DICKINSON. [The Scottish History Society.] (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Society, 1937, pp. cxxiv, 235.) The present volume supplies a transcript of the earliest court baron records preserved in the General Register House, Edinburgh, though some few earlier baronial court books are extant in private hands and possibly throw light upon baronial jurisdiction prior to the effective operation of the factors that were to contribute to its decline. Dr. Dickinson's text provides a picture of private jurisdiction falling into desuetude and mainly concerned with directing the economic and domestic life of the community. Perhaps the court of the small baron or laird never did enjoy the fuller administrative and jurisdictional rights that accompanied a barony held *in regaliatatem*, but much of the still substantial criminal jurisdiction properly appendant to a simple grant *in baroniam* had passed by the sixteenth century to the royal courts. Only punishment for theft was permitted the court of Carnwath, and then only when the thief was taken "with the fang". The civil business of the court consisted chiefly of actions for petty debt, possessory actions, law-burrows, and the quasi-criminal actions of arrestment, bloodwite, and deforcement. As the fullest Scottish court baron record in print, the volume supplies useful information upon the constitution of the court, its machinery and procedure, the functions of its officers, and its methods of trial. To the text Dr. Dickinson has prefixed a learned introductory essay on the barony as a feudal administrative unit and on feudal jurisdiction in Scotland generally. Unfortunately little use has been made of comparative legal material drawn from England and the Continent, though the author might have modified his views in several instances, particularly upon the importance of the *absque introitu* clauses in Scots charters, by reference to discussions that have centered in similar but non-Scottish materials. Appended to the volume is a jubilee history of the Scottish History Society, which celebrated its fiftieth anniversary in 1936.

S. E. THORNE.

Proceedings and Debates of the British Parliaments respecting North America. Edited by LEO FRANCIS STOCK. Volume IV, 1728-1739. (Washington, Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1937, pp. xxvii, 888, \$5.25.) The fourth volume of Dr. Stock's exceedingly valuable series of extracts from the proceedings and debates of the British parliaments respecting North America covers the subject from 1728 to the outbreak of the war with Spain in 1739. The period covered is therefore much shorter than was the case with the earlier volumes, partly because of the multiplicity of the subjects treated, such as those relating to colonial boundaries, the logwood issue, and the whole South Seas question, and partly because of the inclusion of long extracts from various speeches in parliament, particularly of all that concerns the debate upon the relations with Spain. No one can doubt the value of these extracts, but they are lengthy and often repetitious and slow up the progress of the work. I am inclined to think that if the practice is to be continued in future volumes, some curtailment of speeches might be desirable. This is perhaps a hard saying, and I say it unwillingly, knowing well that the selection of what is important and what is not is one of the most difficult tasks confronting an editor. Personally, I have profited greatly by these speeches, for they make the dry bones of the official entries take on

animation and color and picture a parliamentary scene that is vivid and realistic. They also disclose the minds of the parliament members, not only on the matter under debate but also on many other questions that come in almost incidentally. But eager as I am not to see Dr. Stock's work slowed up, I must admit that I should find it difficult to know just how far to limit the use of this supplemental matter. For the editing of the volume I have only the highest praise. The introduction and footnotes are witness to the thoroughness of Dr. Stock's research and the soundness of his scholarship. CHARLES M. ANDREWS.

Some Unpublished Letters of Lord Chesterfield. With an Introduction by SIDNEY L. GULICK, JR. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1937, pp. 84, \$1.50.) Of these twenty-six newly discovered letters to Chesterfield's godson and heir, seventeen were dictated and signed during the earl's last illness during the eight months preceding his death in March, 1773. They complete the series of letters to the boy, which were first edited by Lord Carnarvon in 1890; in his volume the date of the last letter published was June, 1770. Since Dobrée's recent inclusive edition of Chesterfield's letters contains only four for the period of his illness, and those to persons less close to the earl, the chief interest of this volume lies in added biographical details of his last days. The education of the recipient of the letters, then a boy of seventeen engaged in making the grand tour of the Continent, is a main theme, and a memorandum on this subject, which completes the volume, shows some variation from Chesterfield's earlier educational plans for his heir. The explanatory notes are full and adequate.

GERDA RICHARDS CROSBY.

The Hargrave Correspondence, 1821-1843. Edited with Introduction and Notes by G. P. DE T. GLAZEBROOK. [The Champlain Society.] (Toronto, the Society, 1938, pp. xxvi, 472, xii.) Until the Hudson's Bay Record Society develops its program of publications this volume is likely to be unique. James Hargrave, who was stationed at York Factory shortly after the merger of the Canadian fur companies in 1821, built up an enormous correspondence with other Hudson's Bay Company servants which embraced the Pacific triangle (California-Hawaii-Alaska), the Mackenzie River and Hudson's Bay basins, and the posts on the St. Lawrence. Professor Glazebrook has selected and published in full 176 letters to Hargrave covering the period 1821-43. The most interesting are those from the chief agents at distributing centers like Norway House, the Red River, Fort Simpson, and Fort Vancouver (Columbia River). There is abundant evidence of the determination to cut down imports by developing agriculture and collecting fish and pemmican. Efforts at beaver conservation provoked endless difficulties with the Indians and between post managers. The dramatic retreat of the company before missionary settlement in Oregon is intimately portrayed. Naturally the personal lives of the fur traders are amply revealed. Hargrave's correspondents were tremendously interested in the revolutionary changes taking place in England and the Canadas, and periodicals passed from hand to hand across and around the continent about as freely as the cherished writings of Scott, Napier, Southey, Lockhart, and Cooper. There are many oddities in the volume, but only two can be noted here: the wreck of a Japanese trading vessel near the Columbia in 1835 and the transportation home of the survivors in the hope of opening Japan to foreign commerce; and a sudden passion among illiterate Indians at Norway House in 1839 to own books and to pretend to explain them to less imaginative barterers. There are a number of examples of hasty editing and indexing, but a patient reader can remedy them for himself.

J. B. BREBNER.

Letters of Queen Victoria from the Archives of the House of Brandenburg-Prussia.

Translated from the German by Mrs. J. Pudney and Lord Sudley. Edited by HECTOR BOLITHO. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 283, \$3.00.) Queen Victoria was an indefatigable correspondent. Hector Bolitho has uncovered another cache of her letters in the royal Prussian archives. Most of these are letters to the Princess Augusta of Prussia (queen after 1861 and empress after 1871) covering a period of forty years, 1849 to 1889. There are also letters from Victoria to successive kings of Prussia dating back to 1841. The letters selected for reproduction are accompanied by just enough interlarding comment to place each in its essential setting. Otherwise the editor has wisely allowed them to speak for themselves, and this they do most satisfactorily, particularly those to Augusta. For the period following the death of Victoria's uncle, Leopold, these letters stand alone in the amount of light they throw on the character of the queen. In them Victoria's rather cold and almost calculating attitude toward her children stands out in vivid contrast to the overmastering affection for Albert and the congealing grief that settled upon her with his death. These phenomena the candid queen not only states but analyzes and explains. "I have such a number of children", she writes in 1856, "that I shall be provided with them for many years to come." Yet in her greatest need she found the company of her children "no support". In later years she confessed that she doubted even their international value. Her fondest hopes of binding Britain and Germany by regal ties declined with the rise of Bismarck. General reader and specialist alike should find matters of interest in this fresh Victorian material, although for the latter it will serve rather to clarify and confirm than to alter previous historical interpretations.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

Pietermaritzburg Panorama: A Survey of One Hundred Years of an African City.

By ALAN F. HATTERSLEY. (Pietermaritzburg, Shuter and Shooter; London, John Clark, 1938, pp. 126, 7s. 6d.) Seventy-five years ago, before the discovery of diamonds ushered in an industrial age, South Africa was almost entirely a land of rural settlement. A few towns like Capetown, Grahamstown, and Pietermaritzburg, none of them of any considerable size, served the commercial interests of a widely scattered and sluggish rural population. But diamonds and gold brought a peremptory economic revolution. Kimberley and Johannesburg became great modern industrial communities that dominated the life of the subcontinent. By the time of the Boer War the urban population of South Africa had outstripped the rural population. The history of a town, therefore, even of a town of merchants and civil servants like Pietermaritzburg, would be an essential part of the story of the inrush into South Africa of capital and enterprise and industrial labor that swept away the grave and secluded republics. Yet Professor Hattersley makes no attempt to write such a history. Instead he has written a pleasant book of the daily and intimate things in the life of Pietermaritzburg. Leading citizens, well-known streets and buildings, the first football match, a hoax by a British regiment, fashions—these topical and familiar things are the main concern of a book which is not without interest to the social historian but which will appeal principally to those who are personally acquainted with Pietermaritzburg.

C. W. DE KIEWIET.

Unfinished Journey. By JACK JONES. With a Preface by the Rt. Hon. David Lloyd George. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 303, \$3.00.) The student of British social history will find this book an interesting case history of two families during the past fifty years in the now "distressed area" of South

Wales. The author, with little benefit of formal education, has developed from being a natural workers' orator into an excellent self-trained writer. After beginning with his father in the coalpits, he enlisted during the South African War and found himself called from the mines again as a reservist for infantry service in France in 1914. After demobilization his response to the economic disruption of his home region was to serve in succession as Communist, Labor Party, Liberal, and finally Mosleyite agitator during trade union and parliamentary campaigns. Obviously no theorist, he emerges from his own book as a kindly, impetuous human being who won through to a charitable attitude toward life and harsh circumstances. It would be hard to surpass this autobiography as an intimate picture of the clanlike existence of the men and women who live now above and now below the margin of the dole. Jones's own sons range from an errand-boy to an Oxford undergraduate. J. B. BREBNER.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Henry of Navarre. By QUENTIN HURST. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. 319, \$3.50.) In the history of France between the colossi, Charlemagne and Napoléon, there were kings of very varied sorts, to whom we are accustomed to apply the adjectives good, bad, clever, dull, headstrong, feeble, etc. Of them all, the king who has best established his reputation as a foresighted and able ruler is Henry of Navarre. Mr. Quentin Hurst shows us how intricate it is to follow the thread of his life in all its details. One must disagree with the author in a number of facts: "Henry of Navarre never avoided risks" (p. 23); he really was one of the wariest of men. "The plain . . . Diane of Poitiers" (p. 16); there is good evidence of her beauty. "Coligny was planning to give his idea of national unity a tangible expression by marrying Henry of Navarre to Margaret of Valois" (p. 26); the marriage was arranged by Catherine de Médicis and Jeanne d'Albret, not by Coligny. François de Guise "had saved France at St. Quentin" (p. 44); François de Guise was not present at the lost battle of St. Quentin. As to the attempt upon Coligny's life, "The ball struck the forefinger of his left hand and lodged in his right arm" (p. 31); it happens to have been

his right hand and his left arm. Of Henry III the author says, "At Venice he wasted two months in luxury and debauch" (p. 42); he stayed there eight days. These, and there are others like them, are small matters, but they create some doubt as to the accuracy of the author's judgments in the interesting chapters concerning Henry of Navarre's administration, the reconstruction of France, and the "Great Design", which otherwise seem very fair and reasonable. In the bibliography the author does not include the best biography, *Henry IV* by Pierre de Vaissière (1928).

H. D. SEDGWICK.

The Clermont Assizes of 1665: A Merry Account of a Grim Court. Being a Translation of Abbé Fléchier's *Mémoires sur les Grands Jours d'Auvergne*, by W. W. COMFORT, President of Haverford College. Foreword by William B. Linn. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. ix, 291, \$3.00.) These *mémoires* have had a curious history. When they were published, in 1844, the outcries of scandalized churchmen, descendants of characters mentioned by the abbé, and outraged local patriots led to their suppression. Finally, the classic edition by Chéruel appeared in 1856, and a popular edition by M. Ferrand was published in 1930. President Comfort has relied chiefly on the latter text for his excellent and charming translation. The Abbé Fléchier unwittingly presented us with one of the most valuable sources of information for provincial France in the early years of Louis XIV's personal rule. The extraordinary court appointed by the king struck such terror into the hearts of the local nobility that most of them fled; so that while a few were punished for their crimes against helpless tenants and neighbors, many more were hanged only in effigy. The young abbé was just as much interested, however, in local society as in the proceedings of the court, and his gossip, shrewd comments, and humor are as entertaining to us as they must have been to Madame de Caumartin, his patron's wife, for whom the account was probably written. President Comfort's preface and numerous notes are helpful guides to an understanding of the text.

E. A. BELLER.

Lettres du Général Leclerc, commandant en chef de l'armée de Saint-Domingue en 1802. Published with an Introduction by PAUL ROUSSIER. [Bibliothèque d'histoire coloniale.] (Paris, Leroux, 1937, pp. 361, 40 fr.) The Leclerc Expedition, dispatched to the Caribbean late in 1801 to reconquer St. Domingue from Toussaint L'Ouverture and thus pave the way for the establishment of a vast French colony in the Mississippi Valley, suffered one of the worst disasters in the annals of overseas expansion. Three fifths of the 35,000 soldiers sent out perished of yellow fever, and another fifth died in combat. Considering the epic qualities of this drama, source material is surprisingly scant. Few returning had the heart to narrate the disasters which had overwhelmed them, and little save official apologies was ever penned. The authors of such face-saving justifications portrayed the dead commander as a blundering incompetent, and responsibility for the tragedy has commonly been placed at his door. But a hitherto neglected source of information, now made generally available for the first time, reveals a wholly different picture and necessitates a revaluation of the popular estimate. A total of 146 dispatches by Leclerc to his superiors between his appointment in October, 1801, and his death a year later have been located. They were addressed chiefly to Napoleon and the minister of the marine and are preserved in the national archives, the ministry of war archives, and the colonial archives. They constitute what is, in effect, the official report on the expedition and are therefore of priceless value. They are here published with five appendices including Leclerc's instructions and letters addressed to L'Ouverture,

calling upon him to restore the colony to its ancient allegiance. They reveal Leclerc's thorough grasp of the complexities confronting him, his methodical projects for solving them in turn, and the success attending his early efforts. They do much to substantiate the belief always held by a minority that, but for the ravages of plague, St. Domingue would have been reconquered and that Leclerc would have emerged one of the dominant personalities of the age. M. Roussier's introduction presents an able summary of events. Several illustrations, a large map, and a good index (a rare phenomenon in French books) lend finishing touches to a highly important work. LOWELL JOSEPH RAGATZ.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Försvarsfrågan i svensk politik från 1809 till Krimkriget. By ALLAN JANSSON. (Uppsala, Appelberg, 1935, pp. xxxiv, 724.) This work combines breadth of view with painstaking and exhaustive detail. The first section admirably welds together strategic principles, foreign policy, and the political aspects of defense; the second section is almost purely military. To an extraordinary extent French revolutionary experience and nineteenth century military theory are woven into the Swedish background. Technical and partisan discussion in Riksdag and press

is summarized at length, though it was often doctrinaire and futile. For example, pages are given to the argument between Forsell and Franc-Sparre on whether Stockholm should be fortified because it was the capital or because of its strategic position (pp. 111 ff.; cf. p. 75). Likewise the debates on steam power for the navy are amusing, though technical developments made arguments obsolete before anything was done. In analysis of the naval debates the author shows how decision between a skerries fleet of small boats or a few large sea vessels turned not only on what might be best for Sweden herself but on what fleet a probable ally would most value. Yet whether that ally would be Britain or Russia was unsolved for years on account of Carl Johan's stanch but unpopular Russophile sentiments. Discussion of land strategy involved chiefly the idea of central defense and withdrawal from the border. Among the topics of broadest interest in the book are: the concept of neutrality and its defense (pp. 155, 218 ff.); universal military duty and its relation to democracy (chapters 12-14); the dependence of government on the national will (pp. 58, 60, *passim*). The author has utilized an exceptionally wide range of literature including newspapers and most of the archive material, although he has missed the important Gustav Löwenhielm Samling in Riksarkivet. The most serious defect of this excellent piece of research is its ponderous form.

FRANKLIN D. SCOTT.

Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science. Volume 197, May. (Philadelphia, the Academy, 1938, pp. ix, i, 301, \$2.00.) This issue, edited by Bertil Ohlin, the Swedish economist, is devoted to "Social Problems and Policies in Sweden". Eighteen Swedish contributors discuss various aspects of recent social developments in their country.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

The Charlatanry of the Learned (De charlataneria eruditorum, 1715). By JOHANN BURKHARD MENCKEN, 1674-1732. Translated from the German by Francis E. Litz. With Notes and an Introduction by H. L. MENCKEN. (New York, Knopf, 1937, pp. 178, xi, \$2.50.) Historians owe a debt of gratitude to Henry L. Mencken for reviving the name and fame of one of the most interesting practitioners of their art. Johann Burkhard Mencke (as the name was then usually written), professor of history at the University of Leipzig and editor of the *Acta eruditorum*, published large collections of ancient sources and wrote treatises on historical method and archaeology and on politics and jurisprudence, biographies, academic orations, and poetry. Travel made him acquainted with many of the leading scholars and scientists of his day and directed his interest to the history of intellectual achievement and of learned bodies, especially the English Royal Society. Of all his works that which won the widest popular success was the satire, *De charlataneria eruditorum*, first published in Latin in 1715, often reprinted in that language, promptly translated into German and French, later into Italian, and now, at last, into English. In this the author exposes to ridicule the tricks and foibles of the scholar's trade—the hollow pretentiousness of academic titles; the desperate efforts of writers to call attention to their books by giving them high-sounding names, dedicating them to great men, and claiming for them wonderful virtues; the conspiracies of mutual praise and of collusive attacks; the quarrels over priority and precedence; the minute and absurd subjects selected for investigation; and the boastings over esoteric discoveries, whether real or imagined. All this Francis E. Litz now exhibits to the reader of English in a book edited with an admirable biographical study of the author and copious notes by our great critic, wit, and scourge of quacks, Henry L. Mencken. Comparison of the translation with the original and examination of the added material show that both have been so well done that the reviewer fears to call attention to some trifling slips lest he should find his name, at some future date, in a satire on "The Pedantry of Critics".

PRESERVED SMITH.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Giovanni Andrea Serrao, Vescovo di Potenza, e la Lotta dello Stato contro la Chiesa in Napoli nella Seconda Metà del Settecento. By DOMENICO FORGES DAVANZATI. Translated by A. C. Dal Testa Francese, with a Preface and Note by B. Croce. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari, Laterza, 1937, pp. xii, 132, 10 l.) It was Benedetto Croce who, in his essay "Religious Life in Naples in the Eighteenth Century" (in the second volume of his *Uomini e Cose della Vecchia Italia*, 1927), revived the memory of the considerable group of bishops and priests of the Neapolitan kingdom who were very much under the influence of Jansenist doctrines. Prominent among them was Andrea Serrao, bishop of Potenza from 1782 to 1797 and author of various theological, historical, and juridical treatises. The Neapolitan Jansenists became devoted supporters of the doctrines of regalism and resisted openly orders from Rome. Having the full support of the government, several of them were appointed to bishoprics. In 1791, however, the king of Naples, influenced by the tragic events of the French Revolution, made an agreement with the pope and reversed his policy towards Rome. The Jansenists lost the royal favor and were then persecuted. No wonder that after the first Napoleonic invasion of Italy, when the Neapolitan revolution proclaimed a republic, the Jansenists were among the enthusiastic supporters of the new regime. Bishop Serrao preached a sermon in praise of the republic and presided at the ceremony of the planting of the tree of liberty. But with the restoration of the Bourbons in 1799 the Jansenists were imprisoned, some of them executed, others banished. Serrao was murdered in his bed. His friend and colleague, Domenico Forges Davanzati, bishop of Canosa, was exiled and took refuge in France, where in 1806 he published in French a biography of Serrao. It is this biography, of which only a few copies are known to exist, that now, translated into Italian, has been published. It is an important contribution to the history of Italian Jansenism and to the history of the conflict between church and state in the Neapolitan kingdom before the French Revolution.

G. LA PIANA.

La giovinezza di Cavour: Saggio storico secondo lettere e documenti inediti. By FRANCESCO RUFFINI. Two volumes. Second edition. [Collana Cavour, I.] (Turin, Modica, 1937; 1938, pp. 342; 351, 50 l. for both volumes.) This is a reprint of the fundamental and standard work on the youth of Cavour, which was first published in 1912.

Raffaello Lambruschini: Scritti politici e di istruzione pubblica. Edited by ANGILO GAMBARO. Volume V. ["Documenti di Storia Italiana."] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. vii, 750, 35 l.) This volume forms part of what promises to be the definitive edition of the works of a significant Risorgimento figure, a liberal Catholic, a distinguished representative of the moderates in Tuscany, and an apostle of elementary and secondary education, Raffaello Lambruschini (1788-1873), whom Gioberti, the leader of the Neo-Guelphs, called his teacher and *duce*. No one is better fitted for this task of editing than Angiolo Gambaro, who for many years has been the principal authority on Lambruschini. The explanatory footnotes and the identifying of Lambruschini as the author of many

writings hitherto regarded as anonymous give evidence of thorough scholarship. Objection might be raised to the editor's arrangement of materials in topical instead of chronological form, but this will probably always remain an issue when a definitive edition of works in several volumes is undertaken. Among the subjects covered in this volume are the 1848 crisis in Tuscany and other parts of Italy, the emancipation of the Jews, the agitation for constitutional government, the educational problems, and the position of the pope and the church in the movement for Italian unification.

Voci di realismo politico dopo il 1870. By ENZO TAGLIACOZZO. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari, Laterza, 1937, pp. 151, 10 L.) The four essays in this volume provide a critical and well-balanced review and evaluation of the thought of six enlightened Italian conservatives, each of whom made a contribution of the first order to a realistic understanding of major political, social, and economic problems facing united Italy: the Lombard Stefano Iacini, who acutely analyzed agricultural conditions in Lombardy and such issues as the extension of the suffrage, the desirability of a strong conservative party, and the relations between church and state; the southern Italian Pasquale Turiello, who vividly described the gap between governmental action and the needs of the Italian people; the Tuscans Leopoldo Franchetti and Sidney Sonnino and the southern Italians Pasquale Villari and Giustino Fortunato, whose masterly studies on agricultural conditions in southern Italy (including Sicily) revealed the real reasons why this part of Italy was in so many respects inferior to northern Italy. Common to all these public-spirited men was the conviction that progress was impossible in Italy unless the governing classes realized the differences between the "real" and the "legal" Italy and the existence of a serious "social question". Particularly with regard to the agricultural situation these men proved abundantly that Italy, far from being the "garden of Europe", *magna parens frugum*, was very poor indeed. Those in Italy and elsewhere who nourish the illusion that a realistic approach to Italy's problems coincided with the advent of fascism would do well to read the works of the men discussed by Tagliacozzo.

Carlo and Nello Rosselli: A Memoir. By GAETANO SALVEMINI. (London, 23 Haymarket, For Intellectual Liberty, 1937, pp. 71, 2s.) Professor Salvemini has written a sympathetic memoir of the Rosselli brothers, who were murdered in France on June 9, 1937, under circumstances briefly noted in this *Review* (XLIII, 236). Interesting information is shed on the antifascist movement in Italy and abroad, on the dramatic escape of Carlo Rosselli, Emilio Lussu, and Vincenzo Nitti from the island of Lipari, on the antifascist *Giustizia e Libertà* movement in Paris, of which Carlo Rosselli was a founder and a leading figure, and on the work of Nello Rosselli as a historian. Brief writings on the ill-fated brothers by Ernest Barker and by C. Bouglé, directeur de l'École normale supérieure of Paris, are reprinted in this little volume.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Hans Kohn

- Brünn: Geschichte und Kultur*. By BERTOLD BRETHOLZ. (Brünn, Rohrer, 1938, pp. 326, Kc. 40.) The historian Bretholz, who died in 1936, devoted a series of lectures to the history of Brünn, the capital of Moravia, where he had lived and worked for many years. These now appear in book form. They deal with the history of the city and its people from Roman times to the present. Much original source material is quoted, which throws light on the social life and habits of the inhabitants. A biography of Bretholz, many interesting and rare illustrations, a bibliography, and an index increase the value of the book.
- Mistr Jan Hus: Vzkazy Věrným Čechům*. Edited by FRANTIŠEK ŽILKA. (Prague, Kalich, 1938, pp. 98, Kc. 15.) Professor Žilka of the Hus Seminar of Protestant Theology published in 1917, at the five hundredth anniversary of the death of Hus, an anthology of his writings under the title *Hus for Us*. The purpose was to collect from his writings and speeches all the utterances of immediate interest for the present time and to show the personality of the reformer in the light of his importance for twentieth century Bohemia. In an altered form the book now

appears, with a new introduction, containing 157 quotations with exact references to their sources. Hus is shown not only as a religious genius but also as a national leader.

O Balbínovi dějepisci. By KAMIL KROFTA. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. 63, Kc. 10.) Bohuslav Balbin, who died on November 29, 1688, was a Jesuit who, in the "dark days" of the Counter Reformation in Bohemia, was one of the few to keep Czech national consciousness alive. In his famous *Dissertatio apologetica pro lingua Slavonica, praecipue Bohemica* he tried to maintain the love for the Czech language, and he continued his apologies for the Czech people in his historiography, in the *Epitome rerum Bohemicarum*, and in his unfinished *Miscellanea historica regni Bohemiae*. The author discusses Balbin as a historian and points out his great service as the link between the period of Czech independence before the battle of the White Mountain and the Czech Renaissance in the nineteenth century.

Štefánik. Edited by JÁN SMREK and JOSEF BARTŮŠEK. Two volumes. (Prague, L. Mazáč, 1938, pp. 310; 412, Kc. 140.) Milan Štefánik worked with Masaryk and Beneš in creating Czechoslovakia during the World War. He died immediately after the war. These volumes should offer the historian important material about the personality and the work of Štefánik. The first volume consists mainly of memoirs by leading Czech, Slovak, and French personalities who had been in close contact with Štefánik; the second volume is primarily a collection of documents but contains also a bibliography, an outline of Štefánik's life, and an index.

Flacius. By MIJO MIRKOVIĆ. (Zagreb, Hrvatska Naklada, 1938, pp. 213, Din. 22.) Matija Vlačić, known as Flacius Illyricus, was the leading Croatian Protestant who spent most of his life in Germany. His influence in Croatia was negligible, but the author tries to see in him a true representative of the best type of Istrian Croat.

Karagjorgje. By DRAGOSLAV STRANJAKOVIĆ. (Belgrade, Geca Kon, 1938, pp. 300, Din. 100.) This is an excellent history of the first Serbian national revolt under the leadership of Karagjorgje and a well-rounded biography of the man and of his wife, Jelena. It contains many documents, a bibliography, and about one hundred illustrations from the life of Karagjorgje, his family, and other leaders of the national revolt.

Petar II. Petrovic Njegoš, 1813-1851. By LUBOMIR DURKOVIĆ-JAKŠIĆ. (Warsaw, Rozprawy historyczne Towarzystwa Naukowego Warszawskiego, 1938, pp. -xxxii, 242.) Peter II was probably the most important ruler of Montenegro in the nineteenth century, as important as poet and cultural reformer as he was as statesman and fighter for the liberty of Montenegro. He was the last of the Vladikas or prince-bishops representing the theocratic sovereignty of the mountaineer people. The author uses a number of sources from archives in Cracow, but the archives in Paris and Constantinople may still yield rich material on the personality of the man who established the life of Montenegro on new foundations and worked for the preparation of a united Yugoslavia. The author confines himself to the life and political ideas of his hero, postponing the consideration of his cultural and poetical activity to a second volume.

Srbija od 1858 do 1903 godine. By VASO ČUBRILOVIĆ and VLADIMIR ČOROVIĆ. (Belgrade, Geca Kon, 1938, pp. 195, Din. 40.) This volume of the collaborative history of Serbia in the nineteenth century (*Srpski Narod u XIX Veku*), which,

when completed, will include twenty volumes, deals with the history of Serbia from the dethronement of Alexander Karagjorgjević to the accession of Peter I. The authors succeed in disentangling the threads of this tumultuous period of internal struggles and vacillation in foreign policy.

Borba za narodno ujedinjenje 1903-1908. By JOVAN M. JOVANOVIĆ. (Belgrade, Geca Kon, 1937, pp. 160, Din. 40.) This volume follows that noted immediately above in the collaborative history of Serbia in the nineteenth century. The author deals with the first years of the reign of Peter I. Having participated in making the history of that time as Serbia's diplomatic representative in the most important foreign capitals, the author concerns himself mainly with the foreign relations of his country, with Turkey, with Austria-Hungary, and with Bulgaria.

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JOSEPH CHMELAŘ. Le régime des Allemands de Tschécoslovaquie. *Monde Slave*, July.

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EARLE EDWARD EUBANK. Thomas Garrigue Masaryk: Sociologist. *Social Forces*, XVI, no. 4.

CHARLES SEYMOUR. Czechoslovak Frontiers. *Yale Rev.*, Dec.

RUSSIA

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Vlast' i obshchestvennost' na zakate staroi Rossii: Vospominaniya sovremennika [government and society in the declining years of old Russia: reminiscences of a contemporary]. By V. A. MAKRAKOV. Three volumes. (Printed in Esthonia; a supplement to "Illustrirovannaya Rossiya", Paris, 1938, pp. 617.) Before the revolution the author was well known as a jurist, a noted member of the state duma, and a leader of the Constitutional-Democratic party. His autobiography should hold a place among the sources for the reigns of the last two Russian emperors. It offers much valuable material on the liberal and constitutional movement of the period and on the revolution of 1905.

Bibliografiia Russkoi Revoliutsii i Grazhdanskoi Voiny, 1917-1921: Iz Kataloga Biblioteki R.Z.I. Arkhiva. Compiled by S. P. POSTNIKOV. (Prague, Russkii Zagranichnyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv v Prage, 1938, pp. xv, 445, Kc. 60; \$2.50.) By publishing part of the catalogue of its library the Russian Archives at Prague, founded in 1923, has made an important contribution to the bibliography of the Russian revolution and the civil war, though in spite of the title it is rather a library catalogue than a scientific bibliography. A unique collection of the publications of all Russian groups hostile to the Bolsheviks as well as an impressive accumulation of journals of 1917 and of periodicals published both in Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik Russia from 1918 to 1921 make the volume as important as the catalogue of the Russian materials in the "*Bibliothèque et Musée de la Guerre*" at Vincennes (Paris, 1932) and the *Tematicheskii ukazatel literatury po grazhdanskoi voine* (Leningrad, 1929). Among its rarest items are a whole series of secret documents from the archives of the Russian ministry of foreign affairs published by the sailor Markin in the winter of 1917-18 (p. 75) and the Red Book of the Cheka, published in 1920 (p. 245). Within each section Russian titles and titles in Western European languages are separated, with the unfortunate result that original versions and translations are never placed together and are sometimes even scattered in different sections. Still another defect, from the point of view of scientific bibliography, is too schematic a cataloguing in the Russian translations of the names of the authors, which are given only in the

Russian phonetic transcription. Under Nodó, Olar, Shou, D. Uord, etc., are hidden Naudeau, Aulard, Bernard Shaw, John Ward, etc. The specialist will be please to learn that a special list of the library's large collection of newspapers is in preparation.

Fritz Th. Epstein.

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- CONSTANTIN DE GRUNWALD. De la révolte des Décabristes au soulèvement de la Pologne. *Monde Slave*, 1938, no. 3.
- NIKOLAI ZERNOV. Angliiski bogoslov v Rossii Imperatora Nikolaya pervovo: Vil'yam Pal'mer i Alekseĭ Stepanovich Khomyakov [William Palmer and A. S. Khomyakov]. *Put'*, 1938, no. 57.
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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Apostle of China: Samuel Isaac Joseph Schereschewsky, 1831-1906. By JAMES ARTHUR MULLER. (Milwaukee, Morehouse-Gorham Company, 1937, pp. 279, \$2.50.) The career of Bishop Schereschewsky is one of the most striking in the annals of the nineteenth and twentieth century Far East. He was a Jew, a native of Lithuania, and in his youth was trained for the profession of a rabbi. In his early manhood he became a clergyman of the Protestant Episcopal Church. At his own urgent request he was sent to China as a missionary. There his marked linguistic tastes led him to devote much of his time to translation. Much against his will, he was elected and consecrated as a bishop. He became the founder of what was to become St. John's University in Shanghai, the pioneer institution in modern higher Western education in China. When fifty years of age he was stricken with an illness which left him physically an almost helpless paralytic. In spite of this, he resumed his work of translation and made a monumental and permanent contribution to Chinese versions of the Bible. It is this story which Professor Muller has told. In the preparation of the biography extensive manuscript sources have been unearthed and utilized. Professor Muller has a warm admiration for Schereschewsky and writes sympathetically. The biography, however, is not a panegyric but is a work of critical scholarship. At least two changes in romanization would be desirable in a second edition. Peking is better written Peking, and Liao (p. 139) is probably more usually transliterated Liu. No serious attempt is made to point out the significant fact that Schereschewsky had gifts and interests which fitted him peculiarly for

kinds of work which were especially appropriate to Christian missions in China in his day.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

The Last Genro: Prince Saionji, the Man who westernized Japan. By BUNJI OMURA. (Philadelphia, Lippincott, 1938, pp. 442, \$3.50.) The career of Prince Kimmochi Saionji spans Japanese history from the Restoration of 1867-68, in which he commanded an imperial army, to recent cabinet crises, during which he has been the final advisor of the emperor. The historical importance and the impossibility at present of a definitive biography are alike obvious. Mr. Omura has selected anecdotes from the many popular articles and books about Saionji and has woven them into a biographical novel with a historical base. By ample illustration of the political role of *geisha* and *machi'ai* (waiting houses), which the official histories omit, he has undoubtedly succeeded in popularizing a subject which would otherwise be unattractive to the great mass of American readers, for whom even the most indispensable Japanese proper names present a barrier of unintelligibility. In the process, however, significant questions have been neglected: many pages tell of Saionji's mistresses, few of his political accomplishments and opinions. The author has undoubtedly some foundation for most of his episodes, but since he provides neither footnotes nor bibliography, and since the innumerable possible sources are of extremely varied reliability, one can neither implicitly believe nor easily disprove most of the details. The general picture of Yamagata, Itô, and the other clan statesmen, which can be more safely evaluated, seems to be the fruit of one branch of Japanese political polemics rather than of mature scholarship. Nevertheless, *The Last Genro* is interesting and written in English unapproached by that of the translated volumes on Saionji which have previously appeared. Appreciated as fiction it gives colorful side lights on modern Japan as seen by a Japanese; it should not be taken seriously as either history or critical biography.

CHARLES B. FAHS.

Propaganda from China and Japan: A Case Study in Propaganda Analysis. By BRUNO LASKER and AGNES ROMAN. Foreword by William W. Lockwood, jr. (New York, American Council, Institute of Pacific Relations, 1938, pp. xiv, 120, \$1.50.) The authors have compiled in popular form an objective analysis of the propaganda that has issued from both Chinese and Japanese sources since the outbreak of the current undeclared war. By a judicious arrangement of the material the reader is able quickly to discover for himself the conscious or unconscious art employed by the propagandist to achieve his purpose, which is "to give a particular turn to his [the reader's] thinking". The increasing conditioning of the public mind against propaganda in recent years has had the effect of refining the methods employed by propagandists. Little use is now made of the "downright lie", and they have "abandoned the design to hypnotize us into a belief that black is white or that white is black". Gone are the crudities of World War propaganda, which makes it even more incumbent upon schools in democratic countries to educate youth to an awareness of the propagandist's art if the individual is to preserve or develop a critical and independent judgment on controversial issues. It is of course too much to expect educators in fascist countries even to think of undertaking such a task.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

Washington: Sa correspondance avec D'Estaing. With an Introduction by Ch. de la Roncière. (Paris, Fondation nationale pour la reproduction des manuscrits précieux et pièces rares d'archives, 1937, pp. iv, 66.) This volume contains a part of the correspondence exchanged between General Washington and Count d'Estaing when the latter was operating along the coast of America in the summer and early autumn of 1778. It is printed from a packet of the original letters as they exist today in the Archives nationales. The letters by Washington have already been printed in Mr. Fitzpatrick's *Writings of Washington*, but from

the retained copies in the Washington Papers in the Library of Congress. Some of D'Estaing's letters which appear in the volume under consideration have already appeared in Doniol's *Histoire de la participation de la France à l'établissement des États-Unis d'Amérique*. At the same time, there are a few letters missing from this book, letters from Washington to D'Estaing which Fitzpatrick printed, and letters from D'Estaing to Washington which Doniol printed. Presumably these were not present in the collection at the Archives nationales. The main contribution, therefore, consists in putting into print some D'Estaing letters to Washington which have not heretofore been printed. The volume is beautifully printed and contains one facsimile of a Washington letter which should be examined by every editor and printer of "documents inédites" or of hitherto "unpublished manuscripts". It is far superior in reproducing with exactness an eighteenth century manuscript than anything we have seen done in America. One wonders how much longer we are going to continue to print huge volumes and long series of hitherto unpublished primary material, when by photography (even on films) the historian can get at the original documents? Every editor knows how impossible it is to reproduce every phase of a manuscript in mere type. The sole remaining excuse for turning such "lettres inédites" into "lettres publiées" in the future may be the ease of reading.

RANDOLPH G. ADAMS.

The Constitution of the United States: Addresses in Commemoration of the Sesquicentennial of its Signing, 17 September, 1787. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1938, pp. 83.) This collection of addresses (delivered on December 7, 1937) has been brought out under the editorial supervision of Dr. Herbert Wright, who furnishes an appropriate introduction. The addresses included are: "The Philosophy of the Constitution" by Rev. Moorehouse I. X. Millar; "The Catholic Signers of the Constitution" by Edmund C. Burnett; "The Catholic Contribution to Constitutional Law" by Hon. William C. Walsh; and "The Constitution and Papal Encyclicals of our Times" by Rev. Robert J. White. The collection closes with remarks by the rector of the Catholic University, the Right Reverend Joseph M. Corrigan, of which the keynote is that the makers of the Constitution, in seeking a way to perpetuate liberty, were obeying the will of God.

Historical Records and Studies. Volume XXVIII. THOMAS F. MEEHAN, Editor. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1937, pp. 271.) The following papers are included in this volume: "American Prelates in the Vatican Council" by Raymond J. Clancy; "James Kerrigan, Merchant" by Sara M. Murphy; "Catholic Action" by Thomas F. Meehan; "Oliver Pollock, Catholic Patriot and Financier of the American Revolution" by William F. Mullaney; "Early Catholic Weeklies" by Thomas F. Meehan.

Uncommon Scold: The Story of Anne Royall. By GEORGE STUYVESANT JACKSON. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1937, pp. 161, \$2.00.) Old Anne Royall armed with her notebook and jogging over the United States in bumpy stagecoaches during the 1820's and 1830's is a figure worth remembering. Mr. Jackson has done good service in recalling her life and writings to social historians. True, the old lady's comments and descriptions should be taken with the proverbial grain of salt, but they furnish many interesting details, especially of the philanthropic and reform movements which she so thoroughly detested. The account of her trial as a common scold is a legal curiosity worth preserving. Mr. Jackson writes in popular fashion with detailed references to Mrs. Royall's works and to other

sources for those whose interest leads them to follow the lady's journeys and editorial work more closely. The accounts of Anne's early life had, of necessity, to be reconstructed partly from inference, but the biographer is careful to note the points on which he has done this. Possibly the author is overenthusiastic in claiming for Anne Royall greater influence on her times than belonged to Sarah Hale or Lydia Sigourney. She was more picturesque and vituperative in language than they were, and more vigorous in action. She was an interesting figure and a shrewd commentator, but her notoriety hardly gave her the position of leadership among her countrywomen that the lady editor of *Godey's* or the "sweet singer of Hartford" commanded. There are occasional inaccuracies in the book. It is probable that the reference on page 101 is to Lyman Beecher and not to his son, Henry Ward, as Mrs. Royall's *Southern Tour* was written before the son was well known. All in all, the book gives an interesting and useful account of an early nineteenth century character.

MARY S. BENSON.

Treaties and Other International Acts of the United States of America. Edited by HUNTER MILLER. Volume V, *Documents 122-150: 1846-1852; Document 151: 1799.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1937, pp. xxxii, 1103, \$5.00.) The present volume enhances the value of this indispensable work for the diplomatist, lawyer, and historical scholar. Although there are 1103 pages, they include only twenty-nine treaties, conventions, and other international acts of the United States. The authentic texts—and this is the only publication that has reliable and authentic texts of United States treaties—take up only a small fraction of the huge volume. The remainder consists of the editor's historical notes, which give a documentary record of the negotiation, signature, and ratification of each instrument, together with an elaborate analysis of all technical features. Three of the most important and interesting treaties of the United States fall within these covers: the Oregon Treaty, the Treaty of Guadalupe-Hidalgo, and the Clayton-Bulwer Treaty; and here is the most complete record of each that has ever been printed, studded with pieces not only from the archives of the Department of State but also from those of the other governments concerned. The historical notes include a careful examination of the various problems of cartography, and five useful maps are printed—one of them the celebrated Disturnell Map, describing the Mexican cession of 1848. The list of the publications relating to these treaties is a highly useful bibliographical aid. An exchange of notes in 1799 settling a small claim with the Netherlands had not been discovered when the relevant volume of this series was published; consequently it is included at the end of this one. As the volumes appear in procession, Miller's *Treaties* becomes the most important single publication for the diplomatic history of the United States.

SAMUEL FLAGG BEMIS.

Ukrainians in the United States. By WASYL HALICH. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1937, pp. xiii, 174, \$2.50.) This book is concerned with the more than 700,000 people of Ukrainian blood in the United States—the immigrants who came to America between 1870 and 1914 and their children, grandchildren, and great-grandchildren. It deals with the causes of this emigration, the numerical importance of the movement, the distribution of the people in America, their occupations, businesses, professions, and social institutions. The author depends on secondary sources for the historical backgrounds of the people and for the bulk of his material on migration to this country. He has done considerable independent research of a historical nature in memoirs, papers, newspapers, books, etc. in connection with the remaining sections of the book.

The organization of the material is topical: "business and the professions", "organizations", "the press", "the religious life". While the study does not represent a significant contribution to method or add in any way to our understanding of the assimilation process, it is an excellent, well-documented summary of information of value to anyone interested in the Ukrainian Americans. The format and binding are in the usual unattractive pattern of the University of Chicago Press. Why should books in the humanities and social sciences be presented in jackets fit only to clothe the findings of a government geodetic survey?

CHARLES H. YOUNG.

The Study of International Relations in the United States: Survey for 1937. By EDITH E. WARE. (New York, published for the American National Committee on International Intellectual Cooperation by the Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xxvii, 540, \$3.50.) This is a valuable comprehensive reference work bringing up to date a 1934 survey of the same title and authorship. It includes materials far broader than the title would indicate. In addition to agencies "studying" international relations, a host of other organizations, whose activities only incidentally involve international relationships, are described. Foundations and councils which finance or inspire such activities are also described, together with various scientific, economic, and cultural organizations having international contacts which are deemed important.

W. C. COWLES.

The Constitution up to Date: Some Suggested Adjustments for the Federal Constitution. By CHARLES H. COLEMAN. With an Introduction by Phillips Bradley. (Cambridge, National Council for the Social Studies, 1938, pp. 48, 50 cents.) This pamphlet offers a revised text of the Constitution intended to adapt the instrument to what the author regards as present-day needs. Obsolete provisions, naturally, have been dropped, the provisions of the amendments incorporated in the new text, and the number of Articles increased from seven to nine, but otherwise the aim has been to retain the original language except where new prescriptions or enlarged grants of power are inserted. The chief changes of a formal or structural kind are four-year terms for representatives and eight-year terms for senators; the abolition of the Vice-Presidency and the election by the Senate of one of their number as presiding officer; the election of the President by popular vote, but with the choice registered by the present system of electors and the casting of the full electoral vote of the state for the candidate highest in the popular poll; the ratification of treaties by a majority vote of Congress and the ratification of amendments by legislatures or conventions of two thirds of the states, which two thirds must contain at least three fourths of the total population. The influence of New Deal theories in various other proposed changes is obvious. The right of Congress to delegate to the President the power to determine the conditions under which appropriations shall be spent is expressly given. State lines and state authority disappear in sweeping grants of power "to regulate commerce" and "to regulate corporations", and unrestricted regulatory authority over "the conditions of labor of persons gainfully employed for hire" is added. Federal conservation of natural resources and voluntary contracts with agricultural producers are specifically authorized. The right to keep and bear arms, on the other hand, has been ruled out, as also the right of jury trial in civil cases.

WILLIAM MACDONALD.

American Imprints Inventory. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, W.P.A. No. 1, *A Preliminary Check List of Missouri Imprints, 1808-1850.* (Washington, Historical Records Survey, 1937,

pp. ix, 225.) This initial issue under the W.P.A. project of American Imprints Inventories is largely the result of Mr. Douglas C. McMurtrie's personal investigations during the past ten years. It is issued by the Historical Records Survey, of which he is consultant to the national director, as a "preliminary" record "intended to serve for checking and amplification". Thus far the list has recorded for the period from 1808 through 1850 a total of 694 imprints, and McMurtrie believes that "many additional titles will be found and recorded" by the W.P.A. Survey. Already it far outstrips a list published in 1932, covering the same period, by William Clark Breckenridge and Francis Asbury Simpson, which recorded only 254 imprints. Even if considered, as McMurtrie says, "as an interim report offering a first contribution toward a future bibliography" of Missouri imprints, it does "provide Missouri historians with a useful record of local historical material", indicating where items may be consulted. We may expect equally good results in the other regional bibliographies for which Mr. McMurtrie has already laid the foundation.

V. H. PALTSITS.

Guide to Depositories of Manuscript Collections in the United States. Prepared by the Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, W.P.A. (Columbus, Historical Records Survey, 1938, pp. 134, mimeographed.) This is not the ultimate *Guide* which has been projected by the Historical Records Survey and is "actively progressing toward completion", but only "one hundred sample entries", chosen to show the scope of the work and to represent every state. The states are treated in alphabetical order, and for each depository included, the name, location, name and title of the chief custodian, and hours are given. This is uniformly followed by a paragraph on the "History and Purpose" of the depository, and that by a descriptive account of the "Holdings", to which are frequently added paragraphs of further elucidation. The lists of "Holdings", which constitute the meat of the *Guide*, are for the most part severely compressed, yet with sufficient indication (by names, periods, topics, etc.) to serve as first aid to one on investigation bent. It is planned to include full descriptions of holdings in the definitive Guides to Manuscript Collections to be published in the various states. The materials for the present volume were gathered by the several state organizations but have been supplemented and edited by Mrs. Margaret S. Eliot. Dr. Luther H. Evans, national director of the H.R.S., furnishes an explanatory preface. There is an index of the names mentioned under "Holdings".

ARTICLES

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

Publications of the Colonial Society of Massachusetts. Volume XXXII, *Transactions, 1933-1937.* Editor of Publications, ALLYN BAILEY FORBES. (Boston, the Society, 1937, pp. xvii, 569.) The present volume contains, in addition to the customary records and other data of interest to members of the society, thirty papers, notes, remarks, and documents. The papers include a number of important historical contributions by recognized authorities.

Proclamations of Massachusetts issued by Governors and Other Authorities. Volume I, 1620-1775; Volume II, 1776-1936. Prepared by Historical Records Survey, Division of Women's and Professional Projects, W.P.A. (Boston, Historical Records Survey of Massachusetts, 1937, pp. 200; 201-354, mimeographed.) Anyone who wishes to know when, why, and what a Massachusetts governor, governor and council, lieutenant governor, or council all alone at any time put forth in the form of proclamation (barring of course occasional gaps) will be guided by this index, even if it does not supply all he seeks to know, to the place where he may find the source, written or printed. The favorite form in early days was a broadside, a form peculiarly subject to destruction (the oldest found in Massachusetts is dated September 22, 1670), and therefore much of this work is concerned with the location of broadsides. The method followed is to give the date of the proclamation, the executive authority, the appointment date (as of a Thanksgiving proclamation), the location, and a brief characterization (one to six lines). It is explained by Carl J. Wennerblad, state director of the H.R.S., that the materials were prepared by Carl E. Atwood and Dr. Stanley U. Marie of Columbia University, that the illuminating introductory essay was contributed by Winifred Olsen, and that the index was prepared by Annie K. Kirkpatrick.

A Puritan Church and its Relation to Community, State, and Nation: Addresses delivered in preparation for the Three Hundredth Anniversary of the Settlement of New Haven. By OSCAR EDWARD MAURER. (New Haven, published for the First Church of Christ in New Haven by the Yale University Press, 1938, pp. iv, 208, \$2.50.) This useful and readable book is in direct line with Dr. Bacon's *Historical Discourses*, which grew out of New Haven's bicentennial celebration and were also written by the minister of the First Church. Following the familiar pattern of many anniversary sermons, it is a chronological narrative divided into chapters according to pastorates. The first half is frankly based on preceding works, with some additions from church records and other sources, such as the recently published *Letters of John Davenport*. The narrative is brought down to 1909, when the author became pastor. Earlier writers of such sermons did not always realize their historical value, but Dr. Maurer intentionally connects the history of his church with that of larger groups. Much well-known New Haven history is accordingly given—indeed the stories of the church and town could not be separated. Wider relationships are shown, for example, by the church's activity in the missionary and philanthropic enterprises which began at the close of the eighteenth century, by Dr. Bacon's work in connection with slavery, and by Dr. Smyth's in the struggle for freedom of religious thought and church unity. The character of the work was determined by its origin as a series of sermons. It has no footnotes, only a short list of books in the foreword, and no index. A municipal church today differs so widely from that of the times of Davenport or the "Standing Order" that an account of changes in administration and financial support would have been of value. Puritan churches are often said to be cold, but this one has "gripped and held the imagination" of the

writer, though he is "of a different ancestry" from his predecessors and "of a religious culture which they might consider alien". MARY HEWITT MITCHELL.

Colonial Hempstead. By BERNICE SCHULTZ. (Lynbrook, Review-Star Press, 1937, pp. x, 392, \$3.00.) The history of Hempstead is traced from 1641 to 1783, beginning with Richard Denton leading twenty-eight families from Wethersfield, Connecticut, to Long Island. These people were all English, independent in religion and of the exercise of Dutch authority. Separate chapters are devoted to the Indians and the Dutch, with both of whom there was trouble. "Running the Town", "Land", and "Making a Living" are the titles of interesting chapters describing the difficulties of agricultural and pastoral life, the latter especially, for the great plain on which Hempstead was located afforded food for many flocks of sheep and herds of cattle. "Life in Early Hempstead" gives even more details, often enlivened by the quaint spelling employed. In the chapter devoted to churches the Presbyterians, the Church of England, and the Quakers are treated at length. A lively account is given of the early Quakers, leading up to the career of Elias Hicks. The final chapters, dealing with "Rebels and Tories" and the consequences to the latter, are rather painful reading. One might close the book with the feeling that the independence of thought, which in religion led to the formation of a new sect, became somehow accompanied by a story of strife, culminating in the expatriation of many worthy people. Rereading chapter ix will serve to correct this impression, for it presents a word picture of comfortable home life, admirably expressed in some detail. The copious notes and bibliography indicate the diligence with which the author has consulted source material and support the authenticity of the narrative. The book is a valuable addition to early colonial history.

CHARLES W. LENG.

Richard Smith, First English Settler of Narragansett Country, Rhode Island: With a Series of Letters written by his Son Richard Smith, jr., to Members of the Winthrop Family and Notes on Cocumscussuc, Smith's Estate in Narragansett. By DANIEL BERKELEY UPDIKE. (Boston, Merrymount Press, 1937, pp. xix, 118, \$4.50.) The younger Smith's fifty letters, which constitute the chief historical contribution of this volume, throw light on the Atherton Company's maneuvers which embittered and prolonged the Connecticut-Rhode Island boundary dispute. An extensive Narragansett speculator, Smith, like William Harris, played a double game, siding by turns with both colonies, first urging Connecticut to put a "sudden" end to controversy by forcible possession, later taking a Rhode Island office when Harris and the Quakers triumphed, eventually favoring royal control and serving on the Andros council. There are various other items of interest: Smith's criticisms of Rhode Island democracy as irresponsible; his praise of Roger Williams's missionary work; his insistence in 1675, like Gorton's and Williams's, that the Narragansett sachems would keep the peace if the United Colonies did not goad them into joining Philip; and his references to his activities as frontier "merchant", including mention of beaver, tools, articles of trade, and shipping.

S. H. BROCKUNIER.

A Journal for the Years 1739-1803. By SAMUEL LANE of Stratham, New Hampshire. Edited by Charles Lane Hanson. (Concord, New Hampshire Historical Society, 1937, pp. vi, 115, \$2.00.) This journal of a Yankee jack-of-all-trades, who was a farmer, tanner, shoemaker, surveyor, and land speculator, served as town clerk and selectman, and was a deacon in the local church, contains little of political interest save, perhaps, evidence of his attitude towards the American Revolution, which he regarded as an unnatural civil war. It is mainly concerned with

economic conditions and price fluctuations, which may be of some interest to the economic historian. Its simple entries, recording the yearly state of the crops, drought and flood, cankerworm and early frost, may help to make vivid to the social historian an all but vanished way of life, in which man was still largely dependent for his health and prosperity on the forces of nature.

A. H. BUFFINTON.

The Portraits of John Jay, 1745-1829, First Chief Justice of the United States, Governor of the State of New York. By JOHN JAY IDE. [New-York Historical Society.] (New York, the Society, 1938, pp. xvii, 69, \$3.00.) This volume, listing over a hundred items and illustrated with twenty-five plates after paintings, prints, and sculpture, will interest laymen, collectors, and special students. It should find a place in many libraries and all museums. Portraits by Stuart, Trumbull, Wright, Boyle, and West are reproduced. Although the author avoided most pitfalls, several matters require comment. First, sources should be cited throughout, and especially in the case of item 3. The story that Trumbull finished a portrait by Stuart, using Jay's son as a model, has been repeated by Park and Bowen after Mason, who does not give his source. One might infer from item 3a that it may have been current in 1834, but the story remains unconfirmed. Again, item 13 cannot definitely be ascribed to Ames. Finally, item 16 might well be omitted. It is entitled elsewhere "The American Peace Commissioners" and purports to be taken "from life, 1775", but there is no mention of such a commission either in the *Journals of the Continental Congress* or in Burnett's *Letters of Members of the Continental Congress*. Nevertheless, the catalogue is well planned, honestly executed, ably edited, and printed in convenient form. It constitutes another of the rare volumes relating to the portrait as a historical document.

GEORGE C. GROCE, JR.

A Chronicle of Industry on the Mill River. By AGNES HANNAY. [Smith College Studies in History.] (Northampton, Department of History of Smith College, 1936, pp. 142, \$2.00.) This study chronicles the industrial history of the Mill River valley at and above Northampton, Massachusetts. From fragmentary sources the author has pieced together sketches of the main industrial enterprises in the area and has traced their relationships from the earliest enterprises to the present time. In the records of this area we see examples of the business types that brought the early industrial development to New England. We see business enterprise applied successively to one product after another—wool, buttons, silk, sewing machines, tooth brushes—as opportunities for profit in new fields opened up and older lines became less profitable. We see local enterprise, profits locally accumulated, and local labor combining to produce for a national market, and the economic life of the area dominated by a group of local businessmen independent of outside control. We see, in the 1920's, how this economic pattern changed. Employment in the mills contracted; ownership and control passed out of local hands; local companies were merged with outside companies and then merged again. In the ensuing process of rationalization, Mill River plants were shut down. The depression carried further the process already under way. Although this study is primarily descriptive rather than analytical, the picture which it presents carries its own comment. It is a picture of the nineteenth century economy which survived, in such a community as this, up to the World War—local, small-scale enterprise, competitive, varied, expanding—and of the passing of that economy. Its value lies in providing content to our conception of the "old days" and in making it clear that the economy of those days is not

the one with which the Mill Rivers and the Middletowns—the nation as a whole—must now deal.

CAROLINE F. WARE.

The Memoirs of Julian Hawthorne. Edited by his wife, EDITH GARRIGUES HAWTHORNE. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 299, \$2.50.) One expects volumes of recollection to contain intimate revelations of the life of the subject and his contemporaries and to unveil, more or less refreshingly, the period covering the life span of the writer. Literary convention further prescribes a judicious sprinkling of anecdotal patter designed to relieve the strain of certain difficulties seemingly inherent in autobiographical writing. Julian Hawthorne defied these conventions and threw the prescription away. This volume is a long anecdote leisurely written, with occasional sober digressions. The book begins with a brief note "On Writing an Autobiography", in which Hawthorne informs us that he can really tell us little that matters, and the succeeding chapters are a demonstration of his premise. But it tells nothing only to "serious" students who will be appalled by the absence of an index and who will fume at the lack of organization. Such students will wonder why there is so little about Nathaniel Hawthorne in a book written by his son and why there is so little that is new about the great and the near-great with whom the son enjoyed the intimacies of friendship. Other students will find bright clues to the character of Hawthorne revealingly told and an occasional literary interpretation. They will find a refreshing reaction to the personality of Emerson and suggestive comments on Bronson Alcott and his amazing tribe. They will find Julian Hawthorne's experiences with Thoreau, with Lowell, with Franklin Pierce, and with the James trilogy. That is all they can expect to find, and it is no criticism of a book of this nature, frankly reminiscent and discursive, to point out omissions. Hawthorne did not know Darwin, but he knew his uncle, Horace Mann; he did not know Huxley, but he knew Longfellow. Hawthorne lived a full and interesting life, and part of it—albeit a very small part—is in this book.

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

Kegley's Virginia Frontier: The Beginning of the Southwest, the Roanoke of Colonial Days, 1740-1783. By F. B. KEGLEY. Introduction by Samuel M. Wilson. (Roanoke, Southwest Virginia Historical Society, 1938, pp. xxxvi, 786, \$15.00.) A more apt title for this volume would be "A Segment of the Virginia Frontier", for it is actually a collection of material on "Roanoke of Colonial Days". While the author gives, by way of introduction, a cursory account of the movement up the James and Shenandoah rivers, his treatment is sketchy and based largely on secondary sources. When, however, he reaches that part of the Valley which is drained by the headwaters of the James and the Roanoke—the section to which he devotes the major part of his book—he presents something far more substantial. Writing from the point of view of the local historian, interested principally in the families and the geography of the section, he dwells at length upon details of name and place. But Mr. Kegley realizes that a larger significance attaches to the subject. He knows that a number of the men who for a time inhabited the Roanoke section later became leaders on more distant frontiers, and to these he pays especial attention. He knows also that he is dealing with a small segment of one of the most significant matters in American history, the settlement and development of the frontier, and he has consciously tried to present the materials upon which an accurate history of one frontier community can be based. His work is, therefore, primarily a body of source material, taken largely from the county records. He intersperses his documentary matter with a considerable amount of text, but this is given by way of elucidation rather than of summation. A better arrangement could have been found, but the lack of dogmatism is refreshing. The author is particularly prodigal of details in covering the period of the French and Indian War. The county records have been so extensively searched that some light is thrown upon nearly all phases of frontier

life, except the agricultural. Only on the basis of such information as this book supplies can the history of the frontier be written.

THOMAS PERKINS ABERNETHY.

Archibald Cary of Amphill, Wheelhorse of the Revolution. By ROBERT K. BROCK. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1937, pp. xi, 183, \$3.00.) Washington, Henry, and Jefferson, in the light of history, stand far above their compeers in the Virginia of their day, but they did not so appear to their contemporaries. They were only the most conspicuous figures of the greatest generation of men that ever lived in America: the planters of the Revolutionary period. There were a dozen Virginians at least who were not much inferior, in most respects, to the immortals: Of these now comparatively unknown leaders of the late colonial and Revolutionary periods few were more influential than Colonel Archibald Cary, of "Amphill", the subject of this monograph. He was a member of the house of burgesses for many years when that body was the glory of the colonies. He took part in all the early movements of the Revolution, being chairman of the committee appointed to frame the Virginia constitution in 1776. He was at once a planter, a politician, a manufacturer, and a great gentleman, closely allied to Jefferson. Rather violent in his passions, he threatened Tories with tar and feathers and is said to have declared that he would plunge a dagger into the heart of Patrick Henry if that revolutionist ever became dictator—as there was some talk of his becoming: The author of this book, who is a distinguished member of the Virginia state senate, has done a most commendable piece of work in rescuing from oblivion one of the noted Virginians of the Revolution. Having few letters to help him, he had to dig into the legislative journals and into all sorts of places to collect the materials for his biography. The book is well written and deserves a place in every collection of writings on Virginia history.

H. J. ECKENRODE.

Seed from Madagascar. By DUNCAN CLINCH HEYWARD. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 256, \$3.50.) The successful cultivation of rice in South Carolina appears to have commenced with the introduction of seed from the island of Madagascar shortly before the year 1690, and from this circumstance is derived the title of this charming account of the experiences of the Heyward family as rice planters on the Combahee River. Representing the ninth generation of this family in America and the fifth to plant rice, the author in 1888 entered eagerly upon what he regarded as his predestined vocation, but the rice industry had already begun its migration to the Mississippi Delta and Texas with the result that twenty-five years later he was forced, like other planters of the South Atlantic region, to abandon his efforts. During this period, with the exception of four years (1903-1907) when he occupied the office of governor of South Carolina, Mr. Heyward was constantly in touch with the details of plantation management, and it is with these matters that the longer and more valuable parts of his narrative are concerned. Other and slightly less vivid passages sketch the historical background of the Heyward plantations with the aid of such family records as have survived. The whole story is told without bitterness, where bitterness might well be pardoned, and with rare understanding, especially of the character of the Gullah Negro, whose dialect the author is able to reproduce with authentic effect. Numerous and excellent photographs of the South Carolina Low Country by Carl Julien add measurably to the value of this interesting book.

J. H. EASTERBY.

Ante-Bellum North Carolina: A Social History. By GUION GRIFFIS JOHNSON. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1937, pp. xvi, 935, \$6.00.)

It used to be said that North Carolina is a valley of humiliation between two mountains of conceit, that North Carolinians traveling abroad, when asked whence they came, would reluctantly admit that they were Tar-Heels but would hasten to add that they lived near the Virginia (or South Carolina) line. Without specifically intending to do so, Mrs. Johnson goes far to explain in this book how it came about that North Carolinians assumed an apologetic attitude for the shortcomings of their state. Perhaps the most outstanding reason for its backwardness was excessive rurality. In 1850, for instance, Wilmington alone had more than 5000 inhabitants, while there were only nine other places, including the capital, Raleigh, with as many as one thousand. As late as 1830 a legislative committee could report that North Carolina was a "state without foreign commerce, for want of seaports, or a staple; without internal communications by rivers, roads, or canals; without a cash home market for any article of agricultural product; without manufacturers; in short, without any object to which native industry and active enterprise could be directed, or which could offer a stimulus to exertion" (p. 115). Of almost equal importance as an explanation of North Carolina's backwardness was the intense intrastate sectionalism. The Mountains and the Piedmont were mutually suspicious of each other, and both hated the Coastal Plain, which in turn was contemptuous of the "hill-billies" and the mountaineers. Not until the 1850's did the beginnings of railroad building, industrialization, and slight consequent urbanization commence. The result was an educational, literary, and cultural awakening in the 1850's—unfortunately short-lived by reason of the outbreak of civil war. This brief statement of Mrs. Johnson's principal thesis fails to do justice to the immense detail of the book, which, in point of industry, accuracy, and painstaking scholarly workmanship, measures up to the high standard set by the Chapel Hill social science group and may well serve as a model for social histories of other states.

B. B. KENDRICK.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Prehistoric Antiquities of Indiana: By ELI LILLY. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1937, pp. xiii, 293, \$5.00.) About fifteen years ago the writer of this review, while director of the Indiana Historical Commission, initiated a preliminary archaeological and historical survey of Indiana. Since that time there has been a growing and intensified interest in the study of archaeology in that state as well as in the United States as a whole. As a result, much new material has been brought to light and new methods have been developed for securing and interpreting archaeological data. The Indiana Historical Society, with the support of Eli Lilly, its president, has been one of the most active agents in the Middle West in supporting and carrying out a constructive program. One of the results of this activity is the present book. The purpose of the author was to acquaint his readers with the prehistory of the state and to encourage additional and continued research along archaeological lines. The book is well illustrated and contains a very satisfactory index. The text is documented by numerous footnotes, and the paper, printing, and binding are of excellent quality. While it is likely that the scientifically trained archaeologist might take issue with some of the author's conclusions, Mr. Lilly has made a worthwhile contribution to the archaeological literature of the present day, and such a book will undoubtedly contribute toward arousing a further interest in the so-called prehistoric history of America.

HARLOW LINDLEY.

New Mexico's Own Chronicle: Three Races in the Writings of Four Hundred Years. Adapted and edited by MAURICE GARLAND FULTON and PAUL HORGAN.

(Dallas, Banks, Upshaw and Company, 1937, pp. xviii, 372, \$3.50.) This book, which the authors call an anthology of New Mexico's historical source material, is a collection of letters, diaries, memoirs, and formal historical writings, chosen to illustrate the activities of the Indians, Spaniards, and Americans in four hundred years of the state's evolution. It is the combined effort of a student of history, Mr. Fulton, and a novelist, Mr. Horgan. To call the work an anthology is to acknowledge that it is a highly selective one. The authors were necessarily limited by considerations of space, so that it might be possible to duplicate their activity acceptably without using their identical sources. The adaptations which they have made from the sources were, of course, subjective and limited by the interpretation which the compilers gave the volume for the sake of enhancing its novelesque value. Fifty sources of New Mexican history are drawn upon with such success that the reader ought to be enticed into a wider reading on each of the periods mentioned. The utility of the volume to the historian is in the bibliographical material. It is to be noted that the explanatory notes to the text are inconveniently interspersed with the bibliographical provenience. The work is well printed. The format is not unacceptable, but it is somewhat unconventional. The illustrations, twenty-four pages of so-called etchings and half-tones, are grouped in the middle of the volume, obviously to reduce the cost of manufacture.

HERBERT I. PRIESTLEY.

Early History of the Northern Ozarks. By GERARD SCHULTZ. (Jefferson City, Midland Printing Company, 1937, pp. 192, \$2.50.) "This book is an account of man's development in the northern Ozarks from the earliest times to 1860. The year which brings the narrative . . . to a close marks the end of the formative period in the history of the people who now inhabit this region" (p. 5).

Fort Laramie and the Pageant of the West, 1834-1890. By LEROY R. HAFEN and FRANCIS MARION YOUNG. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1938, pp. 429, \$6.00.) As these lines are penned, the daily press carries a news item reporting the impending restoration of old Fort Laramie for historic and recreational reasons by the National Parks agency of the government. In the volume before us the authors undertake to tell the story of Fort Laramie as a center of empire, affirming that the fort "was identified with the principal factors of western expansion" and that its story "is the story of the conquest of Western America" (p. 17). They have prepared an admirable piece of historical research and synthesis, and their monograph is probably as nearly definitive as can be expected of any comparable piece of historical writing. The character of the task the authors set themselves renders it inevitable, however, that their work will meet with commendation not unmixed with disapproval. It may seem strange at first sight that a 429-page history of a single frontier post should be characterized as sketchy; yet the plan of the work renders this judgment inevitable. The treatment of the Utah War, of the Sand Creek massacre of 1864, of the Custer disaster of 1876, of the Colorado gold rush afford illustrations in point. On the other hand, the book is needlessly repetitious. Thousands of travelers visited Fort Laramie, and most of them, apparently, kept journals, or wrote letters, in which they recorded their impressions of the place. The authors' method of quoting extensively from these documents, however conducive to scholarship, eventually becomes slightly tedious to the reader. Paper, binding, and other physical aspects of the volume are in accord with the habitual high standards of the Arthur H. Clark Company. To the reviewer the system of capitalization employed seems somewhat bizarre. The literary style is good, on the whole,

although an occasional crudity of expression detracts from this general commendation.

M. M. QUAIFFÉ.

The History of [Lower] California. By DON FRANCISCO JAVIER CLAVIGERO. Translated from the Italian and edited by SARA E. LAKE and A. A. GRAY. (Stanford University, Stanford University Press, 1937, pp. xxvii, 413, \$4.00.)

California: A History of Upper and Lower California. By ALEXANDER FORBES. With an Introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley. (San Francisco, John Henry Nash, 1937, pp. xxxi, 229.) Without a foothold on the Pacific coast, the United States could not be as important a country as it is today. Yet few Americans know of the extraordinary sequence of fortunate accidents by which this region was held back from early occupation and populous development until such time as the United States was ready to appear upon the scene. The volumes under consideration are valuable contributions to the story. Clavigero's work is now, for the first time, made available in English. The author was a learned Mexican Jesuit, who lived in Italy after the exile of the Jesuits from Mexico. He had never visited Lower California. An able writer on many subjects, especially in the field of history, he prepared this volume in Italian as the last work in a long career, dying before it could be published. The English translation should give to the Anglo-American reader a fascinating story, as interesting as it is important to the student of Pacific coast history. The translators have done their work commendably, though unfortunately they begin their preface with a paragraph which is misleading if not wrong. There is an excellent index. Alexander Forbes, not to be confused with James Alexander Forbes (a contemporary, who was the British vice-consul in Upper California), was a Scotch merchant in Tepic, Mexico. Eager to bring about a British protectorate of Upper California, if not an outright British annexation (which he would have preferred), Forbes wrote a history of the two Californias to attract attention to his plans. The volume concerns itself mainly with Upper California and is more a description of that region, with a view to British colonization, than it is a history. A scholarly introduction by Herbert I. Priestley is a worthy feature of this edition. Both of these volumes are the last word in the printer's art, and they deserve to be widely read.

CHARLES E. CHAPMAN.

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LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

- The People and Politics of Latin America: A History.* By MARY WILHELMINE WILLIAMS. New Edition. (Boston, Ginn, 1938, pp. xi, 888, \$4.60.) For eight years

this book has held first place among college texts on Latin-American history, and now the author has revised it in order to bring it down to date. Much attention has been given to the Latin-American people, their origin, characteristics, and development. Cultural achievements, economic conditions, and the arts of peace have been emphasized rather than military pursuits and destructive wars. Two hundred and seventy-five pages have been given to the colonial period. Foreign relations are treated in connection with the historical narratives of the individual countries except when considering regional groupings and world relationships. The chapters on Brazil are especially good, for the author is an authority on that country. In this edition material has been added covering the last eight years of Latin-American history, and all the chapters treating the individual states now cover important aspects of current affairs. The final chapter brings to the present the regional groupings and world relationships of Latin America. Much new bibliographical material has been included. There are two new maps, and some in the first edition have been revised. More than sixty well-selected and interesting illustrations have been added. Many of the illustrations have been reproduced from photographs taken by the author during her travels in the Spanish-American countries. The new edition of this work will be welcomed by teachers and students of Latin-American history.

LILLIAN ESTELLE FISHER.

La literatura en América: El Coloniaje. By ARMANDO D. PIROTTI. (Buenos Aires, Montevideo, 1937, pp. 223.) A compilation which classifies colonial writers of Spanish America and prints excerpts from their literature.

Los corsarios de Buenos Aires: Sur actividades en las guerras hispano-americanas de la independencia, 1815-1821. By LEWIS W. BEALER. (Buenos Aires, Coni, 1937, pp. ix, 267.) [Facultad de filosofía y letras, publicaciones del instituto de investigaciones históricas, número LXXII.] A useful study of a phase of the Spanish-American revolutions, equipped with a bibliography.

Historia de las relaciones entre Buenos-Ayres y el Paraguay, 1810-1813. By JULIO CÉSAR CHAVES. (Buenos Aires, Jesús Menéndez, 1938, pp. 269.) A survey of the relations between the revolutionary authorities at Buenos Aires and Paraguayan leaders during the early years of the Great Revolution, with a bibliography.

Baja California (La Península del Noroeste): Reseña Histórico-Geográfica. By CARLOS MEZA LEÓN. (Mexico, Dapp., 1937, pp. 30.) A survey of the condition of Lower California and of its problems.

Historia de la dominación española en México. By MANUEL OROZCO Y BERRA. Volume II. (Mexico, Robredo de José Porrúa é hijos, 1938, pp. 237.) [Biblioteca histórica mexicana de obras inéditas, no. 9.] A Mexican view of Spanish rule.

Legislación del trabajo en los siglos XVI, XVII y XVIII, relación entre la economía, las artes y los oficios en la Nueva España. By the Departamento Autónomo del trabajo. (Mexico, Dapp., 1938, pp. 171.) This constitutes Volume I of the *Historia del movimiento obrero en México*.

Bibliografía de la independencia de México. By JESÚS GUZMÁN Y RAZ GUZMÁN. Volume I. (Mexico, Talleres Gráficos de la Nación, 1938, pp. xxx, 438.) This is an installment of a bibliography of the struggle for independence.

A Study of Political Parties and Politics in Mexico since 1890. By E. M. BRADERMAN. (Urbana, 1938, pp. 16.) An abstract of a thesis submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of doctor of philosophy in history in the Graduate School of the University of Illinois, 1938.

Studies in the Administration of the Indians in New Spain. III, The Repartimiento System of Native Labor in New Spain and Guatemala. By LESLEY B. SIMPSON. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938, pp. 170.) A much needed study of the repartimiento system in Middle America.

Semblanzas colombianas. Volumes I and II, *Cronistas primitivos; Escritores coloniales; Literatos de la Revolución; Escritores de la Gran Colombia.* By GUSTAVO OTERO MUÑOZ. (Bogotá, Editorial A. B. C., 1938, pp. viii, 318; 320.) [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional.] These volumes contain biographical sketches of more than four score literary celebrities of Colombia from the age of discovery to 1886.

Los fundadores de Bogotá. Volume I. By RAIMUNDO RIVAS. (Bogotá, Editorial Selecta, 1938, pp. cxxii, 307.) [Biblioteca de Historia Nacional.] This volume contains sketches of founders of Bogotá whose family names begin with the letters A through J.

La parasitología en Venezuela y los trabajos del Dr. M. Núñez Tovar. By DIEGO CARBONELL. (Caracas, Lit. del Comercio, 1938, pp. cii, 422.) A survey of the labors of parasitologists of Venezuela followed by reprinted studies of Dr. Núñez Tovar on that country's parasites.

La interpretación pesimista de la sociología Hispano-Americana. By AUGUSTO MIJARES. (Caracas, Coop de Artes Gráficas, 1938, pp. 83.) Among the essays in this booklet is one concerning the opposition in Venezuela to the Compañía Guipuzcoana.

Os Sertões. By EUCLIDES DA CUNHA. (Buenos Aires, Imprenta Mercantil, 1938, pp. 395, 409.) Volumes III and IV of the Biblioteca de Autores Brasileños traducidos al Castellano. This has been translated into Spanish by Benjamín de Garay in two volumes bearing the title *Los Sertones*.

El pago de los lobos, noticias y apuntes. By J. R. ANGUEIRA. [Archivo histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires.] (La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1938, pp. 80.)

Crónica vecinal de Nueve de Julio, 1863-1870. By BUENAVENTURA N. VITA. [Publicaciones del archivo histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires.] (La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1938, pp. xii, 113.) This describes the founding of the frontier town, Nueve de Julio, in the province of Buenos Aires in May, 1864.

Los orígenes de Campana hasta la creación del partido. By JORGE P. FUMIÉRE. [Publicaciones del archivo histórico de la provincia de Buenos Aires.] (La Plata, Taller de Impresiones Oficiales, 1938, pp. xii, 157.) The founding of the town of Campana in the province of Buenos Aires, 1874-75.

IIº Congreso internacional de historia de América reunido en Buenos Aires en los días 5 a 14 de Julio de 1937, conmemoración del IV centenario de la fundación de la ciudad de Buenos Aires. Advertencia de RICARDO LEVENE. Six volumes. (Buenos Aires, Jacobo Peuser, 1938, pp. 567, 623, 713, 743, 555, 486.) This has just been issued by the press.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

XVIII. United States of America

(11) Southern Colonies and States

Edmund Kirby Smith, Soldier of the South. Prog. 400 pp.
3 yrs. Joseph B. James, *Illinois*.

(13) Texas and the Far West

Frontier Defense in the Far Southwest, 1848-61. Prog.
2 yrs. A. B. Bender, St. Louis, Missouri.

The Journal of Southern History in its November issue (pp. 544-58) published a list of "Research Projects in Southern History", compiled by Fred Cole. Masters' theses and W. P. A. projects were not entered.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: six papers of Daniel O. Dunham, relating to trading companies in the Northwest, 1813; papers of Cadmus M. Wilcox, 1862-65; diaries of Frank Wigglesworth Clarke, 1865 to 1931 (thirty volumes); papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla, relating to Panama, 1903-1904; papers of Alfred Thayer Mahan; additional papers of Elihu Root; papers of Boris Brasol (thirty-six boxes); additional papers on Negro history.

Noteworthy groups of records recently received by the National Archives from the Adjutant General's Office include: correspondence and other papers of the Secretary of War and of the Headquarters of the Army, 1800-1903; original records of discontinued military posts, units, and geographical commands, 1835-1912; original muster rolls, 1818-65, and strength returns, 1812-98, of volunteer troops in various wars; manuscript documents and maps used in compiling the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*; and records of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 1865-72. A selection of military maps and maps resulting from geographical explorations and surveys, most of which fall between 1789 and 1894, is in process of transfer from the Office of the Chief of Engineers.

The transfer of most of the records of the Office of Indian Affairs through 1921, with some series extending through 1936, has now been completed. Received with this material were records of the former Alaska Division of the Office of Education, 1883-1931, and of the Board of Indian Commissioners, 1869-1933. Other recent transfers include records of the Bureau of the Mint and of its predecessor, the United States Mint, 1792-1932; national bank examiners' reports with related correspondence, 1863-1930, and records relating to Federal Reserve notes and currency, 1914-36, from the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency; correspondence and other papers from the Office of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1879-1930; practically all the records of the Forest Service, 1898-1915, including the significant "Pinchot files"; correspondence of the Hydrographic Office of the Navy Department, 1862-1925; and records of the United States Shipping Board relating to harbor facilities, protection against submarines, co-operation with allied nations, recruiting of merchant sailors, litigation, and administrative matters, 1917-25.

Through the generosity of the government of Manchoutikuo the East Asiatic Collection of the Library of Columbia University has recently received as a gift a set of the printed edition of the *Ta-Ch'ing Li-ch'ao Shih-lu* (the authentic records of the Ch'ing, *i.e.*, Manchu, dynasty). This edition, printed in Japan during the past few years, is a photolithographic reproduction of the Mukden manuscript, which has been reduced in printing to about one fourth of its original format. The printed edition comprises 1220 volumes (*pen*) arranged in 122 cases (*t'ao*). The last ten *pen* consist of a *Mu-lu* or table of contents of the chronologically arranged materials. The *pen* are attractively bound in yellow paper bearing the phoenix design, symbol of the empress, while the case is covered with yellow cotton adorned with the imperial dragon design. Most of the three hundred sets printed will remain in Japan and Manchoutikuo. Some forty sets, however, are to be sent out as gifts to libraries all over the world, while only eight, it is reported, have been placed on the market. These intimate records of the imperial Manchu line, the last emperor of which under the Ch'ing dynasty is now the emperor of Manchoutikuo, cover the period from 1583 to 1912 and form one of the fullest and most reliable sources for the history of the period. The question whether or not they contain material not to be found in earlier available collections of state papers, such as the *Tung Hua Lu*, has been answered in the affirmative by Professor J. J. L. Duyvendak (*T'oung Pao*, XXXIV, 1938, pp. 223-27) and Professor L. C. Goodrich (*Jour. N. China Branch Roy. Asiatic Soc.*, LXVIII, 1937, p. 31). Dr. Walter Fuchs in his *Beiträge zur Mandjurischen Bibliographie* (Tokyo, 1936) makes a thorough study of the entire question of the *Shih-lu* in its Manchu, Mongolian, and Chinese versions. The work is an indispensable source for the history of the period not alone because of what new material it contains but as a final

check, thanks to the great care taken at the court in its compilation, on material to be found elsewhere.

The Missouri Historical Society has acquired "the large collection of letters, journals, and various other documents left by the late Solomon Franklin Smith, theatre magnate of a century ago".

The International Committee of Historical Sciences held its general assembly in Zurich, at the time of the Eighth International Congress of Historical Sciences (see above, p. 290), the two sessions of the committee being on August 28 and September 4, with sessions of its bureau on August 27, September 1, 3, and 4. The American Historical Association was represented by Waldo G. Leland and Solon J. Buck, the latter in place of James T. Shotwell. Mr. Buck also attended the meetings of the Commission on Archives and Mr. Leland those of the Commission on the International Bibliography. Three new countries, China, Ireland, and Vatican City, were admitted to representation in the International Committee, bringing the total number of countries to forty-four. Five new external commissions were authorized: History of the Far East, History of the Near East, History of the Baltic, Ecclesiastical History, and Military History.

Reports from the commissions and external commissions were presented, which showed progress in the execution of most of the undertakings sponsored by the committee. Among these may be noted: international history of historiography; abstracts of historical works published in languages of small diffusion or in languages not generally read by Western scholars; publication of the tenth volume (for 1936) of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences*; compilation of reports on teaching of history in institutions of higher learning in the various countries; near completion of the second volume (1716-63) of the List of Diplomatic Representatives; compilation of the second volume of the International Archives Guide, devoted to non-European countries; guide to collections of foreign archives preserved in the archives of the various countries; manual of archival nomenclature; study of abbreviations in historical editing; repertory of large-scale historical maps; publication of the second volume of the History of Constitutions; series of national histories of the opinion-forming press; handbook of the history of the press; bibliography of newspapers to 1789; handbook of chronology; iconography of the humanists; bibliography of narratives of voyages from Marco Polo to 1550; formation of a journal devoted to military history; dictionary of ideas of literary history; corpus of Roman coins; guide to sources of social history in France, 1815-71; study of political emigration; collection of instructions to colonial governors.

An invitation to hold the Ninth International Congress of Historical Sciences in Rome in 1943 was referred by the bureau to the next general assembly of the committee, which is to be held in Prague in May, 1939. An

invitation to hold a later general assembly of the committee in Algeria in 1941 or 1942 was received and was also referred to the general assembly of 1939. The quinquennial election of officers and members of the bureau resulted as follows: *president*, Waldo G. Leland (United States of America); *vice presidents*, Nicolas Jorga (Rumania), Hans Nabholz (Switzerland); *general secretary*, Michel Lh  ritier (France); *treasurer*, Ernest L. Woodward (Great Britain); *assessors*, Fran  ois Ganshof (Belgium), Marcel Handelsman (Poland), Robert Holtzmann (Germany), Giocchino Volpe (Italy). Harold W. V. Temperley, retiring president of the committee, was elected honorary counselor for life, the other honorary counselor being Halvdan Koht, president of the committee from 1926 to 1933. The legal headquarters of the committee, which follow the residence of the treasurer, were transferred from Zurich to Oxford, the change to be effective on January 1.

The historians of the Scandinavian countries will hold their next joint meeting—the last was at Stockholm in 1936—at Copenhagen from June 27 to July 2, 1939. Discussions in the general sessions will center on five main topics, one of which will relate to the present international scene as it affects the countries of Northern Europe.

A new historical society, Centro de Estudios Hist  ricos Genaro Estrada, was established in Mexico City last April with the object of encouraging investigations in Mexican history, especially in its less well known phases. The name of the late Genaro Estrada, distinguished diplomatist and promoter of historical studies, symbolizes the aims which the founders of the society have in view. They hope to begin the publication of important documentary materials and monographs at an early date.

The first number of *La Rinascita*, a quarterly devoted to the Renaissance and edited by Giovanni Papini, appeared in January, 1938. It is the organ of the Centro nazionale di studi sul Rinascimento, an institution founded and financed by the Italian government. The address of the quarterly is Palazzo Di Parte Guelfa, Florence.

Announcement has been made that the University of Notre Dame will publish, beginning in the current January, a quarterly journal, *The Review of Politics*, devoted to "political realities and their theoretical, historical, and philosophical backgrounds". The editors are Waldemar Gurian, F. A. Hermens, and F. J. O'Malley.

Progress of Mediaeval Studies in the United States and Canada, a bulletin which has been published by the Mediaeval Academy of America and the University of Colorado, annually before 1935 and biennially since, is to be continued as an annual publication by the University of Colorado alone. The next issue will appear in March of the present year. Beginning with the 1940

issue the bulletin will contain a new feature, review articles on selected fields of medieval studies.

The seventh volume of *Naval Documents related to the Quasi-War between the United States and France*, compiled by the Office of Naval Records and Library, U. S. Navy Department, is now available at \$3.50 per copy. This is the final volume of the series. Persons desiring copies should address the Superintendent of Documents, Government Printing Office, Washington, D. C. The Navy Department is preparing to continue the publication of old naval documents, and the next series will relate to the war between the United States and the Barbary powers. We regret that the Government Printing Office is unable to distribute copies of *Naval Documents* for review and that consequently it has not been possible for us to give these volumes extended notice.

The four hundredth anniversary of the Coronado expedition, which is to be celebrated this year, gives special interest to Coronado's lost muster roll, which Professor Arthur S. Aiton was fortunate enough to discover recently in the Archives of the Indies. This document will be published in our April issue.

The first of the John Franklin Jameson Lectures in American Life and Culture was delivered at Brown University in the Faunce House Art Gallery on November 16. The series will be concluded on April 12. The subject of the lectures is "The Colonial New England Town", various aspects of which, including government, commerce, religion, the press, architecture, painting, music, and literature, are dealt with separately. The Jameson Lectures are the first of the Brown University Lectures, a series established in the spring of 1938 to be given from time to time on subjects especially connected with the scholarly interests of the Brown faculty.

Dr. C. I. Kephart and Mr. Milton Rubincam are collecting materials for a history of the Rittenhouse family, originally of Germantown. They would be grateful if persons who have information regarding papers of any members of the family or other relevant documents would communicate with Dr. Kephart, 3016, 5th Street, N., Arlington, Virginia.

PERSONAL

Professor Alexandre Moret, the distinguished Egyptologist and editor of the *Revue égyptologique*, died on February 2 at the age of seventy. He was a member of the Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres and a professor in the Collège de France and in the École des hautes études. His most important researches were in the field of Egyptian culture in its religious expressions. Among his more important books are: *Le rituel du culte divin journalier en*

Égypte, Du caractère religieux de la royauté pharaonique, Les mystères égyptiens, La magie dans l'Égypte ancienne, and La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte.

Francis Albert Christie, professor of church history in the Meadville (Pennsylvania) Theological Seminary from 1893 to 1926 and since then professor emeritus, died on August 3, after a brief illness, at the age of seventy-nine. Professor Christie graduated at Amherst in 1881 and later studied at the Johns Hopkins University and in Berlin, Heidelberg, and Marburg. He was one of the leading American scholars in the field of church history, his contributions taking the form chiefly of articles and reviews in the *Dictionary of Religion and Ethics*, in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, in the *American Historical Review*, and in numerous other learned journals. Among his more notable articles in the *Dictionary of American Biography* should be mentioned those on Jonathan Edwards and Theodore Parker. After his retirement from active teaching he resided in Lowell, Massachusetts, which was also his birthplace, and there he took an active part in many community activities, chiefly those of a historical character. Amherst granted him the honorary degree of doctor of divinity in 1909. Among the members of the American Historical Association he had many devoted friends, one of the most intimate of these being the late John Franklin Jameson, who was a fellow student of his at Amherst. Those who regularly participated in the Convivium Historicum at Branford, Connecticut, of which Dr. Jameson was the animator and center, remember Christie as one of the most faithful of attendants and lovable of associates.

William Harrison Moreland, one of the leading authorities on the Mughul period of Indian history, died on September 28 at the age of seventy. After studying at Cambridge he entered the Indian Civil Service in 1886. After his retirement from active service in 1914 he wrote a number of important historical works, including *India at the Death of Akbar* (1920), *From Akbar to Aurangzeb* (1923), and *The Agrarian System of Moslem India* (1929). He contributed a chapter on "The Revenue System of the Mughul Empire" to Volume IV of the *Cambridge History of India*.

Karl Kautsky, who died on October 17 at the age of eighty-four, was the last and greatest of the group of intellectuals who knew Karl Marx personally and helped to found and build the Marxian school of history and economics. Born at Prague of a Czech-German family of artists and writers, he lived most of his long life in Austria, Switzerland, and Germany. He was the ideological arbiter of the German Social Democratic party and of the Second International and engaged in protracted polemics, on the one hand, with Eduard Bernstein and the "Reformists", and, on the other hand, with Lenin and the Russian Communists. Among his voluminous writings, special

historical value attaches to *The Influence of Population Growth upon the Progress of Society*, *Jefferson's Relation to the French Revolution*, *The Origin of Marriage and the Family*, *Class Conflicts of the French Revolution*, *Thomas More*, *Thomas Muenzer*, *Ethics and the Materialist Conception of History*, *Growth and Development in Nature and Society*. Kautsky opposed the World War, and after its close he compiled, at the request of Ebert's revolutionary government, the four well-known volumes of *German Documents on the Origins of the War* and wrote *How the War Came*. His most important postwar work was the two-volume study of *Historical Materialism*. Kautsky returned to Vienna in 1925, and thence, following the *Anschluss* of March, 1938, he fled, destitute and broken in heart and body, to Amsterdam, where he died.

Geheimrat Professor Erich C. Marcks died on November 24 in Berlin at the age of seventy-seven. Born at Magdeburg, Professor Marcks received his academic training at the universities of Strasbourg, Bonn, and Berlin. He became Privatdozent at the University of Berlin in 1887, and within the short space of five years was called as Ordentlicher Professor to the University of Freiburg in Breisgau. From there he moved to the universities of Leipzig, Heidelberg, Hamburg, Munich, and Berlin, where he retired in 1928. His historical writing lay mainly in the periods of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, and he followed the best tradition of German scholarship by working in foreign as well as German history. Among his most noted works on foreign history are the first volume of a proposed extensive biography of Coligny and a short biography of Queen Elizabeth. His name is most closely associated, however, with the study of Bismarck and the period of German unification, and his last large-scale publication appeared in 1936 in two volumes, *Der Aufstieg des Reiches: Deutsche Geschichte von 1807-1871/8*. Professor Marcks endeared himself to many American students who studied under him by his kindly interest in them and their work. His lectures, like his writings, were models of clarity and elegance. He had an unusual gift of biographical insight, which was enhanced by his deep appreciation of arts and letters as well as of politics. Throughout his life he remained devoted to the Germany of the Bismarckian era, but in his old age he publicly accepted National Socialism.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *Adelphi College*, Courtney Robert Hall to be associate professor; *Fordham University, School of Education*, Sylvester J. Hemleben to be associate professor and Lawrence J. Mannion to be assistant professor; *Millsaps College*, Ross H. Moore to be professor; *Ohio State University*, George A. Washburne to be chairman of the department and Eugene H. Roseboom, Henry H. Simms, and Francis P. Weisenburger to be associate professors.

The following appointments are noted: *University of Nevada*, Anatole

G. Mazour as assistant professor; *Ohio State University*, Warner F. Woodring of Allegheny College as professor.

The Archivist of the United States announces the appointment of Vernon D. Tate, formerly chief of the Division of Photographic Reproduction and Research, as chief of the new professional Division of Photographic Archives and Research and the resignation of G. Leighton LaFuze, formerly in the Division of Classification, to accept a position as professor of history and political science in the John B. Stetson University. Emmett J. Leahy, of the Division of Treasury Department Archives, is making a round-the-world tour, during which he will study the archival activities of various foreign countries.

Guy S. Klett has been made research historian for the department of history of the office of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. This position has been created for the purpose of carrying on extensive research in the field of Presbyterian history.

Dr. Guy Stanton Ford, recently president of the American Historical Association, was elected president of the University of Minnesota by the Board of Regents in October. Dr. Ford had long been dean of the Graduate School of the university and had been acting president since 1937.

Nelson P. Mead, head of the department of history of the College of the City of New York, was made acting president of the college for the present academic year.

Dr. J. H. Landman is visiting professor at the University of the Philippines, lecturing on the diplomatic history of the United States in the twentieth century. He is on leave of absence from the College of the City of New York.

Theodore C. Pease, editor, and Ernestine Jenison, assistant editor of the *Illinois Historical Collections*, will end their connection with the series on July 1. At that date the University of Illinois will terminate its thirty years' co-operation with the Illinois State Historical Library in the editing of the *Collections*. Mr. Pease will resume full time teaching in the University of Illinois.

Edward Allen Whitney, associate professor of history and literature in Harvard University and a research fellow of the Huntington Library, gave a series of lectures in November at the California Institute of Technology on the English Renaissance.

Professor Edward Mead Earle of the Institute for Advanced Study will give a seminar and a series of lectures on American foreign policy at the California Institute of Technology during the second term of the present academic year.

The American Historical Review

HISTORY AND HISTORIANS AT CHICAGO

THE fifty-third annual meeting of the American Historical Association was held at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago on December 28, 29, and 30. In attendance it far surpassed any previous annual meeting in the Middle West, and its registration figure of 1017 has been exceeded only once in the history of the Association, at Philadelphia in 1937. Concurrent meetings were held in Chicago by the following societies: Agricultural History Society, American Association of University Professors, American Catholic Historical Association, American Military History Foundation, American Oriental Society (Middle West Branch), American Society of Church History, Bibliographical Society of America, Conference of State and Local Historical Societies, History of Science Society, Mediaeval Academy of America, Mississippi Valley Historical Association, National Council for the Social Studies, Society of American Archivists, and Southern Historical Association.

The number of participants in the proceedings whose names appeared on the program was 167. There were 86 papers and addresses, exclusive of comments by discussion leaders at round tables, observations of sessional chairmen, and remarks from the floor. A rough estimate puts the total number of talk-hours, exclusive of course of immeasurable off-the-program discourse, at something in excess of one hundred. Thanks to the co-operation of the chairman of the Program Committee, Louis Gottschalk, we were able to obtain summaries of most of the papers and addresses, and we are grateful to those discussion leaders who responded to our requests for résumés of their comments. Unfortunately our knowledge of the less formal discussion is very scanty, derived mainly from fragmentary notes kindly supplied to us by public-spirited coadjutors. Extemporaneous remarks from the floor do not invariably deserve to escape oblivion, but sometimes they are important. Consideration might well be given to the practicability of a stenographic report of remarks from the floor at future annual meetings.

The spacious lobbies and lounges of Chicago's and the world's largest hotel gave free scope to gregarious and convivial impulses and the flow of professional gossip and facilitated esoteric tête-à-têtes between fellow specialists as well as those discreetly private interviews which are sometimes followed, it is said, by academic appointments. There were the customary breakfast reunions of former graduate students of the larger universities. At the dinners and luncheons and at the larger meetings generally the seating capacity was adequate, though several of the round tables suffered from overcrowding. All members of the Association were invited to a tea and reception at the Chicago Historical Society Library and Museum and to a complimentary luncheon at the Stevens Hotel tendered by the University of Chicago, Northwestern University, and the Committee on Local Arrangements, of which General Charles G. Dawes was chairman. The ancient historians were entertained at luncheon by the Oriental Institute and were enabled to gain some acquaintance with the methods of research that are being followed there.

The program embodied no philosophy of history, and no particular school of historical interpretation was in the ascendant. There was not even a unifying theme, as had been the case at the Philadelphia meeting the year before, when the program was built around the Constitution. All this seems to have been less disturbing to the historians present than to President Hutchins of the University of Chicago and Dean Snyder of Northwestern University. Speaking before a plenum of the meeting at the complimentary luncheon, these gentlemen gave the impression of being quite sure in their own minds that historians should be moral philosophers and instruct the public in the "teachings of history", as to which, it seemed to be assumed, all truly moral philosophers would agree. The Program Committee had attempted no arduous feats of illumination, integration, or commemoration. There was, indeed, a session on the philosophy of history, but no particular *Weltanschauung* emerged therefrom as preferred. The element of timeliness was not wholly absent from the proceedings—witness papers on "Antecedents of New Deal Liberalism" and "Reflections on the Passing of Austria"—but it was not dominant, and speakers, in general, did not feel under obligation to make their contributions throw direct light on the present. The sesquicentennial anniversary of the founding of Marietta suggested a session on Contributions of the Old Northwest to American Life and was probably responsible for the papers presented at the joint session with the American Military History Foundation,

both of which were concerned with subjects in the history of the Old Northwest; and a session on *The World War Twenty Years After* was planned to commemorate the armistice of 1918. These, however, were the only yieldings to the impulse to historical commemoration. A round table on Scandinavian contributions to American life was appropriately dedicated to the memory of Laurence Marcellus Larson, but this was commemoration of a different sort.

If the proceedings were wanting in evidences of historical planning, they were for that reason the more representative of the manifold and heterogeneous interests and viewpoints of the members of the Association. For us, charged with the responsibility of reporting the meeting, its lack of architectonic quality had a peculiar advantage. It not merely dispensed us from observance, always difficult, of the rhetorical principle of unity; it made it obligatory upon us to forget all about that principle. For the appearance of unity could be given to the proceedings at Chicago only by the exercise of a degree of subjectivity on our part incompatible with the requirements of historical editorship. No type or phase of history was singled out for exploitation, and none, we are sure, was invidiously excluded. The papers ranged in time from ancient Iran to the Anschluss of 1938 and represented most of the familiar varieties of history. Science and education, even journalism and printing, have established their right to seats at our table. We do not yet seem, however, to feel the need of associating with the fine arts. One wonders why.

The round tables were the novel and most distinctive feature of the program. Ten of these were held on each of the three mornings, one in each of the following historical fields: ancient; medieval; early modern (to 1789); recent modern; English; Far Eastern; Slavonic; Latin-American; United States, 1492-1865; United States, 1865-1938. The hope that those especially interested in one of these fields would attend the three round tables in that field seems on the whole to have been justified. At each round table there was a paper followed by discussion, which was opened by a designated leader. It is gratifying to be able to report that the papers were held to reasonable length and that at most of the meetings a fair proportion of those in attendance participated in the discussions. The papers naturally varied widely in scholarship and in originality, suggestiveness, and provocativeness. In general, it was those which were concerned with relatively novel themes and those in which knowledge was informed by insight and capacity for interpretation that elicited really effective discussion. The round

tables had the advantage of bringing scholars in the same field more closely in contact with one another than previous annual meetings have done. It was not to be expected, of course, that the full potentialities of the experiment would be actualized, especially on a first trial. Some of the papers did not seem calculated to evoke much response, chairmen could in some instances have exerted a more stimulating influence, and in more than one case discussion leaders had been unable to secure in advance of the meeting summaries of the papers they were supposed to discuss. Under these circumstances they could not be expected to perform adequately their intended function of giving direction to subsequent discussion from the floor. It seems, however, to have been the general sense of the members present that the experiment had been on the whole decidedly successful and ought to be developed further in the future.

At the first of the round tables in ancient history Albert T. Olmstead gave a comprehensive and illuminating survey of recent progress in Iranian studies. Taking as his subject "The Early History and Culture of Iran", he referred to the many additions that have been made to the fundamental sources for the history of Iran in the last twenty years. The air surveys of Erich Schmidt have remade the study of the historical topography of the country. Wilton Krogman has studied the skeletal material from the excavations. George Cameron has prepared card dictionaries of Old Persian and of the still only one quarter deciphered Elamite, has written the early history of Iran, and is able to decipher the 29,000 tablets from the Persepolis archives. The excavations at Persepolis conducted by the Oriental Institute of the University of Chicago have uncovered the finest examples of Achaemenid art, and numerous excavations are carrying back the archaeological data to prehistoric times. Nelson Debevoise has given us a political history of Parthia, but a synthesis of Parthian culture remains to be written. The monumental survey of Iranian art now in course of publication, edited by Arthur Upham Pope under the auspices of the American Institute for Iranian Art and Archaeology, has laid a broad foundation on which to build. In conclusion, Mr. Olmstead went so far as to say that at the present moment Iranian history promises more new and striking discoveries than any other field of ancient history.

At the later round tables in ancient history Sterling Dow spoke "On Agora Inscriptions and Athenian History", and C. E. Van Sickle presented his views on "Changing Sanctions of the Roman Imperial Power in the Third Century, A. D." Mr. Dow showed that the Agora

inscriptions have added much to chronological precision in Athenian history and therefore in Greek history in general. They have added much, also, to knowledge of the details of the tribal and demal organization of Athens in the fifth and fourth centuries B. C. In the course of the discussion from the floor William Linn Westermann remarked that it is surprising to learn from the Agora inscriptions published by William S. Ferguson the extent to which the localities of Attica outside the city retained their vitality.

Mr. Van Sickle contended that the evolution of the Roman imperial power ought not to be traced primarily in terms of development toward absolutism, for every ruler holds his power as a grant, real or fictitious, from some higher power which has or claims the right to confer it and which is bound to act in some degree as a check upon the powers which it delegates. In the Roman Empire, he said, there were three possible claimants for the position of grantor: the senate, the army, and the gods. At the end of the second century A. D. the emperors still based their right to rule upon a senatorial grant, but thereafter the imperial power depended, variously, upon the sanction of army or senate or both. Aurelian came to power under conditions that made him unwilling to depend upon either army or senate for his authority and therefore claimed divine right, as being the earthly representative of the Unconquered Sun, which accounts for his temple and priesthood of *Sol Invictus* and for his assumption of the robes and crown of an oriental king. It was Diocletian who finally broke with both the military and the senatorial tradition, though *his* divine sponsor was not *Sol Invictus* but Jupiter, while that of his colleague, Maximian, was Hercules. Thereafter divine right in some form was the sanction of the imperial power, but it had earthly representatives to which its real effectiveness was due—a mercenary army, a civilian bureaucracy, and an elaborate court. The nominal autocrat of the empire was in fact limited in his powers as much as his second-century predecessors had been limited by the senate. In a carefully prepared critique of this paper Tom B. Jones gave reasons for thinking that until the time of Carus (282 A. D.), while the emperor might be nominated by the senate, the army, the gods, or his predecessor in office, it was the senate (and people?) alone that had the legal right to confirm the nomination and grant the imperial power. He argued against the opinion that Aurelian claimed to receive his power from *Sol Invictus*. There is no sufficient literary evidence, he said, to support this view, and the numismatic evidence suggests that Aurelian, in honoring this deity, was

merely following the example of other Illyrian emperors. Mr. Jones believed that Aurelian claimed divine right on the ground that he was himself a god. Further remarks rambled rather far from the topic, being concerned largely with the original formation of the Roman constitution.

Of the papers in medieval history the one most provocative of discussion, because it was the most original in subject matter, was Lynn White's "Technology in the Middle Ages". The speaker observed that medieval technology consisted of the technical equipment of the Roman Empire modified not only by the ingenuity of the Western peoples but by inventions taken over by them from outside sources—from the Northern barbarians, the Byzantine and Moslem Near East, and the Far East. The early Middle Age, in his opinion, marks a very considerable advance over Roman times, and he suggested that the chief glory of the later Middle Age is not its cathedrals, its poetry, or its scholastic philosophy but rather its civilization, resting, for the first time in history, not on the backs of sweating slaves but primarily on animal, water, and wind power. "Laicization of Society in the Middle Ages" was the subject of a paper in which Joseph R. Strayer reviewed the passing of leadership in England and France from the church to the state. Ecclesiastical control of society was at its height in the twelfth century, but when Pope Boniface VIII challenged lay leadership at the end of the thirteenth, he was defeated. The speaker and Elisabeth Kimball, the discussion leader, brought out the principal factors in the process of laicization. In the course of the discussion it was suggested that the extent of religious dominance in early medieval society may be exaggerated, since many of the clerics were secular-minded. John L. La Monte showed the need of a new historical work that would include the commercial, social, intellectual, and artistic phases of the history of the crusades. In "The Crusades Reappraised" he reviewed in masterly fashion what has been done and what remains to be done both on the crusades as an aspect of European history and on the crusaders' states in the Levant. His conclusion was that there is plenty of fresh material for a new history to incorporate and plenty of problems for it to solve. Einar Joranson, the discussion leader, concurred with Mr. La Monte as to the desirability of a collaborative general history of the crusades by American scholars and expressed the hope that an adequate up-to-date textbook on the subject would soon appear.

In early modern history (to 1789) the subject of the first round table was "The Humanism of the Fifteenth and Early Sixteenth Cen-

turies and its Effects on the Rise of Nationalism". Hajo Holborn, who presented the paper, observed that patriotic sentiment in the Middle Ages remained within the limits of medieval Christian universalism and that national pride was measured in terms of a people's contribution to Christian culture. Humanism in some particulars abandoned universalism. In place of a universalist interpretation of history Petrarch developed a conception in which peoples figured as the decisive forces in the historical process; and a study of the characteristics of peoples and of the geographic conditions of particular countries is apparent in works like those of Aeneas Sylvio and Brondo. This remained the humanistic influence on the growth of national feeling in Europe down to the end of the sixteenth century. Apart from this, humanism joined forces with the religious movements looking to the restoration of a supernational community. In the opinion of Ernest W. Nelson, who opened the discussion, the paper overstressed the role of Petrarch in relation to national historical thinking and to the spirit of Italian patriotism. Humanism, he contended, was definitely opposed to nationalism. In the discussion from the floor ideas were expressed regarding nationalism and war which seemed to be occasioned by the current world situation rather than by a historical view of the subject under consideration.

In "The Place of Italy in the History of the Enlightenment" Elio Gianturco drew a sharp contrast between the great Italians of the Enlightenment and the representative French *philosophes*. Grounding his fresh and stimulating appraisal of Italian thought on an independent examination of the writings of Gravina, Vico, Beccaria, Muratori, and others, the speaker maintained, albeit with some exaggerations, that the Italians, for reasons which he specified, achieved a genuinely historical outlook long before the German Justus Möser and that their thought was more closely related to the social science of the nineteenth century than was that of the French Enlightenment. A keen and animated discussion followed, in which some differences between French and Italian thought were brought out. Frederic C. Church, the leader, summarized the main points in the paper, amplifying some of them and pointing out, *inter alia*, the indebtedness of certain of the *philosophes* to the Italians.

In "The Rise and Decline of Republicanism before 1815" George M. Dutcher referred to the governments of the English Commonwealth and Protectorate but directed his attention mainly to the republican experiments of the American and French Revolutions.

American independence necessitated the sudden formation of non-monarchical state governments, but while the war was in progress the word "republic" was seldom used, and there was no republican propaganda, though John Adams had worked out a republican plan. French leaders in 1789 were acquainted with American republicanism, but when, in the crisis of '92, a republic was proclaimed in France, the government was essentially a dictatorship of the National Convention acting through its committees. Not till 1795 was a really republican constitution adopted, and this was short lived. Disparate conditions explain the failure of French attempts at republican government and the simultaneous success of American republicanism under Washington, Adams, and Jefferson. Geoffrey Bruun, in opening the discussion, expressed the opinion that if attention were paid to function rather than to form, the history of republicanism would seem less episodic. Connecticut and Rhode Island, for example, might almost be considered as virtual republics before 1776, and the British government has acquired an increasing admixture of republican elements since 1689.

At the luncheon conference on Modern History a business meeting of the Modern History Section of the American Historical Association was followed by a paper in which Leo Gershoy offered some "Reflections on Enlightened Despotism in Prussia". He dwelt upon what he regarded as a fundamental incompatibility between the aims of the reforming philosophers and those of the monarchs to whom they looked for the realization of those aims. From his study of the reign of Frederick the Great the speaker concluded that Frederick was a reforming reactionary who gave answers to the questions confronting him in terms of outmoded solutions. The philosophers who applauded him were guilty, Mr. Gershoy contended, of believing that the Leviathan state could be persuaded to become the architect of its own extinction.

Recent modern history (since 1789) was represented at the round tables in that field by Frederick B. Artz, whose subject was "Bonapartism and Dictatorship", S. William Halperin, who had generously consented to take the place on the program left vacant by the withdrawal of Gaudens Megaro and speak on "The Emergence of Italy as a World Power", and Oscar Jászi, who offered "Reflections on the Passing of Austria". Mr. Artz pointed to the similarities between the regimes of the first and third Napoleons and the resemblances of both to the present fascist dictatorships. All of them arose out of crises in which the groups that wanted "order" rallied to the dictators. All

were established because the older controlling forces became divided while the radical oppositions were unable to swing the masses to their side. All elaborated mythologies to explain why and how they arose and for what they stood. All hated intellectuals, appealed to patriots, promised all things to all men, talked peace and prepared for war, perfected secret police and censorship of the press, used education and the press for propaganda, and invoked the plebiscite. These similarities, however, should not be permitted to obscure elements of difference between the Bonapartist and fascist dictatorships. The two Napoleons, the speaker maintained, worked with the Catholic Church, while the totalitarianism of Hitler and Mussolini has brought them into head-on collision with Rome. Neither Napoleon was obsessed with a determination to wipe out the class struggle; neither had a private army; neither held racial theories. Rudolph A. Winnacker, in opening the discussion on Mr. Artz's paper, suggested that because of its institutional approach it had not made clear the similarities between the Napoleonic interludes and the preceding and succeeding regimes or between the activities of these dictatorships and those of governments in nondictatorial countries; the "liberal" nineteenth century, he observed, was a time of expansion of governmental powers regardless of the form of government.

Mr. Halperin emphasized the increasing importance in recent decades of Italy's role in world affairs and pointed out that this was owing to a number of factors—economic, social, psychological, ideological, geographical, and diplomatic. These, coupled with the impact of certain dynamic political and literary personalities and improvements in the techniques of war, aided Italy in acquiring a colonial empire and in achieving a more formidable position among the great powers.

Mr. Jászi interpreted "the rape of Austria" as the final inevitable step in a long process. After some reference to the historic role of Austria and its position following the World War, he traced events and trends there since the rise of the Nazi movement in Germany, showing the division of public opinion on the question of Anschluss and the irrepressible antagonism between the anti-Nazi parties—the Social-Democratic and the Christian-Social. The terrible February days of 1934, when Austrian socialism was crushed in civil war, signified the real end of Austrian independence. All that stood in the way of Nazi absorption of Austria was the Italian army, but Mussolini's later commitments and embarrassments made it impossible for him to

fight Germany, and in April, 1937, at the Venice meeting with Chancellor Schuschnigg, he withdrew his pledge of support to Austria. It cannot be doubted, the speaker said, that the annexation of Austria—in spite of the perfidies and brutalities that accompanied it—is a finality. Further reflections on the passing of Austria were contributed by the discussion leader, Hans Kohn. The Habsburg monarchy, he said in substance, had protected the peoples of the Danubian basin against Prussian-German expansion, and, though this was of course not intended by the peacemakers at Paris, its destruction paved the way for the realization of German dreams of Mitteleuropa, Berlin-Bagdad, and Hamburg-Herat. Dollfuss and Schuschnigg failed to rise to their opportunity and make Austria a rallying point of anti-Nazi Germanism, and their insufficiency removed the most serious remaining obstacle to the *Drang nach Osten*. For with Austria under German control, the whole territory of the former Habsburg monarchy would follow, and more too. The mistake of the Western democracies in partitioning the Habsburg monarchy on “nationalistic” lines was repeated in September, 1938, in the case of Czechoslovakia, and with the same disastrous results. What remains of Czechoslovakia has already become a Nazi vassal.

That the question of the origins of the World War still holds the interest of many American historians seemed to be indicated by the very large attendance at the session at which Sidney B. Fay and Bernadotte E. Schmitt discussed its present status. Both speakers declared that in the main they stood by the essential findings as presented in their respective published works on the origins of the war. After a sage warning against permitting current interests and preoccupations to betray us into distorting the past, Mr. Fay turned to the present status of the “war guilt” question in different countries. In Germany, he pointed out, it had been settled quite simply and authoritatively by Hitler when he declared before the Reichstag on January 30, 1937: “I hereby retract in the most solemn fashion the German signature to the declaration, pressed from a weak government against its better knowledge, that Germany has the guilt for the War”. In Russia there is no longer any official doubt that bourgeois capitalism was responsible, though Marxian historians often distinguish between different nations as to degrees of responsibility. In France there has been very little change of opinion among the masses in regard to Germany’s guilt, though there is probably no other European country in which the question is debated so fully, and in many cases so critically and

objectively, among scholars. Omitting for lack of time the status of the question in other countries, the speaker indicated some of the changes he would now make in revising his *Origins of the World War*. In particular, he would give more attention to economic and psychological causes. When he wrote his book he was conscious of neglecting them, but they were so difficult that he preferred to reserve them for later treatment.

Mr. Schmitt was of the opinion that the results of twenty years' research had had comparatively little effect on popular opinion in the belligerent countries. He referred to various episodes of prewar diplomacy, such as the alleged British offer of an alliance to France in the spring of 1905, the Treaty of Bjorkoe, the Bosnian annexation crisis, the Balkan wars, etc., and observed that in spite of all that has been published in recent years, many aspects of these and other incidents remain obscure. With regard to Belgian neutrality he reminded his hearers that in Germany military considerations prevailed over political views but that in France and Great Britain, although the general staffs and foreign offices toyed with the idea of a violation of Belgian neutrality by French and British forces (in anticipation of an expected violation by Germany), the governments overruled any such proposals. In conclusion Mr. Schmitt dealt with the much mooted question of the attitude of the German government as manifested on July 5, 1914. He was unable to accept the opinion of Mr. Fay, who had taken the view that neither the German emperor nor the German chancellor was fully aware in July, 1914, of what Austria-Hungary proposed to do in respect of Serbia after the murder at Sarajevo. On the contrary, he maintained the position taken in his previous writings, that the Austrian representatives in Berlin had made it clear on July 5 that it was the intention of their government to "march into Serbia" and that the German government was fully aware of this plan and had sanctioned it in spite of the danger that such action might precipitate a general European war. Mr. Schmitt presented new evidence in support of his contention. In the discussion following the papers William E. Lingelbach, the chairman, William L. Langer, and E. Malcolm Carroll stressed the importance of laying greater emphasis upon national policies, notably those of Russia, as the only sound basis for an understanding of the action of statesmen and diplomats.

Speaking on "Economic England between Feudalism and Factory" at the first of the round tables in English history, Herbert Heaton referred to the general upward trend of the business curve after 1500.

Industry became more diversified, agriculture was not seriously hampered by the persistence of the open-field system since that system permitted much individual initiative and was not such a barrier to improvement as has been supposed, and commerce grew in all directions. The thesis that the development of capitalism and the Reformation are to be explained in terms of a lag of wages behind rising prices ought not to be accepted uncritically. Mr. Heaton believed that the relation between economic depression and political or social discontent would be found to be very close. Frederick C. Dietz, who opened the discussion, called attention to some specific economic questions that need further investigation and to unused materials on such subjects as crown estates, and stressed the importance of trade fluctuations. In the ensuing discussion the question of the reliability of contemporary statements regarding hard times, etc. was raised.

The object of Herbert C. F. Bell, in a paper on "Politics and Religion in Modern England", was not to develop a thesis but to propound certain questions for consideration: whether English and American historians who have written on English history in the nineteenth century have neglected to synthesize politics and religion, as Halévy did for the early years of the century; and what part Christianity may have played in the Victorian compromise, especially in social and economic reform and in the foreign policies of certain statesmen. The speaker stressed the question of individualism, both religious and political, and examined the alleged defects of purely secular liberalism in providing orderly and enduring types of society and government.

In "The British Empire—A Half Century of Changing Imperialism" Howard Robinson reviewed the ideas of empire prevalent fifty years ago, on the eve of the World War, and today. He referred to the effects of the war in both the self-governing and the dependent parts of the empire. It gave powerful impetus to Dominion nationhood with all its manifold implications, strengthened the spirit of nationalism and the demand for self-determination in India, Egypt, Ceylon, and elsewhere, and stimulated the revival of older imperial conceptions regarding dependent and exploitable regions. Tendencies toward imperial disintegration have been checked for the time being by the demands of the "hungry" powers, increasingly intent upon a reallocation of colonies in accordance with older imperialistic conceptions, but what of the future? Do the growth of nationhood in the Dominions, the rise of nationalism in the dependent colonial empire, and the re-

emphasized colonial question portend the "decline and fall" of the British Empire? C. W. de Kiewiet, the discussion leader, had time to touch upon only a few of the many problems suggested by Mr. Robinson's paper. He observed that even New Zealand, always remarkable for the closeness of its attachment to the mother country and to the empire as a whole, had adopted a more independent and critical approach to imperial affairs as a result of its concern over British policy in a series of international crises from Manchuria to Czechoslovakia; and he referred to the efforts of other Dominions to build up within their borders integrated economic and social orders as conditioning their attitude toward the empire and as tending in the direction of a loosening of imperial ties. The extension of protectionist policies in the dependencies, Mr. de Kiewiet remarked, has influenced the point of view of the outside world regarding the empire, and the attitude of the "have-not" powers has been exacerbated by restrictions on commerce and exchange. A cession of colonial territory, he suggested, might be less desirable from the standpoint of appeasement than a revision of economic policy. In the course of a rather far-ranging discussion from the floor Reginald G. Trotter directed attention to the possible effects of the decline of the League of Nations upon the fortunes of the empire.

The round tables in Slavonic history were all on the subject of church and state. In a paper entitled "Church and State in Russia in the Time of Nikon" George Vernadsky began with a sketch of Russian ecclesiastical history down to the middle of the seventeenth century in the course of which he said that church and state were theoretically co-ordinate, as in Byzantium, though in the sixteenth century the authority of the state was actually in the ascendant. In the early seventeenth century Patriarch Filaret of Moscow greatly raised the authority of the church, but with his death a period of decline set in which lasted till the time of Nikon, who came to the patriarch's throne in 1652 with the definite aim of restoring the church-state balance in accordance with Byzantine theory. For a few years there was a dyarchy of czar and patriarch such as had existed in the days of Filaret. In carrying out his reform of the Moscow Church Nikon availed himself of the services of the Ukrainian clergy, then on a higher cultural level than the Moscow clergy, and his Ukrainophile attitude aroused opposition among the nationalistic leaders of Moscow public opinion, lay and clerical alike. Hence the rise of the so-called Old Believers movement and the schism in the Moscow Church. A personal quarrel

between the patriarch and the czar was added to an involved religious and diplomatic crisis, and in 1658 Nikon retired to a monastery. A council of the Eastern Orthodox Church, the Great Sobor of 1666-67, condemned Nikon for interference in matters of government, but it approved his church reforms, and by anathematizing the Old Believers it made the schism in the Russian Church final. The result of the crisis was to give the state ascendancy over the church, thus preparing the way for the control of church administration by the state under Peter I and the confiscation of the estates of the church by Catherine II. In opening the discussion Philip E. Mosely expressed agreement with Mr. Vernadsky in the main. He questioned, however, whether the relation between church and state in Russia was based on the same theoretical foundation as in Byzantium and suggested that the reforms of Nikon and the resulting schism, which he regarded as inevitable, had too often been linked with a fortuitous quarrel between the patriarch and the czar. In conclusion he raised the question of whether this quarrel might not have been more closely related than has been supposed to differences of opinion regarding Russian foreign policy. Mr. Vernadsky did not accept this interpretation. In the ensuing discussion several other points were raised. It was questioned whether the theory of a dyarchy had any great influence in Russia before the time of Nikon, and the importance of the land question in the controversy between church and state was emphasized, as was the need of a comparison between the church-state conflict in Russia and similar collisions in Central and Western Europe.

John S. Curtiss began his account of "Church and State in Russia in the Last Years of the Empire" by recalling the measures of Peter I, Catherine II, and Alexander I, which had as their effect the complete subordination of church to state, and the position and powers of the Over Procurator of the Most Holy Synod. The state used its control of the church, he pointed out, to prevent the clergy from opposing the existing order and to secure the support of their moral authority. In the period with which he was more especially concerned Mr. Curtiss showed that the church was in a condition of moral decline. Not only was the intelligentsia lost to it, but the proletariat could no longer be depended on, and even among the peasants the influence of the clergy was weakening. Strongly linked as it was to the state, the church could not but be profoundly affected by the collapse of autocracy in 1917. In the discussion a number of points were raised, among others, whether the clergy had been as submissive to the state as had been

represented, whether the absence of a clerical party indicated that the church had no vigorous life of its own, apart from the state, and whether the revolutionary crusade against the church was motivated as much by the latter's association with the imperial government as by Marxian philosophy.

"Church and State in Poland on the Eve of the Partitions" was the subject of a paper by O. P. Sherbowitz-Wetsor. The speaker viewed the political adjustment known as the partitions of Poland as the final act of a struggle between two competing political, economic, and cultural expansions—the Polish and the Russian—which was the focal point in the historical development of Eastern Europe beginning with the seventeenth century. This problem involved the problem of national minorities within the Polish commonwealth, whose separatist tendencies were systematically fostered by Russian diplomacy in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The alliance of the Polish commonwealth with the Catholic Church in Poland, in order to counteract the disruptive influence of Russia acting through the Orthodox Church in Poland and that of Prussia influencing the Polish Protestants, was the major formative factor in the development of church-state relations in Poland on the eve of the partitions and the key to a clear understanding of the problems involved. The discussion leader, Mose L. Harvey, remarked that the paper had dealt with the influence of religious minorities on the decline and fall of Poland rather than with church-state relations, and he questioned certain specific propositions that had been advanced. In reply to comment and questions from the floor Mr. Sherbowitz-Wetsor stated that there was no conflict in Poland between the Catholic Church and the government. The problem of church and state in Poland was essentially a problem of the relations between the non-Polish dissenters and the state.

On the last afternoon of the annual meeting some twenty-five persons specially interested in Slavonic history met in an informal conference under the chairmanship of Mortimer Graves of the American Council of Learned Societies to consider plans for the promotion of Slavonic studies in this country in co-operation with similar groups, already existing or to be formed, within other learned societies. In order to forward this work a committee was chosen consisting of Geroid Tanquary Robinson (chairman), Michael Karpovich, Robert J. Kerner, Philip E. Mosely, and George Vernadsky.

Two of the round tables on Far Eastern history were concerned with China, the other with Japan. In "The Development of Chinese

Foreign Policies" G. Nye Steiger emphasized the insufficiency of discussions of this subject that start with the beginning of direct relations between China and the countries of Western Europe, since the course of China's foreign policy during the last four hundred years has been determined largely by attitudes and values developed through her centuries of pre-European international contacts. After an examination of these attitudes and values the speaker remarked that China's early experiences with Europeans fully justified her in regarding them as barbarians. Following a survey in which outstanding events and trends were touched upon, the speaker observed that China's foreign policy in recent years has been based upon the old values and attitudes, minus the old claim of Chinese superiority and plus a new willingness to meet the outside world on an equal footing. The discussion leader, Cyrus H. Peake, suggested that Mr. Steiger, in his effort to show the extent to which concepts underlying earlier Chinese foreign policies were effective during the past century, had overlooked the gradual transition from the idea of the universal empire, with its complex of cultural superiority to surrounding barbarians, to the idea of the equality of sovereign states, accompanied by the taking over of Western diplomatic procedure and international law. The ensuing discussion touched upon the persistence of sectionalism and lack of political concepts of sovereignty in China and the origins of the Chinese cultural superiority complex as a determinant of policy.

Carroll B. Malone, in a paper on "New Light on the Civilization of Imperial China", remarked that the most spectacular result of the recent progress of Chinese studies has been the loss of two thousand years of what used to be considered as Chinese history. This has now been relegated to the realm of myth and legend, but some three thousand years of fairly reliable and continuous history remain to China, and the content of this field is growing. The speaker referred to the light thrown by recent archaeological excavations on the culture of the Shang, Chou, and Han dynasties and to important recent studies in Chinese philosophy and biography and in dynastic, political, social, and economic history. In conclusion he spoke of the importance of the opening of the vast archives of the late Ch'ing dynasty, which has resulted in the publication of hundreds of volumes of source material previously inaccessible. In comment on Mr. Malone's paper H. G. Creel referred to the work of K. A. Wittfogel of the International Institute of Social Research. Mr. Wittfogel, under the auspices

of the Institute of Pacific Relations, recently directed a number of qualified Chinese scholars in Peiping in selecting from the great mass of the standard Chinese dynastic histories all passages which were deemed to bear significantly on economic and social history and in translating them into English. Publication of this material was at one time contemplated, but it now appears that Mr. Wittfogel plans only to publish works from his own pen based upon it. Mr. Creel considered this unfortunate and expressed the hope that Mr. Wittfogel and the Institute of Pacific Relations would be persuaded to publish the translated source material itself.

Robert T. Pollard took as his subject "The March of Japanese Imperialism". Neither overpopulation, he said, nor the need for raw materials and markets is adequate as an explanation of Japanese territorial expansion since the urge to expand preceded them. The spearhead of Japan's expansion on the continent of Asia has been the army, which has frequently used its power in the interest of privileged elements in Japanese society, especially the industrial capitalists, rather than in the interest of the nation as a whole. This led to a military-capitalist coalition, which broke down, however, after the unprofitable Japanese intervention in Siberia in 1918. Since then there has been a struggle for power in Japan between the militarists and the capitalists, the former inheriting the feudal tradition of military dictatorship, the latter representing parliamentarism. Japan's territorial expansion has at times been merely a consequence of the internal struggle for the control of the Japanese state. Mr. Pollard concluded that not a little of the driving force behind Japanese imperialism stems from delusions of grandeur coupled with emotional resentment at the refusal of the white races to accept the Japanese as equals. Ernest B. Price, in opening the discussion, expressed himself as in general agreement with Mr. Pollard. He suggested, however, that population pressure and need of access to raw materials and markets had been so generally accepted by the Japanese people as a justification for expansion that the belief in them as causal factors ought not to be overlooked. He thought that Mr. Pollard's thesis that Japanese expansion can be ascribed in large part to the struggle for power within Japan could be amplified. Japan's conscript armies, he pointed out, were largely drawn from the most exploited class in the country, the farmers, and it was his opinion that the military hierarchy, heirs to the traditions of the samurai class, which had headed the old feudal system of Japan, have deliberately

exploited the grievances of the agricultural population and played them against the industrialist class. There was subsequent discussion of the ultimate objectives and probable future of Japanese imperialism.

Three outstanding dictators of Guatemala were the subjects of the round tables in Latin-American history. Lewis W. Bealer dealt with Rafael Carrera, J. Fred Rippey with Justo Rufino Barrios, and Dana G. Munro with Manuel Estrada Cabrera. Their papers made it clear that there has been an advance in dictatorial technique in Guatemala, as in other countries of Latin America. Mr. Munro pointed out that dictatorships have flourished especially in countries of large Indian or Negro population, accustomed to exploitation by a white upper class. In the discussion the dictator under consideration was compared and contrasted with other Latin-American dictators, and the following hypotheses regarding dictators were advanced and examined critically: (1) Dictators are usually produced by crises of an economic, social, and political nature; (2) dictators are champions of the status quo, reactionaries, reformers in haste, exponents of gradual change, or merely egotists bent on power and prestige.

At a luncheon conference on Hispanic American history John Tate Lanning read a paper on "The Last Stand of the Schoolmen", dealing with the intellectual revolt in Latin America against authoritarianism, which occurred during the period 1740-1800, and based upon an investigation of theses written in medieval Latin at a number of the Spanish colonial universities. According to Mr. Lanning, the movement was largely independent of the French encyclopedists. His paper is to be published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*. In the course of some comments at the same conference Richard F. Pattee of the Division of Cultural Relations of the Department of State called attention to the creation of this division last summer with the object of conducting those cultural relations with foreign countries which had formerly been left to private initiative and enterprise. He emphasized that its work is not propagandistic. After the luncheon there was a meeting of the Conference on Latin-American History of the American Historical Association at which a new constitution for the conference was adopted. It will be published in the *Hispanic American Historical Review*.

In the field of early United States History (to 1865) there was a session on Contributions of the Old Northwest to American Life, joint sessions with the American Military History Foundation, the Mississippi Valley Historical Association, and the Southern Historical Associa-

tion, and several short papers presented at a joint session with the Bibliographical Society of America, in addition to three round tables. In "The Old Northwest and American Constitutionalism" Homer C. Hockett stressed the significance of the Ordinance of 1787 in shaping the development of the constitutional system of the United States. American federalism, he recalled, is an expanding system which has admitted new commonwealths on terms of complete equality with the original members of the Union as population has spread westward. Such treatment of new communities was unique and by no means inevitable. The promise of statehood and equal rights made to them in the Ordinance of 1787, Mr. Hockett maintained, was a decisive victory in a conflict between liberal and conservative forces that began in colonial times. At the same session R. C. Buley, in a paper entitled "Some Social, Economic, and Cultural Contributions of the Old Northwest", concerned himself with "Western-mindedness" and how it affected the outlook of the people. He developed his theme by means of quotations illustrating the Western mind. Nelson Vance Russell, describing "Some Aspects of British Army Life in the Old Northwest, 1760-96" at the joint session with the American Military History Foundation, presented a close-up view of some of the daily administrative tasks of the army and of its relations with the Indians and the French inhabitants. It is only, he said, by visualizing the magnitude of the problems confronting it and the inadequacy of the means at its disposal that one can understand fully the failure of the army to maintain British ascendancy in the Old Northwest.

At the joint session with the Mississippi Valley Historical Association a paper on "The American Missionary Association as an Anti-Slavery Society", written by Robert S. Fletcher in collaboration with Lloyd V. Hennings, gave an account of the origin of this organization and made clear its relation to the antislavery movement. The schism among the abolitionists in 1840 led to the formation of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, which, under the *alias* of the American Missionary Association, carried on an extensive program of antislavery missions. It was organized and financed by Lewis Tappan and his New York associates. Its widespread, constructive, and comparatively moderate antislavery campaign has been generally overlooked because its work was masked under the name of the American Missionary Association. In "Economic Pressures and Party Disintegration in the Great Lakes Region, 1846-48" Madison Kuhn showed that this region, having received repeated benefits from the Federal govern-

ment for two decades prior to the inauguration of Polk, came to believe that its welfare was jeopardized under a Southern Democratic regime at Washington and that both the major parties were controlled by the slavery interests. Economic pressures, having disintegrated the old parties, might have molded the fragments into an effective new party in 1848, but an unpopular candidate—Van Buren—and the attempt of abolitionists to divert the program from antislaveholder to antislavery delayed the process. These pressures go far to explain the success of the Republican party in this region in the following decade.

"The Flight of the Confederate Cabinet", a paper presented by Alfred J. Hanna, was based on new materials, chiefly unpublished diaries and letters, discovered by the writer in the course of investigations that resulted in his recently published book, *Flight into Oblivion*. His narrative of the desperate plight of the Confederate cabinet reveals a unique and exciting episode, culminating in the arrest and imprisonment of Jefferson Davis and four of his constitutional advisers. Dallas D. Irvine's "Notes on the Fate of Confederate Archives", another paper read at the joint session with the Southern Historical Association, is to be published in a future issue of the *American Historical Review*.

Among the papers read at the joint session with the Bibliographical Society of America were "A Survey of Anti-Masonic Newspapers, 1826-34" by Milton W. Hamilton and "Commercial Printers of San Francisco from 1851 to 1885" by Henry R. Wagner. Mr. Hamilton stated that the earliest "third party" in American history was dependent upon newspapers and that a list of these papers discloses titles unknown to bibliographers. Mr. Wagner's contribution had to do chiefly with independent or job printers. He gave a short history of the two best known early job printing offices of San Francisco and of some of the more important later ones.

T. J. Wertenbaker, W. B. Hesseltine, and George M. Stephenson were the speakers at the round tables in early United States history. The first, taking as his theme "Democracy in the American Colonies", laid chief emphasis on economic factors in colonial history tending to enhance the value and dignity of the individual, though he did not overlook the importance of the colonists' English inheritance. In colonial America there were vast material resources to be exploited, demand for labor and high wages, and an advancing frontier with its equalitarian and democratic outlook. The principal antidemocratic

elements of which the speaker took note were slavery, religious establishments, and colonial aristocracies. In the course of the discussion Curtis P. Nettels referred to the sources of the conflict between democratic and antidemocratic forces in the colonies. Marcus W. Jernegan remarked that interest in American democracy has been enlivened by the recent writings of Charles M. Andrews and William E. Dodd, Andrews affirming, in *The Colonial Period of American History*, that democracy did not exist in seventeenth century America and Dodd making the struggle to maintain democracy the central theme of his work, *The Old South*.

Mr. Hesseltine, in a paper on "The Abolitionist Movement Reconsidered", reached the conclusion, after a review of more or less familiar events and developments, that in spite of its failures, abolitionism had a profound significance for the future. Abolition societies formed the nuclei of a Northern party to combat the slavocracy, and abolition propaganda furnished the emotional content for a party that included merchants and mystics, internal improvements men and high tariff industrialists, Eastern workingmen and Western farmers. In the discussion that followed, Theodore Clarke Smith, the leader, called attention to the different interpretations that have been given to abolitionism and characterized Mr. Hesseltine's paper as a good example of modern comprehensive research and of revisionism in interpretation. In the course of remarks from the floor attention was focused mainly on Mr. Hesseltine's interpretation, which did not meet with general acceptance.

Mr. Stephenson, speaking on "The History of American Immigration", began by paying tribute to Laurence M. Larson, to whose memory the round table was inscribed on the program, and Marcus L. Hansen, two distinguished departed members of the Association who were among the pioneers in the field of immigration history. Emigration from Europe to America should not be regarded, he suggested, as a matter of importance in American history only; it is the business of students of European history to show how and why so many hundreds of thousands of Europeans crossed the Atlantic for their spiritual, economic, social, and political health. He regretted that the researches of scholars in the field of American immigration had had so little influence on general histories and textbooks. The speaker sketched the history of Scandinavian activities in the United States with regard to the collection of documents and the promotion of research. In the discussion of the paper Carl Wittke spoke of the need of expanding

research in the history of immigration to embrace more of the cultural contributions of immigrant stocks to American civilization and illustrated this point by reference to Irish and German immigration.

Aspects of the transit of civilization and its limitations were dealt with by Mr. Wittke in an address on "Culture in Immigrant Chests" at the dinner of the Mississippi Valley Historical Association and in papers read at a session on Europe and America by Frank J. Klingberg ("Ideas which did not migrate from Europe to America") and R. R. Palmer ("Ideas which did not migrate from America to Europe"). Mr. Wittke depicted with broad strokes the contributions made by immigrant stocks to American civilization. The fusion of our many diversities may be expected to go on for several generations, though, as the speaker said, the immigrant traffic has virtually come to an end. With its termination the process with which he was concerned has passed into history. Mr. Klingberg, confining his attention to Great Britain and the United States, dealt with "ideas which did not take ship and enter America, or, which arrived but did not root themselves, or, which arrived much later and then acclimatized themselves". Emigrants from England were largely lower middle class people, and there were many English ideas that they left behind them. In short, it has not been sufficiently recognized, Mr. Klingberg thought, that "a perfect piece of Old England was never floated across the Atlantic". In spite of conspicuous common elements in English and American life, the flow of ideas from England to America has not been such as to create a thoroughly homogeneous Anglo-American civilization. Limitations upon the counterflow of ideas were the subject of Mr. Palmer's paper.

In the field of later United States history Julius W. Pratt gave an exposition of "Recent Anti-Imperialism in the United States", and Harold U. Faulkner spoke on "Antecedents of New Deal Liberalism". Mr. Pratt began by remarking that the anti-imperialism dating from the Spanish-American War reached its nadir in the 1920's, when the Harding and Coolidge administrations were pursuing policies definitely imperialistic, but that about 1928 the tide began to turn. President Hoover and Secretary Stimson inaugurated a reversal of policy in the Caribbean, and the new anti-imperialism was carried further by President Franklin Roosevelt, who declared emphatically against armed intervention in other countries, accepted prohibitions of such intervention formulated at the Pan-American Conferences at Montevideo and Buenos Aires, completed the liquidation of the Haitian protectorate,

abrogated the Platt Amendment regulating Cuban affairs, and avoided serious controversy with Mexico over American property rights. The advocates of Philippine independence as a means of excluding Philippine products and Filipino laborers combined in Congress with advocates of independence on principle to enact legislation under which the Philippines are scheduled to attain complete independence in 1946. Thus under the Roosevelt administration the anti-imperialists have seen practically all their purposes achieved. Whether this achievement is permanent or not will depend, the speaker said, upon incalculable factors. In commenting upon Mr. Pratt's paper Dexter Perkins pointed out in some detail that under the Roosevelt administration the anti-imperialist drift has not been complete and suggested that the growth of a strong ideological bias against the totalitarian states might easily be the basis for a recrudescence of imperialism.

Mr. Faulkner looked upon the New Deal as a logical continuation of a tendency toward political and economic concentration and the socialization of the state that is closely related to the philosophy and aims of the reforming era of 1900-1915. Americans, he observed, have been, variously, collectivists and "rugged individualists" as best served their purposes. There is little in the New Deal that is new, and some of its antecedents can be traced back to our earliest colonial period. Failure to recognize that American history has been marked by a rhythm of progressivism and reaction has caused many people to think of the New Deal as an abnormal phenomenon. George E. Mowry, the discussion leader, agreed with Mr. Faulkner that the roots of the New Deal lie deep in American history, but he emphasized a decided change in the temper of American liberalism in the last six years. Previously the liberal creed had exhibited a buoyant confidence in ever-increasing material rewards in the future. The New Deal, on the contrary, in attempting to equate opportunity more equitably, denied, through the implications of its scarcity legislation, the promise of such rewards. Mr. Mowry questioned whether liberalism could continue to flourish in an environment of economic pessimism.

Three papers were presented at the session on Urbanization. In a learned survey of "Urbanization in Antiquity" William Linn Westermann pointed out that city life, in the sense of considerable aggregations of human beings living in a compact area and under conditions of continuous housing, was first developed among the Greeks. The Greco-Roman idea of "city", like the modern, included the concepts of industrial activities concentrated in the urban area (though under

the handicraft system of production), dependence for food supply upon distant as well as local "sustenance spaces", and the necessity of some degree of municipal independence. The theory of an imbalance existing in antiquity between country life and urban life, the theory, that is, of a hyperurbanization which eventually destroyed ancient culture, emanates from Robert Pöhlmann. This must be discarded, Mr. Westermann declared, in approaching the problems of urbanization in ancient history. The typical Greco-Roman city was thalassic; most of those which retained their economic or cultural functions for any length of time were on the Mediterranean seaboard. The three cities with bloated populations—Seleucia, Antioch, and Rome—were inland megalopolises and owed their untypical populations to their administrative and bureaucratic functions. The literature of ancient primitivism, Mr. Westermann remarked, shows little antiurban feeling, nor is this feeling prominent in Horace. In the satirical poetry of Juvenal and Martial it is little more than a conventionalized theme of social caricature of city life. The theory, advanced by M. I. Rostovtzeff, that the crisis of the third century after Christ exhibits the hatred of the countryside for the cities and a rural desire for their destruction is open to serious question. Robert L. Reynolds emphasized the diversity of pattern in medieval cities and the length of time during which that diversity continued. In his paper on "The Medieval City" he examined briefly the elements present in the growth and the existence of cities in the Middle Ages to see if there could be found in these elements, especially in the church, the "explanation" of the medieval city, distinguishing it from and connecting it with other types of city. His conclusion was that the church, while it helped to differentiate the medieval city from others, provides an unsatisfactory point of approach. In his opinion, the economic explanation, with reliance upon the Pirenne thesis, helps us to appreciate the forces underlying origins and varied political, social, and artistic patterns of development. Arthur M. Schlesinger, speaking on "The City in American History", observed that urban life has been a subject much neglected by professional historians and developed the thesis that from colonial times onward the city has exerted a vital and ever-growing influence on American politics and culture.

One of the most illuminating sessions of the entire meeting was a symposium on "History, Science, and Society", held jointly by the Association and the History of Science Society, at which the principal speakers were Frederick Barry, William E. Lingelbach, and Henry E.

Sigerist. Mr. Barry began an exceptionally stimulating address by remarking that before the subject could be profitably considered it would be necessary to agree as to the meaning of the term "science". Then, denying the humanistic contention that this word refers to the sum total of all human knowledge and conjecture and supporting this denial by appeal to common usage, he argued that the conception of the student of nature himself must be accepted; for if the useful discriminations of ordinary speech respecting science, technology, ethics, metaphysics, and theology be willfully ignored, the essential character, and thus the significance, of scientific thought and practice cannot be intelligently appreciated. This conception having been formulated, the speaker enlarged upon the unique value of the historical study of science. Thereafter the respective qualifications of the scientist, the philosopher, and the historian to direct the study were discussed, and the conclusion was reached that this responsibility must be assigned to the historian, despite the handicap of his almost exclusively humanistic interests, since his habit of thought, necessarily genetic, is also wholly empirical, inductive, and skeptical—that is to say, scientific.

Mr. Lingelbach followed with a consideration of the prevailing attitude of historians toward the history of science as reflected in textbooks and general histories. Especially interesting were the citations from one or two recent authors to illustrate the manner in which the story of science and technology can be successfully integrated with the history of civilization in general. Histories of science and histories of particular branches of science suffered, in the speaker's opinion, from a lack of historical training on the part of the authors and were therefore too detached from the historical environment in which the science developed.

Mr. Sigerist dealt with the history of medicine as one aspect of the history of civilization, dwelling upon the historical importance of epidemics and endemics, of social attitudes toward disease, of social demands for medical services, etc. He advocated the establishment of an institute for the history of science similar in character to the existing Institute for Medical History at the Johns Hopkins University. In a lively discussion which followed, various relevant questions were raised, among others the rôle of the history of technology as a link between the history of science and social history in general and the possibility of reshaping history curricula with a view to giving teachers of history some knowledge of the history of science.

At the session on the philosophy of history Max Horkheimer spoke

on "Hegel and the Present World Situation", and Frank H. Knight offered "A Critique of the Economic Interpretation of History". Mr. Horkheimer undertook the difficult task of making clear the significance of Hegel's philosophy of history for contemporary historical writing. It is very important, he thought, to eradicate the misconception that Hegel is nothing more than a forerunner and proponent of the ideology of the authoritarian power state. The state which Hegel glorifies is not the state in the purely political sense of a power apparatus, but the state which satisfies the needs and interests of man and permits the freedom of the individual. The state is a realization of reason only when the universal interest and the interests of individuals are identical within it. Mr. Knight considered what is meant by "economic" as an interpretative concept, in the phenomena of human behavior in general and in history in particular. The expression "economic interpretation", he argued, is used with diverse and contradictory meanings. After some analysis of the possibilities in the way of concepts to be used in the interpretation of history, he concluded that it is necessary to take a pluralistic view of historical process and causality as against any unique explanatory principle, and he severely criticized the Marxian position.

At a session on Historical Method St. George L. Sioussat paid his respects to the new "portraitist" school of biography. In a paper on "Portraiture in Biography, and Historical Method", in which seriousness of purpose was enlivened by touches of humor, he referred to the wide vogue of the portrait analogy in the discussion of recent biographies, pointing out for the benefit of the new biographers and their readers that the painted portrait itself is by no means necessarily reliable as a historical source. A consideration of the attitude of Strachey, Maurois, Ludwig, and Gamaliel Bradford led to the conclusion that portraitist biography is marked by the element of subjectivity, the position of the artist as controlling his material. A leading tenet of the new school is the "humanizing" of biography, a process which, Mr. Sioussat observed, may interfere with the differentiation which is inherent in genuine portraiture. Psychology is greatly stressed by the portraitists, but the speaker had his doubts as to the scientific character of this approach. In conclusion he cited, from contemporary biography, some illustrations of the points made in his paper.

As at previous annual meetings, there was a luncheon conference attended by the editorial staffs of historical journals. Henry E. Bourne, formerly Managing Editor of the *American Historical Review*, at

whose initiative the first editorial conference was held in 1929, was present and spoke briefly on the origins of the conferences, their aim, and the mode of conducting them at first. They grew out of a feeling that editors could do their work more effectively if they were better acquainted with one another and had an opportunity to talk over their problems informally. Mr. Bourne suggested the propriety of a committee to consider how the conferences could be made more helpful in the future, and the chairman, Arthur C. Cole, having been duly authorized to do so, appointed such a committee. Those present at the luncheon had the privilege of listening to an interesting account by Douglas C. McMurtrie of the editorial program of the Historical Records Survey for the preparation and publication of archive inventories.

The only sessions which did not have to compete with others for the interest of members were the evening session on Urbanization, the annual dinner, at which the president of the Association, Frederic L. Paxson, delivered an address on "The Great Demobilization" (published in our last issue), the complimentary luncheon referred to above, and the business meeting. At all of these except the last the attendance was very large. It is altogether unfortunate that so few members take the business meetings seriously. They have sometimes been lacking, no doubt, in general interest, but this has not always been the case, and it was distinctly not the case at Chicago. Matters of great importance to the Association as a whole, including the establishment of a new popular historical magazine under its auspices and of a new class of associate members, were passed upon, at the fag end of an afternoon when adequate debate was impossible, in a meeting attended by fewer than 150 members. It should be said in fairness, however, that the attendance would unquestionably have been much larger if it had been generally known in advance that such proposals were to be made.¹

THE EDITORS.

¹ Some account of the business meeting is given in *Historical News* below.

NATIONALITY AT THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE

AN ANGLO-FRENCH DISPUTE

EVERYONE in these days talks of nationalism and views with satisfaction or dismay the spread of the idea of nationality around the globe from Europe to Cathay. A few have the curiosity to wonder when and how this idea first made its appearance in modern Europe but find among the learned no agreed answer as yet to their question. One may recall Luther's appeals to folk consciousness as a force to array Germans against an Italian pope or look back a century earlier to the enthusiasm kindled by Jeanne d'Arc for the deliverance of France from the alien English or discover still earlier traces of discrimination between peoples on ground of differences in blood, manners, language, climate, or political allegiance and call these the beginnings of nationalism.¹

It is doubtless impossible to name any event of which one may confidently assert that it reveals a modern nation in the very act of emerging into conscious existence, a nation, that is to say, as distinct from an earlier clan, tribe, province, or kingdom. But one may take it as presumptive proof that something at least resembling what we now call nationalism had arrived when one discovers the word "natio" defined in almost a modern sense in the course of an argument at the Council of Constance over the right of one people to rank as a nation in that international assembly. The phenomenon, one would suppose, must even have existed for a considerable time when an old word is interpreted in a new way to give it a name, especially when the phenomenon is not so much a new material creation as a new social complex of attitudes and relationships, marking a new shift in popular interests and loyalties of the sort that comes about slowly and is seldom remarked at once. A few years previously another old word had been given a fresh definition. "Humanitas" and "studia humanitatis" meant in the fourteenth century something different from what they had meant to Cicero or to the twelfth and thirteenth century schools. But

¹ For evidence of so-called German national feeling as far back as Charlemagne see K. G. Hugelmann, "Die deutsche Nation und der deutsche Nationalstaat im Mittelalter", *Historisches Jahrbuch*, LI (1931), 1-29, 445-84.

the movement for the revival of classical letters was in its third generation before the old word was reinterpreted to furnish it a name.²

In the Middle Ages the word "natio", whether in Latin or in one of its vernacular forms, had been used in several senses, each of them simpler than the modern. At times it had merely the old Roman meaning of "gens" or "familia", family, kindred, a group of persons nearly related by blood. Hear the Wife of Bath lamenting:

Allas! that any of my nacioun
Sholde evere so foule disparaged be!³

In the plural it might take on the more comprehensive sense, in which it had been used by Cicero and St. Jerome, of "gentes", "populi", the indefinite hordes of humankind outside either the Roman state or the Jewish or Christian scheme of salvation. "Salve nos fac Domine Deus noster et congrega nos de nationibus", the Psalmist prayed.⁴ Or, in a medieval context, it might denote the countryside in which a man was born, his native region, "patria". "Qui por amor de vos avoie ma terre lessiee et la douçor de ma nacion", protests the king of Sarraas to Joseph of Arimathea in a thirteenth century romance of the Holy Grail.⁵ Or, finally, it might mean any group of persons connected by bonds of common traits or pursuits, especially if to these were added further ties of common birthplace, language, or habitation.

Among the gentil nacion
Love is an occupacion,

sang Gower, with the gentlefolk of all Europe in his mind.⁶ Whereas Wyclif was indubitably thinking only of men bred in England when he spoke of "gospels of Crist written in Englische, to moost lernynge of oure nacioun".⁷

The bands of foreign merchants who established themselves for trade in medieval cities and of masters of arts in medieval universities, organized on the basis of the provenance of their members, were called "nations". In both merchant community and university the primary requirement for the erection of a nation seems to have been the

² Coluccio Salutati, *Epistolario*, ed. by Francesco Novati (4 vols. in 5, Rome, 1891-1911), III, 534-36.

³ Chaucer, *Wife of Bath's Tale*, ll. 212-13.

⁴ Vulgate, Psalm CV, 47; King James's version, CVI, 47.

⁵ *La queste del Saint Graal*, ed. by Albert Pauphilet (Paris, 1923), 34, ll. 2-3. This reference I owe to Miss Winifred Sturdevant.

⁶ John Gower, *Confessio amantis*, bk. iv, ll. 1451-52.

⁷ *Select English Works of John Wyclif*, ed. by Thomas Arnold (3 vols., Oxford, 1869-71), III, 393.

presence of enough men from a single locality, speaking the same dialect and addicted to the same habits, to function as a unit for the purpose in view. The relative size or importance of the locality whence they came mattered not at all. The silk merchants of Lucca had their nations in Genoa, Rome, Paris, Bruges, and London.⁸ At the University of Paris the nation from the comparatively small home province of the Isle de France counted for as much as the nation that included the masters from all England and Germany. In most universities the number of nations was early fixed by custom at four, and thereafter men from regions without a nation of their own were assigned to membership in that one of the four which seemed geographically most appropriate. Once started, the life of these nations went on under their elected officers, proctors, receptors, beadles, and the like, with little or no more reference, apparently, to the home region, except when it became necessary to draw more clearly the boundary that separated one region from another in order to determine to which of two nations a newcomer at the university belonged.⁹ After all, the members were in Paris or Orleans or Toulouse for their own individual advancement, and the nations existed for their convenience and for nothing else.¹⁰

The nations that presently appeared at ecumenical church councils, however, were from the outset a somewhat different thing.¹¹ We hear of them first at Lyons in 1274, when Gregory X, in order to drive through, against the resistance of his cardinals, some measures of reform relating especially to the conduct of papal elections, met the archbishops and abbots of the council "by nations" secretly between sessions and at these meetings got their written consent to his proposals. The cardinals retorted by holding meetings of nations too, but quite in vain.¹² At Vienne, in 1311-12, when the business of the Knights

⁸ James Westfall Thompson, *Economic and Social History of Europe in the Later Middle Ages, 1300-1530* (New York, 1931), p. 253.

⁹ See Gray C. Boyce, "The Controversy over the Boundary between the English and Picard Nations in the University of Paris", *Études d'histoire dédiées à la mémoire de Henri Pirenne* (Brussels, 1937).

¹⁰ Boyce, *The English-German Nation in the University of Paris during the Middle Ages* (Bruges, 1927), pp. 14-15, 25-28.

¹¹ The common practice of comparing the nations of church councils with university nations tends to obscure the difference, as, for example, in Boyce, *English-German Nation*, p. 13; A. Diehl, "Heiliges Römisches Reich Deutscher Nation", *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLVI, 461; Eustace J. Kitts, *Pope John the Twenty-third and Master John Hus of Bohemia* (London, 1910), p. 282; M. Creighton, *History of the Papacy from the Great Schism to the Sack of Rome* (London, 1899-1901), I, 318.

¹² G. D. Mansi, *Sacrorum conciliorum nova et amplissima collectio*, XXIV, 66.

Templars was pending, Clement V conferred with certain archbishops whom he had caused to be elected for the purpose from several kingdoms and called for the final votes of the prelates in order of their "nations", Italians first, then Spaniards, Germans, Danes, English, Scotch, Irish, and French.¹³ At both councils it seems clear that the pope utilized the deepseated differences that existed between these various groups of clergy to break up the unity that properly should have characterized an ecclesiastical assembly and impose his own will. At Vienne, certainly, the nations were divided along the main regional and political lines of Western Europe, all Italians together, and likewise all Spaniards, all Germans, all Scandinavians, and all Frenchmen. Only the delegates from the small kingdoms of the British Isles, clustering in little groups, amalgamated no further.

At Pisa, in 1409, there was but one nation from the British Isles, and the character and purpose of all the nations were still more altered. Called by the cardinals in the hope of ending the Great Schism and lacking the sanction of either pope or emperor, this council had to justify somehow its assumption of power, and to do so fell back on the theories of Marsiglio of Padua, William of Ockham, and their followers, to wit, that a general council represented the universal church and hence possessed full authority, even without a pope, to act for the good of the church, that it was, in fact, superior to a pope. Under such circumstances it was eminently desirable that the most influential peoples and governments who had sent deputations to its sessions should feel that their views were indeed represented in the conduct of proceedings. As a way to ensure this result, the envoys from Italy, France, Germany, and Britain, of their own accord, began meeting apart, each group by itself, and appointing a spokesman to present their opinions to the council. Robert Hallam, bishop of Salisbury, was the mouthpiece for "the English nation" and Simon de Cramaud, who carried the title of patriarch of Alexandria, for the French and Provençal nation.¹⁴ There were no representatives from Spain, which still remained loyal to the pope at Avignon.

By general consent membership on important commissions was divided among these four nations.¹⁵ They each chose deputies to

¹³ Ewald Müller, *Das Konzil von Vienne, 1311-1312, seine Quellen und seine Geschichte*, in the *Vorreformationsgeschichtliche Forschungen* (Münster, 1934), pp. 99, 108, 113-14.

¹⁴ *Chronique du religieux de Saint-Denis* (Paris, 1839-52), bk. xxx, ch. 3, Vol. IV, pp. 228, 230, in the *Collection de documents inédits sur l'histoire de France*.

¹⁵ Mansi, XXVI, 1219; XXVII, 7, 266.

attend the meetings of the cardinals, who were acting as official heads of the assembly, in order to report back what was said and done there.¹⁶ Still sitting separately, each nation came to its own decision on the questions at issue and voted as a unit when it met the other nations in sessions of the council as a whole.¹⁷ These nations were definitely representative bodies, basing their claim to a voice not on the number or status of the members present at Pisa but on the power and importance of the land whence they came. The English were one of the four nations, although in that gathering of over five hundred there were said to be only fifteen Englishmen.¹⁸

Five years later the Council of Constance was convened by a pope and an emperor-elect and attended by them both, but there was still schism and discord in Europe and no universally accepted head. Again, therefore, the authority of the council was declared to rest on its representative character, and again the four nations promptly appeared, this time as even more aggressive elements in the situation, with positive wills and policies of their own.¹⁹ When in February, 1415, it was necessary to begin voting on a method to end the schism and Pope John XXIII's host of Italians threatened to outvote all the others, the English and the Germans proposed that each nation should again cast its vote in the sessions as a unit, no count being taken of individuals. The French nation, after some hesitation, concurred. In this way the nations at Constance became, as at Pisa, constituent parts of the council and the council itself distinctly a federation of nations under the sanction of the emperor. For a time even the cardinals were forbidden to act or vote as a college and were instructed to join their nations. The nations were formally organized, each with its president, deputies, and notaries, its seal and bank of seats in the cathedral, and its private hall

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, XXVII, 7-8.

¹⁷ Anonymous letter to the Council of Constance, Heinrich Finke, ed., *Acta Concilii Constantiensis* (Münster, 1896-1928), III, 101.

¹⁸ There were but eight members in the English royal delegation, Jacques Lenfant, *Histoire du Concile de Pise* (Amsterdam, 1724), p. 26.

¹⁹ The council was opened on November 5, 1414. On December 7 there were speakers for the Italian and the English nations. A. Fillastre, "Gesta Concilii Constantiensis", in Finke, II, 17; Cerretano, "Liber gestorum", Finke, II, 197. Not long afterward Cardinal d'Ailly proposed that a committee on order of procedure be appointed, with members chosen from each nation, to prepare business between sessions. Hermann von der Hardt, *Magnum oecumenicum Constantiense Concilium* (6 vols. in 4, Frankfurt, 1700), II, 197. He repeated the suggestion in January. Finke, III, 55. On January 7 the envoys from the University of Cologne wrote of attending meetings of the German nation. Edmond Martene and Ursin Durand, *Thesaurus novus anecdotorum* (Paris, 1717), II, 1610.

of meeting, where it assembled regularly three mornings a week to discuss and vote on each question as it arose. The votes of the nations having been harmonized by the efforts of the commission of general deputies or central steering board, composed of representatives from each nation, the council gathered in stately session in the cathedral and publicly ratified the conclusions already reached by the nations in their separate meetings.²⁰

As to what groups should be recognized as nations for purposes of separate participation in the council there seems at the beginning to have been no dispute. No Spaniards joined the council during the first year, and the Italians, French, Germans, and English carried over from Pisa without, apparently, much opposition. For a moment the Emperor Sigismund hoped that his Hungarians might be admitted as a fifth nation, but his wish, however it may have been expressed, was disregarded.²¹ Hungarians, Czechs, Poles, Danes, and Swedes joined the German nation and made what impression they could on its proceedings. The Italian nation took in the prelates from Dalmatia, Cyprus, and Greece. Yet it was understood that, ideally at least, each nation was distinguished from the rest by some degree of homogeneity in its membership, particularly as regarded language. The French nation embraced the delegates from Savoy, Provence, and much of Lorraine, provinces of the Empire, because they spoke the French tongue and were therefore of that nation.²² At the same time the word "nation" was frequently used to denote the people at home represented by the nation at Constance. They were also a unity of some sort, linguistic, geographic, or racial.

Contemporary writers describing the organization at Constance seem not as a rule to have remarked any particular resemblance between it and the familiar organization of the universities, beyond the fact that in both there was corporate voting.²³ On the other hand, every now and again there are references to current theories of corporate representation in law, politics, or business and to the responsibilities of the nations at the council to the greater nations at home. "As

²⁰ For more details of this procedure see Louise R. Loomis, "The Organization by Nations at Constance", *Church History*, I (1932), 191-210.

²¹ Only one chronicler mentions this ambition of Sigismund: William of Turre, "Acta concilii", Finke, II, 351.

²² Bibliothèque nationale MS. Latin, 1450, fol. 62^r, quoted by Noël Valois, *La France et le grand schisme d'Occident* (4 vols., Paris, 1896-1902), IV, 283, n. 2.

²³ Peter de Pulka, envoy from the University of Vienna, writes back to his colleagues that the nations at Constance vote as faculties do in universities. "Epistolae", II (Feb. 7, 1415), in *Archiv für Kunde österreichischer Geschichts-Quellen*, XV, 14.

the rights of an entire college or corporation", said an English spokesman, "may be lodged, we know, in one person or two, so the rights of a whole nation may and should reside in one or two persons in a general council, for they represent not themselves alone but innumerable others."²⁴ The French demanded a reform of the annates system so that when they returned home "they might report the efforts they had made to the princes, prelates, and other clergy who had stayed behind and not be thought to have acquiesced tamely in abuses".²⁵

The organization by nations at Constance seemed at first thoroughly successful. It reduced the Italian vote to one in four, put through rapidly the deposition of John XXIII and the execution of John Hus, received the abdication of Gregory XII, and started proceedings against Benedict XIII. In July, 1415, Sigismund left Constance on a trip to the south to win over the Spaniards, Benedict's sole remaining supporters. In Sigismund's absence the council was to take up the needed work of reform and the further eradication of heresy. And herewith began the troubles within and between the nations that reached their climax in the French attack on the right of England to retain her status as one of the four nations that made up the council.

The mood of elation that had marked the earlier months of accomplishment faded when the council was faced with issues no longer comparatively simple but complicated and distorted by every sort of prejudice and passion, political, institutional, and personal. Practically everyone but a few negligible Bohemians had agreed on the condemnation of Hus, but when it came to Jean Petit and his doctrine of tyrannicide, it was a different matter. From the outset the French nation at Constance had been the least united, reflecting, as it did, the divisions in the country whence it came and combining in one uneasy company the ambassadors of Charles VI, then under the domination of the Orleanist party, the deputies of the duke of Burgundy, himself almost an independent sovereign and the Orleanists' mortal enemy, the delegates from the nobility, clergy, and universities of the French kingdom at large, loyal for the most part to their poor, crazed king but distrustful of both the violent parties that fought for possession of his unhappy person, and, finally, the envoys from the French-speaking

²⁴ Hardt, V, 97.

²⁵ French nation, "Declaratio de annatis non solvendis", *ibid.*, I, 785. See also the unwillingness professed by the French to embark on new business that might impede their carrying out of the mandate with which they were sent to Constance, as described below, pp. 519-20. For a description of the election of representatives from the French clergy to the council see Valois, IV, 256 ff.

provinces of the Empire with their varying interests and points of view. The case of Petit split the nation wide apart. The royal ambassadors, supported by Jean Gerson, chancellor of the University of Paris, and by the most eminent French cardinal, Pierre d'Ailly, called on the council to condemn the perilous and heretical theory of tyrannicide as propounded by Doctor Jean Petit in order to defend the duke of Burgundy's murder of the king's younger brother, the duke of Orleans, in 1407. The theory had already been condemned by an episcopal court at Paris. A special panel of judges from different nations was accordingly appointed, as for the case of Hus. But the agents of Burgundy, among whom was Bishop Pierre Cauchon, later to win greater notoriety at the trial of Jeanne d'Arc, resorted to every ingenious argument, counteraccusation, and threat and eventually prevailed on the court to confine its inquiry to the question of the legality of the episcopal trial at Paris and, in January, 1416, to annul the verdict as irregular and void.

This signal victory obtained by the Burgundians over the representatives of Charles VI aroused a storm of bitter discussion that raged through the following spring and summer and exacerbated many of the meetings of the council. An additional cause of French unhappiness was the news of the disaster to the king's forces at Agincourt, in October, 1415, and of the subsequent English advance through Normandy. In the summer of 1416 the French complained that business of importance to everyone was being smuggled through the commission of general deputies without the knowledge of the nations. The deputies from the French nation then on the commission happened to include several Burgundian sympathizers. Their president was known to be on close terms with Sigismund.²⁶ There was a feeling that French interests were being sacrificed by the treacherous Burgundians to the English and the Germans. An attempt on the part of a French contingent to join with the cardinals and the Italians to bring about the adoption of stricter rules of order, requiring open and thorough discussion of every matter by both college and nations, was foiled by English and German opposition.²⁷

The resentment of the French royalist party against the Burgundians and their associates, the Anglo-German bloc, was intensified.

²⁶ The president was Jean Mauroux, patriarch of Antioch, "a snake in the grass", D'Ailly called him.

²⁷ On this episode see Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 65, 71, 72, and Peter de Pulka's letter of August 29, 1416, *Arch. Kunde Öst. Gesch.*, XV, 48. The text of the proposed rules is in Finke, II, 742-58.

still more by the news that arrived early in the fall of 1416 that Sigismund in the course of his travels had abandoned his original notion of acting as impartial mediator between the French and English kings and had signed a treaty of active alliance with Henry V and met the duke of Burgundy in amicable conference;²⁸ also, that the duke had sent instructions to his subjects at Constance to co-operate in every way with the English and the Germans.²⁹ The one consolation lay in the arrival of a small but proportionately haughty embassy from Aragon, who demanded as the price of their joining the council a place in it suitable to their dignity, certainly not the last seats in the cathedral, below the English.³⁰

In the midst of simmering agitation, on October 1, 1416, Cardinal d'Ailly read to a meeting in the parish church of St. Paul his newly finished treatise, *De ecclesiastica potestate*, which contained, along with a scholarly defense of conciliar authority in general, a short but sharp attack on the national system, which he with his nation had once accepted. It had, he announced, by this time gone far to destroy the essential nature of a church council, its unity. "Do the four nations, as distinguished in this sacred council . . . excluding the collège of cardinals, in fact constitute a general council?" he asked. "Are they not rather several particular councils, very unequally and disproportionately divided, coming to separate conclusions?" Granted that under the circumstances some division of the membership had been desirable at the beginning, there were precedents to indicate how it should have been carried out. Pope Benedict XII, in his bull *Vas electionis*, had divided the Roman obedience into four parts: the first comprising France, Navarre, and Majorca; the second, Germany, England, Hungary, Poland, Norway, Denmark, etc.; the third, the Spanish kingdoms; and the fourth, Italy, Sicily, Sardinia, Corsica, Greece, Slavonia, and Cyprus. Now that the Spaniards were assuming their rightful place in the council, the reason for the continuance of England as a separate nation existed no longer. The council should be reorganized on the lines laid down by Benedict XII and England reduced to her proper position as a part of the great German nation.

²⁸ When Sigismund left Constance, the duke of Burgundy was his hardly concealed enemy, and Sigismund went south by way of Savoy to avoid the risk of journeying through Burgundian territory.

²⁹ Letter of the duke of Burgundy, Aug. 26, 1416, in Joannes Gerson, *Opera*, ed. by Du Pin (5 vols., Antwerp, 1706), V, 672-73.

³⁰ D'Ailly, "Responsiones ad quaedam interrogatoria", Gerson, V, 693.

As additional proof to show the subordinate place England should occupy, D'Ailly cited a second bull of Benedict XII, which divided Western Christendom into thirty-six provinces for the holding of local synods by the Black Monks of St. Benedict. One of these provinces embraced the two sees of Canterbury and York. By this ruling, then, all England constituted just one thirty-sixth of the Roman obedience. How absurd to permit her to play the part of one fourth or even, after Spain was admitted as a nation, of one fifth! If she were to continue as a separate nation, all the great nations of the council should be divided into smaller nations, each equivalent to England and each with a vote. Otherwise the ancient canonical method of voting in councils by individuals should be restored.³¹

D'Ailly's assault on the national system seems not at first to have been taken seriously by the council at large. There were more pressing subjects to consider—the tedious proceedings against Benedict XIII and the terms on which Aragon might be induced to combine with Castile, Portugal, and Navarre to form the new Spanish nation.³² It was fantastic at this juncture to suggest upsetting the whole conciliar framework and destroying the balance of power that had lasted so long. The English, however, were outraged at what they considered a gratuitous insult to their nation³³ and were suspicious thenceforth of the slightest gesture of Frenchman or Spaniard that seemed to cast a slur upon their standing in the council. The following incident reflects their feeling. A routine document was being stamped, as usual, with the seals of the approving nations. A notary had affixed five pieces of wax to the bottom of the paper to receive the impressions of five seals, the Aragonese being invited as a matter of courtesy to add theirs. The presidents of the Italian, French, and German nations had stamped their seals on the first three bits of wax. The president of the Aragonese got the paper next and set his seal on the fourth. The president of the English had the paper last. He effaced the seal of Aragon, stamped the English in its place, and wrote above the fifth wax: "The same for Spain." The Aragonese thereupon refused to sit in the council until they were given fourth place, above the English. They talked of not

³¹ D'Ailly, "De ecclesiastica potestate", Hardt, VI, 15-78; also in Gerson, II, 925-60. On the general argument of this treatise see Agnes E. Roberts, *Pierre d'Ailly and the Council of Constance*, in the *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., XVIII, 132-38.

³² Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 73-76.

³³ D'Ailly, "Responsiones", Gerson, V, 693.

regarding the English as a nation at all. For eight days business was at a standstill while desperate efforts were made to restore peace and placate the Spanish wrath.³⁴

For November 1, the feast of All Saints, Cardinal d'Ailly had been appointed celebrant of High Mass and preacher in the cathedral. Bishop Hallam of Salisbury, leader of the English at Constance as at Pisa, convinced that D'Ailly would seize the occasion to repeat to a larger audience his denunciation of the organization by nations, persuaded Count Palatine Ludwig of Bavaria, whom Sigismund had left as chief lay guardian of the council, to see that D'Ailly had orders to refrain from introducing the dangerous topic into his sermon. D'Ailly obeyed as far as his cathedral sermon was concerned, though he filled it full of solemn warnings against errors of faith, scandals, and dissensions,³⁵ but on that same day, in another place, a substitute read for him a series of propositions, "*Canones reformandi ecclesiam*", in which he referred again to the defects of the system at Constance. Church councils should not be divided into nations representing kingdoms, for "such a mode of division is secular rather than ecclesiastical and foment disputes over superiority or priority". They should be divided on ecclesiastical principles, as laid down in the past; there should be no intrusion of lay politics.³⁶

The interference, such as it was, with D'Ailly's right to say what he pleased in his cathedral address gave him and his supporters, the French royal ambassadors, a new grievance, the value of which they were quick to appreciate.³⁷ On several previous occasions the council had upheld the right of liberty of speech for all its members.³⁸ D'Ailly now prepared a formal protest to be read in the approaching general session of November 5, but the English and the Germans heard of it beforehand and sent notice to the college of cardinals to intervene and

³⁴ Fillastre, "*Gesta*", Finke, II, 77.

³⁵ Extracts from this sermon are given by Paul Tschackert, *Peter von Ailli* (Gotha, 1877), pp. 46-50 of the appendix.

³⁶ D'Ailly, "*Canones reformandi ecclesiam*", Hardt, I, 409-33.

³⁷ D'Ailly, "*Responsiones*", Gerson, V, 693.

³⁸ In his imperial writs of summons to Constance, Sigismund had promised that speech and act there should be free. Hardt, VI, 5-6. Pope John XXIII had repeated the promise in his address at the first session. *Ibid.*, IV, 16-19. In January, 1415, the count palatine himself and the bishops of Worms, Speyer, and Verden had made the preservation of free speech a condition of their adhesion to the council. *Ibid.*, II, 207. The council had stood resolutely for the principle against Sigismund. Cerretano, "*Liber*", Finke, II, 202-206. One of its charges against John XXIII had been his attempts to prevent free debate. Finke, III, 61-63, 66-74.

stop it. Otherwise, they said, neither Germans nor English would attend the session, and the scheduled steps in the case against Benedict XIII would be indefinitely delayed. The cardinals informed D'Ailly, who reluctantly agreed to content himself for the moment with reading the protest to the college alone. But the incident of the seal still rankled in the breasts of the Aragonese, and in the following session they precipitated the disturbance it had been hoped to avert by announcing positively their intention not to regard the English thenceforth as a nation. The bishops of Salisbury, London, Bath, Lichfield, and Norwich and the noble ambassadors of Henry V leaped to their feet and, as soon as quiet could be restored, registered their protests against the unwarranted aspersions of Aragon. Before the day was over there were clashes between French and English men-at-arms and belligerent parades with daggers, swords, and clubs through the cathedral and the city streets. D'Ailly and the French royal ambassadors were warned to stay indoors.³⁹

Next day D'Ailly appeared in a meeting of the French nation to ask its approval of a new protest he was making in the name of the king and realm of France against the violence and intimidation to which he was subjected by the king's enemies, the English and their confederates. In his person the honor of the king and the realm of France was being assailed. He might indeed do well to stay away from the council thereafter, for in such a state of tumult and insecurity it could accomplish nothing and would probably be dissolved.⁴⁰ The French nation, however, deliberated and returned a cool and sober reply. It would have no hand in the protest, first, because it had not been consulted about the previous protest; second, because, with no special mandate from home, it disapproved thoroughly of the attempt to alter the constitution of the council at this time and deprive the English nation of its standing. Such an attempt was peculiarly ill advised at a moment when a truce had been signed between the kings of France and England, which, it was hoped, might develop into a permanent peace.⁴¹ The English would manifestly die sooner than surrender the honor they had enjoyed so long. They would never

³⁹ *Acta* for Session XXIII, Hardt, IV, 960-61; D'Ailly, "Responsiones", Gerson, V, 693-94; Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 78-79; envoy from the University of Cologne, letter of Nov. 16, 1416, Martene and Durand, II, 1667.

⁴⁰ D'Ailly, "Protestationes lectae in natione Gallicana", Gerson, V, 696-97.

⁴¹ A truce had been signed on October 3, which lasted until February 2 of the following year.

submit meekly to such ignominy. The French nation was aware of no grievances sufficient to make it forget the solemn obligation, laid upon it by princes and superiors at home, to labor for peace and reform in the church. To join the movement started by D'Ailly would be to prepare the way for new divisions and new wars.⁴²

With no large following even among the French and only the handful of fire-eating Aragonese besides to back them, D'Ailly and the royal ambassadors were in an isolated position. The Aragonese too were losing interest since the Germans, acting the part of magnanimous hosts of the council, had offered them for the time being their own place as third nation and declared their willingness to take the last place themselves.⁴³ Meanwhile the lay potentates in charge of the council, Count Palatine Ludwig and Burgrave Friedrich Hohenzollern of Nuremberg, with a number of prominent German bishops, had come to the college of cardinals and stated their conviction that D'Ailly's complaints of insecurity were damaging to the status of the holy council and a reflection on the honor of the serene king of the Romans and of the count palatine himself. Confronted with this formidable opposition, D'Ailly succumbed, confessed that he had no fears for his personal safety, and affirmed that he had not meant to impugn the honor of the Roman king or to imply that either the count palatine or the burgrave had failed in his duty of preserving liberty in the council.

With these admissions on D'Ailly's part the cardinals professed themselves satisfied. The count palatine, however, prompted, it was said, by the English, went on to call a large meeting of prelates and notables from every nation and lay before them the charge against D'Ailly as disturber of the peace. Deputies came to D'Ailly to discuss the situation and impress on him the necessity of allaying the excitement and allowing the council to proceed with its work unimpeded. D'Ailly irritably replied that he had already done what was asked of him to appease the count palatine and saw no more that he could do. He was sure that the bishop of Salisbury was behind the count's hostility. Everyone knew that the English had the Germans on their side.⁴⁴

⁴² French nation, "*Motiva propter quae regnicolae Franciae non debent adhaerere protestationibus*", Gerson, V, 697-99.

⁴³ Envoy from the University of Cologne, Martene and Durand, II, 1667; Fillastre, "*Gesta*", Finke, II, 81-82.

⁴⁴ Fillastre, "*Gesta*", Finke, II, 79; D'Ailly, "*Responsiones*", in reply to the questioning of the deputies, Gerson, V, 692-96.

D'Ailly was thus effectively silenced, but now the ambassadors of Charles VI came forward to state with dignity that their duty to their king compelled them to make a public explanation of their position, and they secured from the count palatine permission to do so at some future session. Matters, however, temporarily went no further, although during the Christmas season feeling again ran high. Once more the count palatine was called in to calm the contestants, and Christmas mass was celebrated by the Germans and the English in one church, by the cardinals, the French, and the Italians in another, and by the Spaniards in a third.⁴⁵ At last came the long anticipated return of Sigismund to Constance, toward the end of January, 1417. Any lingering hope, however, that the French may have cherished of finding a fair arbiter in him must have been dashed by the mode of his entry into the city. He was wearing the collar of the Garter, newly bestowed on him by his beloved ally, Henry V, and he singled out the English, in the throng who went out to meet him, for handclaps and other conspicuous signs of friendship. D'Ailly had planned to deliver a speech of welcome at the cathedral, in which he might have commended himself and the French to Sigismund's kindness, but Hallam of Salisbury hurried on ahead and got possession of the pulpit for an exuberant eulogy on the text, "He shall be great in the sight of the Lord." By the time he was through, Sigismund, hungry and tired, would listen to no one else.⁴⁶

The French ambassadors waited a few days and then, aware that a move of some sort was imperative, sent a delegation to the emperor with an offer to drop all efforts to alter the constitution of the council on condition that they be allowed to make one statement of their grievances at a public session and then refer them to the consideration of the future pope. For answer Sigismund appointed a commission, which immediately drew up a resolution for presentation to the council by the terms of which the latter pledged itself to permit no prejudice to the right of "any nation here principally represented" and no increase or diminution in their number and enjoined future councils to

⁴⁵ *Ulrichs von Richental Chronik*, ed. by Michael Richard Buck (Tübingen, 1882), pp. 96-97. Not long after this time the English must have received the letters patent issued by Henry V on December 2, appointing Hallam, two other bishops, Lords John Tiptoft and Hertonk van Clux, and Master Philip Morgan, doctor of laws, as proctors and ambassadors to treat with the clerical and secular princes and nobles of the Empire for their oaths of fealty and aid to himself, in return for annual money pensions as fiefs. Thomas Rymer, *Foedera* (London, 1704-35), IX, 412-13.

⁴⁶ Letter of John Forester to Henry V, Feb. 2, 1417, in Rymer, IX, 434.

continue the system of organization by nations, "as the Holy Spirit hath inspired us". A copy of this resolution Sigismund himself took to the house of Cardinal d'Ailly, whom he found in conference with another French cardinal, Fillastre, and the royal ambassadors. What words D'Ailly used to the emperor on his abrupt appearance we do not hear, but Fillastre, who tells the story, says that after a glance at the paper he himself burst into a hot defense of his friends' conduct, insisting that "there had been no scandals in the council but those the English had created", that the French had never had a chance to present their case, and that it was strange indeed that the simple right of a hearing, granted to the legates of Portugal and Poland and everyone else, "as often as they chose", was denied to the reasonable and conciliatory envoys of the great king of France. Sigismund, annoyed, demanded back the paper and left the house. In dread of his anger, the French proposed an amendment to the resolution that would make it more acceptable, but Sigismund rejected this and ordered the resolution in its original form to be submitted to the vote of the nations. The Germans, English, and Italians approved it. In the debate in the French nation the royal ambassadors were silent, but the nation as a whole called it tricky and refused to pass it. The Spaniards followed the French. In consequence the affair was once more at a standstill.⁴⁷

At length, at the session of March 3, when the business scheduled for the day had been dispatched, the advocate of the French king arose and asked permission for one of the royal proctors to speak. Master Jean Campan thereupon started to read a paper setting forth the views of his party in full but had not got beyond the first eight or ten lines when a loud groan interrupted him and then such a clamor that he could not be heard. He shouted above the tumult his protest against the injustice and his demand that a record be made of it and of the paper he had tried to read. But when the noise had subsided, Sigismund expressed his own severe disapprobation of this infraction of the conciliar rule against bringing any matter before a session that had not previously been approved by the nations as well as of all propositions that tended to throw discredit on the council. He desired that nothing more of the kind be attempted as long as the council lasted.⁴⁸ At the session of March 31 Thomas Polton, an English protonotary, delivered to the notaries of the council for record an English answer in writing to the French argument.⁴⁹ With this unsatisfactory perform-

⁴⁷ Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 86-88.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*, pp. 89-90; *Acta* for Session XXVIII, Hardt, IV, 1103-1109.

⁴⁹ *Acta* for Session XXXI, Hardt, IV, 1196.

ance the ambassadors of Charles VI had perforce to let the matter rest.

Some inkling of the feeling produced in England by reports of the incident may be gathered from an unprinted letter, written on April 23 by Chicheley, archbishop of Canterbury, to Hallam at Constance, congratulating him and his colleagues on the favor shown them by the emperor and on their victorious defense of the rights and honor of the realm and clergy of England "against the malice of the French, who have always been our enemies" and urging an unremitting vigilance "lest by their wiles they regain the control over the church which they had in times past and cunningly rob others of their rights".⁵⁰

In these French and English memorials, presented in the third year of the council and never publicly read, we find at last a realization of the need of putting an end, for the moment at least, to the vagueness and ambiguity inherent in the various uses of the word "natio" and of clarifying the issues at stake by definitions that fitted not merely the transient groups at Constance but also the far larger, permanent associations of people at home whom the nations at Constance were there to represent. The French begin by pointing out that four of the nations at the council represent "general", not "particular" nations, that is, great divisions of the Roman obedience, that the Italian, French, Spanish, and German groups include delegates from several "particular" nations, regions, or provinces, whereas the English includes men from but one "particular" nation, since neither Wales nor Scotland and only a small part of Ireland have sent delegates or count themselves subjects of the English king. The French hark back to the four ecclesiastical divisions of Benedict XII, in which England figured as part of the German section, and to his list of thirty-six provinces, in which England appeared as one and France as six. It is not just to the others, they contend, that England should keep a position so out of proportion to her size. There have been only twelve to twenty-four voting members in the whole English nation at Constance. If they are unwilling to become one of the particular nations included in the general German nation, then the other general nations should separate into their component parts, each part with a vote. France alone would furnish six provinces, each as large as England and with a longer history of undeviating devotion to the faith. Or else the council should revive the ancient practice of voting by individuals.⁵¹

The English in answer carry further the process of definition thus

⁵⁰ British Museum, King's MSS., 10. b. IX, f. 59, a-b. The letter bears no year date, but the contents show that it must have been written in 1417.

⁵¹ "Gallicae nationis solemnitas protestatio contra Anglos", Hardt, V, 56-75.

begun by the French. They admit a distinction between general and particular nations but with no great difficulty dispose of the French argument for reorganizing the council after the pattern set by the scheme of Benedict XII. His four divisions were merely economic regions, in each of which the fee for episcopal procurations might be fixed at a uniform rate. He had no more thought of mapping out the nations of Europe in this plan than he had when he listed the ecclesiastical provinces where Benedictines might hold their synods. Rules should not be stretched to cover cases for which they have never been intended. In a soaring flight of imagination the English go on to assert that as a matter of fact they are a general nation, representing eight particular kingdoms, viz., "England, Scotland, and Wales—the three that together compose Great Britain—the kingdom of the Sea,"⁵² and, in Ireland, near to England, four large and notable kingdoms—Connaught, Galway, Munster, and Meath—as recorded together expressly and by seal in the catalogue of Christian kings in the registers of the Roman curia . . . also the notable principality of John, prince of the Orkneys and other islands, about sixty in number, some as large as or larger than the realm of France".⁵³ They comprehend five languages, English, the tongue used by both England and Scotland, Welsh, Irish, Gascon, and Cornish. "By every law it can represent as many [particular] nations as it contains distinct languages."⁵⁴

As for the characteristics required of an authentic nation, England possesses them all, "whether nation be understood as a people marked

⁵² The name of this fourth kingdom might, I suggest, be read as "kingdom of Man", "regnum de Man", instead of, as in the text, "kingdom of the Sea" or "de Mari". Britannia did not so early claim to rule the waves. But in the thirteenth century the Isle of Man had been held as a "regnum" in fee from the pope. In 1406 Henry IV had granted it with regalities to Sir John Stanley and his heirs, subject only to a relief of two falcons to be paid to every future king of England at his coronation. A. W. Moore, *History of the Isle of Man* (2 vols., London, 1900), I, 196-97. William E. Lunt, *Papal Revenues in the Middle Ages* (2 vols., New York, 1934), no. 226.

⁵³ "Anglicae nationis . . . vindicatio sui juris quoad propriam nationem in concilio", Hardt, V, 86. There were in fact at this time a Patrick, bishop of Cork, a Lewis, bishop of Bangor, and several Welsh doctors and clerics in the English nation at Constance but no representatives from the Scottish or other dioceses. James I of Scotland was a prisoner in England. In February, 1416, the council had sent envoys with a letter of convocation to the duke of Albany, acting regent for James, and to the clergy and nobility of Scotland and in January, 1417, had received the duke's promise to send a Scottish deputation to Constance as soon as he could. Fillastre, "Gesta", Finke, II, 57, 84-86. The English reply, "Anglicae nationis vindicatio", covers pages 76 to 101 in Hardt (Vol. V).

⁵⁴ "Anglicae nationis vindicatio", Hardt, V, 93.

off from others by blood relationship and habit of unity or by peculiarities of language, the most sure and positive sign and essence of a nation in divine and human law . . . or whether nation be understood, as it should be, as a territory equal to that of the French nation".⁵⁵ The realm of England alone comprises, besides many duchies, baronies, and other domains, "thirty-two spacious counties, four or five of which are equal to the whole realm of France". The realm of France has only two archiepiscopal provinces, Reims and Sens, twenty dioceses, and six thousand parish churches, to which England can oppose the two huge provinces of Canterbury and York, twenty-five dioceses, and over fifty-two thousand parish churches, besides cathedrals, collegiate churches, monasteries, and hospitals. (One must find what excuse one can for these figures by recalling the mutilated state of France in 1417.) England has the more ancient faith, reaching back to Joseph of Arimathea, who lies buried at Glastonbury, whereas France had to wait for Christianity until the coming of St. Denis. England has its excellent royal house that produced St. Helen and her son, the Emperor Constantine, and has never departed from obedience to Rome.⁵⁶ It has its own wide land, eight hundred miles or forty days' journey from north to south, and its numerous and mighty people.

In spite of the dangerous sea and the long distance that separate England from Constance, it has sent to the council, first and last, twenty-two bishops, abbots, and other high ecclesiastics, twenty-seven masters of law or theology, twenty-five other university graduates, over sixty proctors of prelates and cathedral chapters, and more than a hundred lesser men of letters. Even if this representation has been smaller than that of other nations, each nation should count as equal to every other, as faculties and guilds do in university and city governments. For one peer has no rights over another peer nor one superior over another. "Nations in a general council should be considered equals and each should have the same rights." God, who is the author of change, has permitted nations to come into being and the ancient method of governing councils to be superseded by one more appropriate and rational in these days when men and customs vary widely

⁵⁵ The Latin of this noteworthy passage runs: "sive sumatur natio ut gens secundum cognationem et collectionem ab alia distincta, sive secundum diversitatem linguarum, quae maximam et verissimam probant nationem et ipsius essentiam, jure divino pariter et humano, ut infra dicitur; sive etiam sumatur natio pro provincia aequali etiam nationi Gallicanae, sicut sumi deberet." *Ibid.*, p. 92.

⁵⁶ A contrast is doubtless implied here with the French kings, who for over twenty years during the schism had supported the Avignon pope against Rome.

from land to land, and each land should have a voice in framing the laws to be imposed upon it.

The rest of the English argument, the proposal to disregard nations and divide Europe thenceforth for purposes of conciliar representation simply into four geographical blocks, as suggested by Albertus Magnus, a western block consisting of France and Spain, a northern block of England, Scotland, Ireland, Norway, Denmark, and Sweden, an eastern block of Germany, Poland, and Hungary, and a southern block of Italy and the other Mediterranean lands, is of little interest now. At the time, moreover, hardly anyone could have expected that it would be taken seriously. It was merely a counterblast to the bulls of Benedict XII, with the special merit of reducing the two votes of France and Spain to one.

What is of interest in all this is the English summary of the elements essential in a nation that would rank as such in an international council—a sense of race and “habit of unity, setting it off from others”, a peculiar language, and an extended territory. Race, a common unity of some sort, language, territory—each of these elements in turn had been the basis of one or another of the many medieval kinds of nation. The nations that are called such at Constance must have them all. Behind the English boasts of king and church there is evident a consciousness of solidarity and character as a people. There may well have been some thought, too, of recent prowess in France, although no one in the sacred assembly alluded openly to the war. A nation, while admittedly a growth of the newer times, is already something substantial, with an existence quite apart from the royal dominion. It is not the same as a kingdom. “Everyone knows that it matters not whether a nation obeys one prince only or several. Are there not many kingdoms in the Spanish nation that pay no obedience to the king of Castile, the chief ruler in Spain? But it does not follow that they are not parts of the Spanish nation. Are not Provence, Dauphiny, Savoy, Burgundy, Lorraine, and many other regions that have nothing to do with our adversary of France included nevertheless in the French or Gallican nation? And the like is true in other nations.”⁵⁷ In the previous October the Portuguese embassy had objected to the inclusion of prelates from Sicily and Corsica with the Aragonese in the Spanish nation on the ground that, although subjects of the king of Aragon, they spoke another language and were “truly of a different nation”.⁵⁸

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 87.

⁵⁸ “*Protestatio Portugallensium*”, Hardt, IV, 918.

Every nation at Constance displayed on occasion the peculiar species of touchy conceit and bombast and the unscrupulous assertiveness that were to be symptoms of the new nationalism. The English, being the least numerous, posed as champions of the right of each nation to be counted as the equal of every other. Yet they joined with the larger nations in ignoring the rights of Hungarians, Czechs, and Poles to separate identity and a separate vote. With nearly five centuries and a quarter of nationalist history since Constance behind us, we read with a stirring of something not unlike sympathy the following remedy for international contentiousness prescribed by an anonymous observer of events at the council, though we ourselves may see no reason for limiting the ingredients to churchmen:⁵⁹ "Recipe for the stomach of St. Peter and total healing of the same, issued at the council of Constance. Take twenty-four cardinals, one hundred archbishops and prelates, the same number from each nation, and as many curials as you can get. Immerse in Rhine water⁶⁰ and keep submerged there for three days. It will be good for St. Peter's stomach and for the cure of all his diseases."⁶¹

LOUISE R. LOOMIS.

Wells College.

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, I, 499.

⁶⁰ The Rhine, it will be remembered, flowed by one wall of the city of Constance.

⁶¹ As I was finishing this paper, my attention was called by Professor Gray C. Boyce to an admirable article by Finke, covering some of the same material, "Die Nation in den spätmittelalterlichen allgemeinen Konzilien", *Hist. Jahrbuch*, LVII (1937), 323-38.

SERMONS BEFORE THE COMMONS, 1640-42

ROYALISTS looking back upon the causes of the Great Rebellion became particularly bitter when they wrote of the preachers. Clarendon, Hacket, and others agreed that the Puritan clergy, through their sermons, had much to do with fanning the flames of discontent into the great fire of civil war.¹ It is to be expected, of course, that in that golden age of preaching, sermons should have played a large part in building public opinion. Both Arminian and Calvinist teaching glorified the clergy, endowing their utterances with significance and power. The lay preacher, with his attacks upon holy orders and learning and his praise of simple piety, had not yet become prevalent enough to make preaching appear every man's gift. The Puritan clergymen, therefore, were sure of appreciative and attentive audiences.

Aside from their own intrinsic worth, the sermons of the seventeenth century have the stamp of authority. Particularly is this true of those preached before the house of commons in the critical years 1640-42. The climate in which Episcopacy languished and in which Presbyterianism, Independency, and a sturdy undergrowth of sects began to flourish, is preserved to us in these sermons. Furthermore the circumstances under which they were preached, as well as the character of the preachers, make them examples par excellence of propagandist literature. They were not counsels of perfection or dogmatic expositions. They were definitely intended to influence their hearers—to arouse hatred of the Laudian regime and zeal for reform of the church along Puritan lines.

When the Long Parliament met in November, 1640, the Puritan divines flocked around it, seeing in it their agency for breaking Laud's power and for puritanizing the church. For years—indeed since the Elizabethan Settlement—they had hoped to rebuild the church along Puritan lines, and although the failure of the Hampton Court Conference (1604) to do more than meet the most moderate of their demands had shown that they could expect nothing from the house of

¹ Clarendon, *History of the Rebellion* (Oxford, 1725), 1², 302, II¹, 22-23; John Hacket, *Scrinia Reserata* (London, 1693), II, 131, 139, 143, 149, 190; Clement Walker, *Mystery of the Two Juntos* (London, 1648), pp. 1, 10, 81, 82; John Gauden, *Ecclesiae Anglicanae Suspiria* (London, 1659), n.p.; Peter Heylyn, *Aerius Redivivus* (London, 1670), pp. 446-47.

Stuart, their hopes had not died. The so-called Bishops' War in Scotland appeared to offer them an opportunity. John Gauden, writing in 1659, forgetting that he himself had voiced violent anti-Arminian sentiments before the house of commons, blamed the Puritan preachers for the violent spirit aroused in the two houses against Episcopacy. The Puritan divines, he claimed, used their "Heads, Hands, Tongues, and Pens" against the established church. John Hacket, in his *Scrinia Reserata*, some thirty years later agreed with Gauden. "No sooner had the Northern Carles begun their Hunts-up", he declared, "but the Presbyterians flocked to London from all quarters, and were like Hounds ready to be entered. . . . In the North the Scots, in the South the Presbyterians, battered at the fortress of Monarchy and Church."²

Prejudiced as Gauden and Hacket were, their picture of the Puritans flocking to influence the house of commons was not a false one. Some divines, like Thomas Wilson of Kent, came because they had been in difficulties with Laud and must either submit to rebuke or, preferably, win parliament's support. Henry Burton came because he had been freed by parliament from prison and now hoped to avenge past wrongs. Others, like Stephen Marshall, came because they were intimately associated with parliamentary leaders.

For whatever purpose they came, however, these divines found the house of commons ready to hear them. It graciously listened to their petitions; it called them before committees to testify about the iniquities of Laud and Wren and other bishops; it even permitted Stephen Marshall to act as party whip.³ Most important of all, the house of commons asked them to preach to its members in St. Margaret's Church on fast days and communion days and days of rejoicing. The sermons appeared under parliament's imprimatur. Distributed by hucksters and spread upon the book stalls, they were available to Mr. George Thomason and other zealous readers. In the troubled times, filled with vague fears and rumors, their authoritative pronouncements sounded a comforting, positive note.

The tone of authority which the Puritan divines used seems the more impressive because of their relative obscurity. Nearly all of them were from country parishes. Joseph Caryl, preacher of Lincoln's Inn,

² Gauden, n. p.; Hacket, II, 143.

³ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals* (Edinburgh, 1775), I, 244-45, 250; *Journal of Sir Simonds D'Ewes*, ed. by Wallace Notestein (New Haven, 1923), pp. 83, 531, *et passim*; Sir Ralph Verney, *Verney Papers* (Camden Society, 1845), pp. 4-11; William Arthur Shaw, *History of the English Church, 1640-1660* (London, 1900), Vol. I, ch. 1, especially pp. 81-82 for Marshall's activity.

and Edmund Calamy and Cornelius Burgess, rectors of St. Mary's Aldermanbury and St. Magnus, respectively, were Londoners, to be sure, but they did not hold important benefices. There were no bishops, there were not even canons or prebendaries among their number. Their obscurity may of course be explained by the fact that they were Puritans. For the epigram of George Morley, who, when asked what the Arminians held, replied, "The best bishoprics and deaneries in England", had in it as much truth as brilliance. Undoubtedly their Puritanism had stood in the way of their promotion. The disfavor of archbishop and bishop had doomed many, confident of their power and ambitious for influence, to lower places in the church. The Puritan nobleman could provide for divines of his persuasion only the bread-and-butter of a chaplaincy or living.

So it came about that Stephen Marshall, whom Clarendon and Anthony à Wood rated as equal in influence at this time to Laud in the 1630's, held the living of Finchingfield in Essex, the gift of the Rich family.⁴ The two Sedgwicks, Obadiah and William, also came from Essex villages. Edward Reynolds and Thomas Hill were, respectively, from Bramston and Tychmersh in Northamptonshire. Three of the men who preached before the Long Parliament had just returned from exile: William Bridge, a modest pluralist who had deserted two livings and a lectureship rather than conform, and Joseph Symonds had made their way back from Rotterdam, and Thomas Goodwin from Arnheim, to help in rebuilding Jerusalem.

The obscurity of these clergymen, however, was more than compensated for by their sufferings. Their careers had been plentifully sprinkled with citations to appear before the high commission. Simeon Ashe, for instance, had lost his living in Staffordshire for refusing to read the Book of Sports to his congregation; under the protection of Sir John Burgoyne and Lord Brook he had since been preaching in London. Burgess, after beginning his career auspiciously enough as chaplain to Charles I, had been so outspoken in his attacks upon Episcopacy that he had been cited before the high commission in 1636. Edmund Calamy had been driven from the diocese of Norwich for refusing, like Ashe, to read the Book of Sports, had received the living of Rochford in Essex from the Earl of Warwick, and had then migrated to London. Samuel Fairclough's unwillingness to use the sign of the cross had led to his appearance before the chan-

⁴ Clarendon, I², 302; Anthony à Wood, *Athenæ Oxonienses* (London, 1813-20), III, 682.

celor, while his refusal to read the Book of Sports had brought him before the high commission. Three other divines, as has been said, had sought exile rather than submit to their superiors. The most notable martyr of all was Henry Burton, whose experiences in the pillory and in prison were now being given publicity by his friend William Prynne.⁵

Having suffered, these men were by no means prepared to turn the other cheek. Their Christianity was the Christianity not of the Beatitudes but of the Psalter. Their God had the qualities of the Old Testament Jehovah, quick to destroy and punish, and their enemies must meet the fate of those who had harried the Lord's anointed in Palestine. The secret of the power exercised by Marshall and his fellow divines lay in their conviction that they, and certain godly laymen, were the Lord's anointed. And with that mixture of humility and spiritual arrogance which characterized the Calvinist they were now prepared to go before the house of commons and at once petition for and demand a speedy reformation of the church.

The house of commons gave the Puritans the monopoly of the pulpit of St. Margaret's Church, for early in the session it decided that no convocation man should preach before it. Thus the high church party was unable to plead its case, while the Puritans were assured of a hearing.⁶ At the same time the house appointed a fast day with Stephen Marshall and Cornelius Burgess as preachers. The choice of these two men was significant. Burgess had already gone to the north in September to present a Puritan petition to Charles I. The summary dismissal which he and his petition received may help to explain his reforming zeal, for, as that eminent Scot, Robert Baillie, pointed out, Burgess was at heart a moderate—so much so that the Scots who came south with their commissioners viewed him with mistrust.⁷ During the early months of the Long Parliament, however, he was vigorously anti-Laudian.

Stephen Marshall had already distinguished himself by his electioneering activities early in the spring. Then, we are informed, he had gone outside his own parish to advocate the election of Puritan

⁵ Edmund Calamy's *Account* . . . (2 vols., London, 1713) and *Continuation of the Account* . . . (2 vols., London, 1727) and A. G. Matthew's *Calamy Revised* (London, 1934) give the most complete account of the tempestuous careers of these divines. The *Dictionary of National Biography*, especially for Burgess and Marshall, and Wood's *Athenae Oxonienses* were also consulted, as was Benjamin Brooks, *Lives of the Puritans* (3 vols., London, 1813).

⁶ D'Ewes, p. 18.

⁷ Baillie, I, 245.

burgesses and knights.⁸ His remarkable influence upon the commons led Thomas Fuller to describe him as the "Trumpet" of the house,⁹ a description which would have been regarded as an understatement by another of his contemporaries. Cleveland's couplet,

Or roar like Marshall, that Geneva bull,
Hell and damnation a pulpit full,¹⁰

helps to explain his popularity with the Puritan members.

Burgess, who preached in the morning of the fast day, chose his text from the Old Testament. He then proceeded to embroider it, so that Jeremiah's prophecy that the godly would make a covenant with God became by implication a demand that parliament do likewise. Jeremiah, he pointed out, had foretold the deliverance of Israel by an army from the north: "The Northern Army should be the confusion of Babylon, the confusion of Babylon should prove the restoring of the Church . . . and the restoring of the Church should produce a Covenant with God." It did not take unusual perspicacity on the part of his hearers to substitute the Scottish army for that of the north, the Laudian party and the papists (who were always thrown in for good measure) for Babylon, and Puritanism for the church. Although parliament had been sitting only a few days, he severely chided it for its delay in bringing about this reformation. After referring to the actions of convocation as "little lesse than a Combination and Conspiracy against both King and State", he proceeded roundly to score popery and Arminianism.¹¹

Marshall, when he preached in the afternoon, echoed Burgess's demand for a covenant, but he called upon Ezra, instead of Jeremiah, for support. Whether this emphasis upon a covenant indicates pressure for a covenant with the Scots is problematical; when, however, the *rapprochement* between such Scots as Baillie and Samuel Rutherford and the London Puritans is remembered, it is possible to see in this demand for a covenant a prophecy of the Solemn League and

⁸ State Papers, Domestic, Car. I, Vol. 449, f. 93b.

⁹ Thomas Fuller, *England's Worthies in Church and State* (London, 1684), p. 391. Fuller's description of Marshall is classical: "He was of so supple a Soul, that he brake not a Joynt, yea sprained not a Sinew, in all the Alteration of Times: and his Friends put all on the account, not of his inconstancy, but Prudence".

¹⁰ Quoted in Caroline Francis Richardson's *English Preachers and Preaching* (New York, 1928), p. 60.

¹¹ Cornelius Burgess, *The First Sermon Preached before the Honourable House of Commons* (London, 1641).

Covenant. At any rate it put squarely before parliament its duty to place religious reform before political.

The demand for a thorough reformation of the church and the driving out of idolatry and superstition, which Burgess had stressed in the morning, appeared again in Marshall's sermon. In mentioning the enemies of the church Marshall declared that there was one Jonas, that is Jonah, who, until he was cast out, endangered the safety of the godly; his hearers, according to their temper, undoubtedly selected Strafford or Laud for the role of Jonah. Although the two sermons closely resemble each other in choice and treatment of subject, they do not seem monotonous. Each preacher has a definite style, so that while the phraseology of the Old Testament dominates each, it is transformed. Marshall's repetition of Burgess's theme, indeed, emphasizes the effect. Marshall is the more persuasive. His words, for instance, "in your great Counsell, bee yee purgers and preservers of our Religion. Look thoroughly what is amisse, and pluck up every plant that God hath not planted", have a suavity lacking in Burgess's more forthright sermon.¹² The reader will agree with the member of the house of commons who declared that Marshall "gave the better Sermon".¹³

The preachers chosen for the communion sermons on November 29, George Morley and John Gauden, represented the moderate party in the church. Morley of course was chosen because of his friendship with the Great Tew circle—Falkland and Hyde—and with Hampden. Because both later joined the king's party their sermons have a special significance. Morley's unfortunately was not printed. The story that it displeased the house of commons¹⁴ is probably based on rumor, for the house definitely asked Gauden and Morley, as well as the two fast-day preachers, to print their sermons.¹⁵ Quite possibly Morley was already turning away from the parliamentary side and did not wish to be associated with the anti-episcopal sentiments already loudly voiced in the house of commons.

Gauden's sermon, which was published, shows the position of an anti-Arminian who wished to see truth and peace rule and to see the church rid of "Atheism, superstition, formality". "The winter['s] distemper is such", he lamented, that "the Love of many (if not most) is

¹² Stephen Marshall, *A Sermon Preached before the House of Commons . . . at their Publick Fast* (London, 1641).

¹³ Peyton MS., quoted in D'Ewes, p. 39 n.

¹⁴ Anthony à Wood's story is repeated in the *D.N.B.* account of Morley.

¹⁵ *Commons Journal*, II, 40.

grown cold to both [truth and peace]: Truth much obscured, blemished, prejudiced, undermined, discountenanced, oppressed; Peace very crazy and shaken: rumors of wars, preparations for wars, study of sides and parts, great divisions of thoughts, pertinacy in opinions, bleeding disaffection; and disaffections flaming to open contention and hostility; so far, as from the strife of pens and tongues, we are come to the terror of war." But God, he rejoiced, had "inclined the heart of our King to Counsells of Peace". He urged that in considering reformation the house of commons call upon Comenius and "Duraeus" (John Durie), both of whom had striven to bring the reformed churches on the Continent and the English church into unity. While his sermon stressed a desire for unity, nevertheless in its harsh condemnation of the Arminian party it was not calculated to soften the hearts of the Puritans in the house of commons.¹⁶

The four sermons evidently delighted their hearers. The thanks of the house, it was ordered on December 1, should be given to Morley and Gauden, and three weeks later, when the committee in charge of the money received at the communion service announced the offering, tangible evidence of approval was given. Plate to the value of £26 13s. 4d., the house voted, should be purchased for the four preachers.¹⁷

Through the winter months no sermons were preached before the house. Business, such as the matter of Strafford's fate, evidently thrust aside this phase of their lives, though undoubtedly the members heard plenty of sermons, with the Puritan divines, now that Laud was silenced, indulging in their propensity for lectures, and with the Scots preaching at St. Antholin's or in the Scottish commissioners' houses.¹⁸

On April 4 the winter's silence was ended, with Thomas Wilson and Samuel Fairclough preaching on the fast day. The text of Wilson's sermon was from Psalms, 69:9, "The zeal of thine house hath eaten me up." The verse referred, Wilson explained, to David's anger against "superstition, error, and corruption". The house of commons was urged to follow David's example and to purify at once the corrupt Church of England.¹⁹

While Wilson's sermon consisted of scriptural quotations, inter-

¹⁶ John Gauden, *The Love of Truth and Peace* . . . (London, 1641).

¹⁷ *Com. Jour.*, II, 57. According to the *D.N.B.*, Gauden's was a suitably inscribed tankard.

¹⁸ Clarendon, I¹, 189-90; Baillie, I, 215, 235.

¹⁹ Thomas Wilson, *David's Zeal for Sion* . . . (London, 1641).

persed with fervent appeals to purify the church, Fairclough found the occasion an opportunity to indulge in rhetoric. In his published dedication he expressed astonishment that his sermon had found its way into print; unknown to him it had gone so far through the press that when he himself was informed of it by a friend's letter it had gone too far to be "reversed". His sermon concerned the story of Joshua and Achan, "the troubler of Israel". The situation in Israel in Joshua's time showed a strange analogy to that in England in 1641. The sins of more than one Achan harassed the godly; the house of commons must show Joshua's zeal in dealing with them, and "Wee even all the godly Ministers of the Country as Aaron and Hur with Moses and Joshua will be with you, stand fast, and pray to strengthen your hands steady to the worke: all the loyall and godly Common people in the country at your lawfull Commands, be ready to joyne with you in casting stones against these Achans". In detail he told the story of Achitophel and David, of Achitophel's treason with Absalom under "pretence of piety and devotion". With sinister implications he showed how Achitophel had alienated David's subjects from him. All Achitophels, all Achans in England must be killed forthwith.²⁰

A little more than three weeks later the house of commons, sadly aware that it had made "Small Progress in affairs of Church and Commonwealth", decreed a solemn fast.²¹ Henceforth nearly every month the members listened to two sermons. Their tardiness in dealing with the ecclesiastical problem was to be the burden of the discourses.

The Sion motif, a favorite with seventeenth century divines, was stressed when the commons met on May 5 to hear William Bridge. "The sword is now drawing", this militant clergyman declared in the preface to the sermon, "whose anger shall not be pacified till Babylon be downe and Sion rais'd". This sanguinary note was sounded throughout the sermon. Careful attendance upon the committee on religion had convinced him of the perilous state of the church. Parliament, he urged, must seek out the persons who had made a Babylon out of England's Sion and "punish them according to their deservings". In the reformation which must follow, nothing, he declared, should "be obtruded upon the Churches of Christ, but what may clearly and plainly have *Jus Divinum* written and engraven upon it". This was

²⁰ Samuel Fairclough, *The Troublers Troubled, or Achan Condemned and Executed* (London, 1641).

²¹ *Com. Jour.*, II, 129.

a step beyond those reforms urged by previous preachers. His firm conviction that parliament agreed with him in this policy led him to view that body with approval as "a quiver so full of chosen and polished shafts for the Lord's work". "Never did England see a Parliament more fitted for the service and work of God, then this now is", he remarked complacently, not foreseeing the dreary months which were to elapse before his reformation would take place.²²

On the June fast day Henry Burton echoed Bridge's demands for a thorough reformation of the church. Burton, it will be remembered, while rector of St. Matthew's, Friday Street, had been pilloried and imprisoned for seditious libel. Now, four years later, he gloried in his task and in the memory of his severe punishment. The confusion of his enemies and the triumph of his principles seemed assured: "O how my Soule is ravished, as not to begin the opening of my Mouth without blessing of God, who hath not onely bin pleased as this very Moneth 4 years agoe, to cal me to preach in another kind of pulpit, not far from this place; but hath also cald me now to speake unto you at this time, in this place." After approving the action of parliament against "the chiefeest of the incendiaries"—the execution of Strafford had taken place only a few weeks before—he pointed out that other enemies must be punished. With a vengefulness explained and heightened by his cropped ears, he declared: "The children of God have not yet deliverance, but they shall have it. I will not pursue these men [Laud and his fellow bishops] to the Red Sea, but surely if they do not repent, God hath a Sea, a Sea of destruction to swallow them up." England had indeed traveled far from the reign of Thorough when an obscure clergyman could so publicly demand an archbishop's repentance.

Burton made the first definite plea voiced before parliament for the establishment of the congregational form of church government. Episcopacy, he declared, "cannot be better parallel'd then to the Hierarchy of Antichrist". There could be no doubt as to the need for a prompt reformation, but until that happy state was reached he begged that no clergyman be forced to use the Book of Common Prayer. The indecision of many clergy at this time, when the liturgy of the church was under fire and when malcontents, both lay and clerical, were giving verbal and physical evidence of their disapproval of it, is revealed. Many ministers, Burton pointed out, "are not resolved what to do, they would keep their Ceremonies still, and they will wait for what the Parliament will doe". "You may set up what Religion you

²² William Bridge, *Babylons Downfall* . . . (London, 1641).

please", he assured his hearers, "they will be of your religion still. There are many Ministers that are of this mind." Meanwhile, he urged, laws should be passed to punish all abuses.²³

The fact that Thomas Fuller, who had been a member of convocation, preached on the same day as Burton must be explained by his connections with the stanch Puritan bishops, Robert Tonson and John Davenant. Fuller extolled the work of Joshua, ever a favorite with the Puritans. The reformation of the church, the sermon declared, must be twofold: an outer cleansing by the power of the sword and an inner cleansing of people's hearts by the power of the word. While he warned against too hasty a reformation, Fuller declared that it would be an error "not to take away all corruptions".²⁴

Had parliament proceeded to follow the advice so far given, a reformation of much greater scope than many desired would have resulted. But just as the temper of parliament was anti-Laudian rather than pro-Presbyterian, so with a few exceptions the sermons preached tended rather to inflame public opinion against the past rulers of the church than definitely to formulate a polity for the future. When Joseph Symonds preached on July 20 from the text, "Take heed, now, for the Lord hath chosen thee to build an house for the Sanctuarie", the members may well have hoped for definite guidance. Instead, they heard a rehearsing of the sins of the bishops: "What darknesse, what pollution, what tyranny dwells here." A thorough cleansing of the church must take place, Symonds urged his hearers. "Other causes may, and must wayt", he declared, "Delayes are dangerous. For, affections may cool . . . Rubs rise by delayes." Parliament as "the fountaine of law" under God's direction must bring about a reformation.²⁵

Thomas Case echoed Symonds's harsh condemnation of the bishops. Had it not been for parliament, he maintained, "We and our children might have sinned by Statute, and gone to Masse by law." He besought the house of commons not only to enact good laws but to see that there remained on the statute books "no evill Statutes, no killing Judgment (soul killing Judgment) that doth yet lye dormant, which

²³ Henry Burton, *England's Bondage and Hope of Deliverance* (London, 1641).

²⁴ Thomas Fuller, *Reformation Sure and Stedfast: Or, A Seasonable Sermon for the Present Times* (London, 1641). Fuller's Puritanism, which was to be so evident in his *Church-History of Britain* (London, 1665), was, like that of Gauden and Morley, not strong enough to keep him on the side of parliament against the king, but unlike them he retained his low church tendencies. His career illustrates the difficulty of generalizing about Puritanism.

²⁵ Joseph Symonds, *A Sermon Preached before the . . . House of Commons . . .* (London, 1641).

may be awakened hereafter when occasion doth serve, to slay us and our children." England, Case regretfully noted, was the most sinful of all nations. Both doctrine and discipline must be reformed along the lines of the reformed churches of the Continent. "Since we doe happily professe a unitie in faith" with them, he urged, "how much it will conduce to beautie, peace, and welfare, to enjoy also a uniformity in discipline."

Case's interpretation of church polity in the terms of discipline rather than of government indicates the strongly Calvinistic trend of these preachers.²⁶ They saw the church not as a broadly national institution, administered like the secular state by a hierarchy of officials, but as a meeting place of the godly. There was something paradoxical in their interpretation. While they wished the church of their desires to be the established, national church, at the same time they were in a sense essentially separatist in their point of view. Their concept was that of a church composed of the elect, predestined to the enjoyment of the comforts of the church on earth and in the world beyond. Outside wandered the reprobates, bereft of the spiritual strength offered by the sacraments of the church. The Elizabethan ideal of the church as the *via media* and the Laudian concept of a catholic church were discarded for the Calvinistic idea of a church which offered salvation not to all, but only to those already predestined to be saved. Case was the first of these preachers to emphasize this Calvinistic tendency toward separatism, but others after him were to echo him.

Still parliament failed to bring about the reformation. The treaty of peace with the Scots which it negotiated was a good sign, even though this failed to provide for the establishment of the Presbyterian polity in England. Stephen Marshall, when he preached at parliament's day of rejoicing for the treaty, did not fail to mark this oversight. Taking as his text the words of the psalmist, "Blessed be the Lord, who hath not given us as a prey to their teeth", he delivered a powerful sermon.

The fact that one danger had been escaped, Marshall warned his hearers, must not make them unaware that another, "our adversary the devill", still remained. "Men are everywhere inquiring in discontent", he lamented, "what is done all this year, the Parliament hath sate long, abundance of money given but what have they done for us?" Less

²⁶ Thomas Case, *Two Sermons Preached before the House of Commons* (London, 1642).

had been done than might have been done, he declared, and he urged his hearers to push on with church reform. "Now you have built your own house, and procured civill Liberties, should you let God[']s house lie waste, and should you be (as many fear you are) lesse zealous in God[']s then in your own I solemnly profes unto you, the God of heaven will require it at your hands." ²⁷

Guy Fawkes Day was of particular significance in this year of grace 1641, for on November 1 had come news of the Irish rebellion. Cornelius Burgess was chosen to preach, but he found it impossible fully to use his opportunity to smite the Roman Catholics hip and thigh because the pressure of business in the house made it necessary for him to cut short his sermon. He published his whole sermon, however, thoughtfully indicating the parts omitted so that the reader might know exactly what message he had hoped to give and what he had actually given to the house of commons.

This sermon, as might be expected, was highly inflammatory. The papists, Burgess assured his hearers, had ever been treasonable, conspiring against the government, because "their very Religion itselfe" led them to traitorous practices. Burgess, when he declared that the priests "are bound to induce" treachery among their people and to promise great rewards for plots, was undoubtedly referring to Father Philips, who had been imprisoned in the Tower a few days before. To his hearers, fearful of what the Irish rebellion would bring forth, his sermon was an incentive to merciless treatment of Roman Catholics. He was equally concerned with the state of the church. He rebuked parliament for its delay in bringing about reformation. "At your first sitting downe", he reminded the house of commons, "you expressed many brave and noble resolutions of giving God's businesse the precedency of other your affaires: and your beginnings promised much." Now, however, "God's Work lies yet undone". He painted a tragic picture:

Matters of Religion lie a bleeding: all Government and Discipline of the Church is laid in her Grave, and all putredinous vermine of bold Schismatics and frantick Sectaries glory in her ashes, making her fall their own Rising to mount our Pulpits, to offer strange fire, to expell the gravest, ablest, and most eminent Ministers in the Kingdom, (if not out of their Pulpits, yea), out of the Hearts of their people as a Company of weak men, formalists, time-servers, no Ministers of Christ, but Limbs of Antichrist . . . and to forsake our Assemblies as Babylonish, Antichristian, so as in short time they will not leave us the face of a Church.

²⁷ Marshall, *Peace Offering to God* . . . (London, 1641).

Yet, he rebuked his hearers, "no course is taken to suppress their fury, and to reduce them to order, which . . . will never be, till you put your hands to the Cure". Parliament, he admitted, had been burdened with tremendous responsibilities, but "in the midst of them all" it had found opportunities to vindicate its own "Rights and Liberties". To aid parliament in its task of reformation he requested that "a free Synode of grave Ministers" be called. This is the first such request to be voiced in the pulpit of St. Margaret's.²⁸

The sad divisions of the nation, which had aroused Burgess's wrath before, were again dealt with in December by Edmund Calamy and Burgess. Calamy called for "seven Buckets to draw out the water of tears" which must be shed for England's woeful state. "The House of the Lord lieth waste", he bewailed, "The Garden of the Nation is overgrown with weeds, and there are not onely unprofitable but hurtfull trees planted in this Garden." Reformation, he warned his hearers, must be carried further even than it had been in the days of Edward VI. He echoed Burgess's demand for a synod carefully chosen by parliament to settle religious affairs.²⁹

This request for a synod was also voiced by Marshall. Choosing as his text II Kings, 23:6, the story of Josiah, he compared the state of England to that of Israel in those dark days. Just as Josiah had appeared in the "darkest midnight of apostacy", so had parliament been raised up by God "to attempt glorious things for his name, for the purging of his house, and the establishing of this great people in the peace of the Gospel". As the Hebrews had been unworthy, he declared, so now were the people of England. The comparison of Charles I with Manasseh, which would have followed logically, was not made definitely, yet it was implied. Like Burgess he protested against the chaotic state of the church. "The body of the Nation makes little other use of all the mercies of this last year", he lamented, "but to abuse all the liberties procured both for Church and Commonwealth, to greater and bolder sinning against God."³⁰

The sermons preached during the critical months of 1642, to the time when Charles I raised his standard at Nottingham and thus definitely ended the possibility of compromise, echo the demands for a synod. With the exception of the sermon preached by Edward

²⁸ Burgess, *Another Sermon Preached to the Honourable House of Commons November the 5th 1641* (London, 1641).

²⁹ Calamy, *Englands Looking-Glasse . . .* (London, 1642).

³⁰ Marshall, *Reformation and Desolation . . .* (London, 1642).

Reynolds, late in July, the pronouncements before the house of commons on its fast days showed an astonishing failure to recognize how near England was to civil war. Instead of urging conciliation, they repeat the old shibboleths—the temple must be built, idolatry must be driven out.

Ignoring the perils, Calamy, preaching on the February fast day, saw much to rejoice over: "God hath freed us from Civil Warres", he declared, by making peace between England and Scotland. The nation had been freed from the danger of popery. "The enemies", he exclaimed exultantly, "are thrown into the dens and dungeons they prepared for the godly." Legally and peacefully parliament by God's help had rid the kingdom of "many grievous Yokes". Let it now, Calamy urged, "rout out Arminianisme, sett up our doctrine (not only our discipline)".³¹

On this same day Marshall preached a sermon which Clarendon regarded as the most seditious sermon preached during the Great Rebellion.³² His text, "Curse ye Meroz", was taken from the Song of Deborah, as she rejoiced over the murder of Sisera by Jael, and it implied that all who refused to come to the aid of the Lord (that is, of parliament) should be bitterly cursed. The sermon, however, despite its bloodthirsty implications, proceeded along rather pedestrian lines. Let parliament, Marshall urged, proceed forthwith to the establishment of the church upon secure foundations. Using one of the practical figures of speech in which he delighted, he compared the church to a joint-stock company, in which "every penny gained or lost is gaine or loss" to all the merchants. The two tasks before parliament, he declared, were the relief of Ireland and the establishment of true religion.³³

By March it became clear that at least one of Marshall's objectives would be reached. Even though the formal declaration that parliament proposed to call an assembly of divines (the Westminster Assembly) did not appear until April 8, Simeon Ashe, when he preached on March 30, commended parliament for its action. Expressing satisfaction at its plan, he urged that the members be carefully chosen, "Men of approved piety", "Scripture Men", "Men not biassed with selfish partiality". Those who wished reformation, he recognized, were "very few in comparison of the Malignant Party", but he urged his hearers to have courage. "When we speake of Armies on land and strength on the

³¹ Calamy, *God's Free Mercy to England* . . . (London, 1642).

³² Clarendon, II¹, 22-23.

³³ Marshall, *Meroz Cursed* . . . (London, 1642).

Seas preparing against us; what though Papists, Atheists, and Divels were in combination to destroy us, yet the Generalissimo who manageth all forces and maketh all motions [for parliament] is the Lord of Hosts".³⁴

The uncertainty of public opinion was again stressed by Thomas Goodwin when he preached at the April fast day. Parliament had already shown itself zealous for God's service by taking steps to establish a "learned and preaching" ministry throughout England and to rid the church of "divers Innovations" and superstitions.³⁵

Joseph Caryl, who preached on the same day, unfortunately expanded his sermon before he sent it to the printer's, so that it is impossible to know exactly what he told his hearers in St. Margaret's. It is unlikely, however, that he made much change in its tone. Harshly condemning the Laudian party, this future leader of the Independents compared the church, which now "lyes a bleeding", to Israel at the time of Ezra and Nehemiah. Like Isaachar, "crouched between two burdens", those in authority had striven for reunion with Rome. But the house of commons, he rejoiced, were "the called by God and the king, and the chosen of this whole Nation . . . to finde out and take away both things and persons which are evill". In language calculated to end any possibility of compromise in ecclesiastical matters he cried aloud for revenge as well as for the complete reformation of church discipline.³⁶

This same note of revenge was sounded on the May fast day when Robert Harris of Hanwill preached. His sermon, printed many years later from "broken notes", was calculated to stir the house of commons into definite action against the enemies of Puritanism. "The Lord hath taken you into Communion with himselfe", he told his hearers, "and put his Name of his Power upon you." Resembling the Muggletonians and other fanatics rather than the more staid Presbyterians and Independents, he burst forth into rhapsodic vein: "Yee, or Noble and much Honoured Gentlemen, doe you set your hands to this Carthage . . . and this Bloody Beast, which bites worst in her last conflict."³⁷

While Harris's sermon, except for a mention of "dying Ireland",

³⁴ Simeon Ashe, *The Best Refuge for the Oppressed* (London, 1642).

³⁵ Thomas Goodwin, *Zerubbabel's Encouragement to finish the Temple* (London, 1642).

³⁶ Joseph Caryl, *The Workes of Ephesus Explained* (London, 1642).

³⁷ Robert Harris, "A Sermon Preached to the House of Commons" in *Workes* (London, 1683), II, 133 ff.

might have been preached in 1640, the afternoon preacher, Obadiah Sedgwick, was much more aware of what was happening. He lamented the sad state of England, on the verge of civil war, but he expressed much more concern for the state of the church. His request that "an answerable magistracie" be set up when the church was reformed foreshadows the struggle in the Westminster Assembly upon the subject of church discipline. "Take up your first thoughts", he urged, "and engage your hearts and resolutions . . . to carry on (at least) this one work of all works, a solid Reformation".³⁸

To William Gouge, preacher on the June fast day, the times were "in many things not much unlike to the time wherein Nehemiah came to Jerusalem", with "grievances in the State" and "Corruptions in the Church". Parliament, moreover, he pointed out, had conducted itself much like that doughty Old Testament hero. In his zeal, however, he devoted so much time to this comparison that when he came to his second point, "The Lord is a peculiar God to a beleever", which was probably intended as a message of hope to the harassed parliament, he was forced to stop short.³⁹

The gloomy state of affairs seemed to William Sedgwick, when he followed Gouge that afternoon, especially sent by God to test the faithful. He pointed out that afflictions were needed "to prepare us for mercies". Out of the darkness would come the light of reformation, for the church had never yet been seen in England but "in a meane and despicable way". Now, with prelacy "Pulled down in Scotland, darkened in England", parliament must proceed to establish "a holy ministry" and "a holy magistracy".⁴⁰

Although by the end of July hopes for peace between royalists and parliamentarians had grown dim, the morning preacher concerned himself with the type of church to be established by the new assembly of divines and parliament. Thomas Hill, pastor of Tychmersh in Northamptonshire, had come to London to be a member of this assembly, and he was naturally interested in reformation. His mind, too, was obviously one which delighted in dogmatic rather than political affairs. While the Calvinism of the other sermons preached before the house of commons had been implied in criticisms of Arminianism, Hill made no secret of his stand. "An incorrupt Religion . . . not a

³⁸ Obadiah Sedgwick, *England's Preservation* . . . (London, 1642).

³⁹ William Gouge, *The Saints Support* . . . (London, 1642).

⁴⁰ William Sedgwick, *Zions Deliverance Her Friends Duty* . . . (London, 1642).

Linsey-woolsey Religion", must be established. Popery and Arminianism, which "compound foreseene faith with the Soveraigntie of Gods will", must be rooted out. "The beautie and efficacie of Church Government and Discipline", he pointed out, "depend upon their Conformitie unto Divine Truth. It must regulate Church-Power and Discipline, Church Administration, else they will soon loose their Lustre, and Authoritie, degenerating either into emptie Formalitie, or into Church-Tyranny." He rejoiced that reformation had already been begun. "Malignant Persecutors" and "neutrall Politicians", he warned, would strive to block this reformation, but parliament must disregard them. While he commended Christian unity, he would not have the fundamentals sacrificed to it. "We must not be such reconcilers", he warned, "as to bring in a Samaritan Religion, an Interim."⁴¹

The afternoon preacher, Edward Reynolds, presented "an enjoinder to peace". Because of his career after the Restoration, when he accepted a bishopric and strove to bring the Puritan clergy back within the church, his sermon is of peculiar interest. We see what a clergyman with Calvinistic tendencies, but of broad vision, believed at this time. He was a polished preacher, fond of figures of speech. His version of "Sweet are the uses of adversity" betrays the Calvinist: "The hammer breakes metall; the fire melts it, and then, you may cast it into any shape. Judgments breake, mercies melt, and then, if ever, the soule is fit to be cast into God's mould." Speaking of God's anger at the sins of England, to which Reynolds ascribed her present woes, he used an interesting and striking figure of speech: "Sinne is that against which God's arrows are directed; and as the arrow sticks into the Butt into which the Marke is fastened, so the Judgments which are shot at Sin, must needs light upon us unto whom sinne cleaveth. The way then to divert sin is to remove the marke."

Yet Reynolds, though he was convinced that the danger of civil war was England's punishment for her sins, departed from dogmatism to more practical considerations. Parliament must continue its efforts to heal the divisions between king and country. His solution, though he faced the problem realistically, was that of his fellow preachers: thorough repentance on the part of individuals, followed by a reformation of the church. Moderate as he was, he could see no way out of the impasse but by departing from the traditional church government

⁴¹ Thomas Hill, *The Trade of Truth Advanced* . . . (London, 1642). This sermon, from the point of view of technique, is interesting because it is built around the idea of buying truth, with its text from Proverbs, "Buy the truth, and sell it not."

and ceremonies and finishing the reformation begun the century before.⁴² He was the last preacher who might with some degree of optimism preach an "enjoinder to peace". When the preacher appeared in St. Margaret's on the next fast day, the king had begun to rally his forces at Nottingham, and even the moderate churchmen had joined him. Parliament had now a double task, to conduct a war and to establish a church government.

In both these works the Puritan clergy manfully aided parliament. As members of the Westminster Assembly they strove to evolve a polity suitable to England; and as preachers and chaplains they worked to keep up the country's morale. It was but fitting that they should, for they had not tried to check the growth of civil war. Moderation, compromise, toleration, had, with few exceptions, been sadly lacking in their counsels. A grim demand for vengeance—an eye for an eye, a tooth for a tooth—had been the keynote of their sermons. The heroes whom they upheld had been the judges, prophets, and kings of the Old Testament—men terrible in their wrath, implacable, driven on by a stern Jehovah.

The Old Testament had done more than supply them with texts. It had colored their thinking. Like the medieval commentator, the preacher and listener found in the words of the Bible a wealth of implication. The names of Moses, Asa, Ezra, and Zerubbabel had a significance almost mystic to Marshall and his contemporaries. The comparison of the task of the commons to the rebuilding of the temple by the Israelites, which is found in many of the sermons, suggested that which would have been almost treasonable had the comparison been carried to its logical conclusion. And indeed it was the more significant because of what was implied. In Marshall's sermon on the work of Josiah, his audience did not need to hear the wrongs of England rehearsed in detail: the "provocations" of Manasseh only too clearly referred to the arbitrary rule of Charles I and Strafford and Laud. Just as to the Christian Socialist of the nineteenth century the Bible was "the history of the People's cause",⁴³ so to the preachers before the Long Parliament it was the history of Puritanism. The Old Testament especially seemed to rehearse the trials of the righteous as they strove to maintain their integrity against persecution and the wiles of their enemies.

Throughout the sermons, while there was a constant attack on the

⁴² Edward Reynolds, *Israel's Petition in Time of Trouble* . . . (London, 1642).

⁴³ Margaret Farrand Thorp, *Charles Kingsley* (Princeton, 1937), p. 63.

enemies of Puritanism, there was no less constant praise of parliament. This body, Marshall assured the house of commons, had been raised up by God to "attempt glorious things". God has "put his Name, his Power upon you", Harris informed his hearers. Edward Reynolds warned the house of the tremendous burden of responsibility upon its shoulders, for the nation looked to it as "builders, and healers, and standers in the gap, and repayers of the waste places". Throughout all the sermons the dependence of the forces of righteousness upon parliament was stressed.

The tone of these sermons was, then, Erastian. Parliament, not convocation, had power to determine the doctrine as well as the polity of the church. But the student of political theory will find little to reward his search for definite ideas as to the relationship of king and parliament or of church and state. These preachers were not thinkers. The old shibboleths sufficed for them. Parliament had acted in the previous century; let it now again take up the task of reformation. They followed the beaten path.

Neither can any liberal ideas be read into their sermons. If they inveighed against Episcopal tyranny, it was the Episcopal phase which they deplored. No more toleration was to be shown to the Arminian than had been shown to the too zealous Calvinist. The church into which they would fashion the Church of England would in fact be a narrower church than it had been before, for while moderate Calvinists had been let alone in the Laudian regime, in this new church there could be room for none but Calvinists. Furthermore, no ceremonies, doctrines, or details of polity were to be permitted which were not specifically commanded by the Word of God. Preaching on Guy Fawkes Day, 1641, Burgess had warned against the toleration which Roman Catholics were advocating. In 1642 Thomas Hill, while he spoke favorably of Christian unity, firmly denounced a comprehensive church as a "Samaritan" church. Only Joseph Symonds lifted his voice for a more tolerant attitude, though even he advocated comprehension rather than a toleration of sects. "All that embrace godlinesse, truth, and serve the peace of the Churches may happily be copartners in each others priviledges", he wrote in the dedicatory epistle of his sermon.

The rise of sectarianism horrified these preachers, for to them, as to Laud, it represented lawlessness and anarchy. Indeed, Burgess in his famous Guy Fawkes sermon quite outdid anything Heylyn or Laud had ever said about sects: "putredinous vermine of bold Schisma-

ticks and frantick Sectaries" he called those who strayed further from the established church than he and his fellow Calvinists had done. Not realizing that they themselves had paved the way for sectarianism by their attacks upon the established church, they held fast to the old tradition of an established church. How the insistence upon the elect could be reconciled with a national church did not trouble them. The concept of a national church under parliament's control is the theme of these sermons, whether an Independent like Burton or a Presbyterian like Calamy preached.

As to the details of this reformation the divines were vague. To them church reform meant the substitution of Calvinism for Arminianism, the abolition of ceremonies, and the substitution of the clergyman's inspiration for the liturgy. As to church government they either had no definite ideas or did not think it expedient to voice them. "According to the word of God", an oft-repeated phrase, undoubtedly implied Presbyterian polity, which the scheme of the parliamentary leaders for the establishment of lay commissioners would permit. As a group they were not committed to Presbyterianism of the Scottish type. Their sermons, as has been indicated, devoted more attention to the rooting out of Laudian Episcopacy than to the polity which was to succeed it.

Their sermons therefore were not constructive, but as incentives to reform, as inspirations to harry the ungodly and to avenge the woes of the godly, they served their purpose. The seven buckets of tears which Edmund Calamy urged his hearers to shed were probably never shed, even in the highly emotional atmosphere of a fast day, but the mention of them had its effect. The relentless persecution of Archbishop Laud, culminating in his execution, certainly found inspiration in these sermons. Indeed, the grim hatred with which such Anglicans as Peter Heylyn and Herbert Thorndike viewed the Puritan clergy after the Restoration is explained, if not excused, by a perusal of them.

Reinforced by pamphlets and sermons heard from other pulpits, the sermons preached before the house of commons undoubtedly helped to create a public opinion hostile to Episcopacy. Intent upon righting wrongs, the preachers were happily unaware that they were helping to hasten the triumph of sectarianism. Indeed their singleness of purpose, their inability to realize into what chaos they were plunging the ordered life of the Anglican Church, and their undoubted sincerity

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

THE MORMONS AND THE COLORADO RIVER

DURING the colonization of the Great Basin of the West, Brigham Young and his followers experienced difficulties and hardships in transporting both immigrants and goods to the Mormon Mecca. The route used by the Saints in their trek westward in 1847, sometimes referred to as the "Mormon Trail", was via Omaha, North Platte River, South Pass, Fort Bridger, and thence across the mountains into Salt Lake Valley. This was the main route followed by Mormon immigrants until the building of the iron road from the East to the Pacific Ocean. It was, however, very unsatisfactory. Winter snows on the Rocky Mountains effectually shut the Saints off from commerce with the people of the East for nearly half of the year. Furthermore, transportation across the plains and over the mountains from Omaha by ox teams was very expensive and laborious.

Before the Saints had been in their new home in the West a full five months, some of the more adventurous pioneers and explorers had traversed the deserts and mountains from Salt Lake City to the Pacific Coast, not only by way of the "northern route" along the Humboldt River to San Francisco but also via the "southern route" to Los Angeles. These frontiersmen soon recognized the superiority of the southern over the northern route. They believed the Indians in the south to be less hostile. The route was never blockaded by heavy snows such as often rendered passage through the Sierra Nevada impossible. The southern route also had the advantage of a congenial climate, making travel practicable throughout the entire year.

For these and other reasons the Mormons worked assiduously in helping to develop the southern route to the sea.¹ Shortly after 1847 a good wagon road was opened up from the Basin to Los Angeles which proved to be the most popular route to the Pacific Coast throughout the next twenty years. Although some of the early-season travelers to California went via Fort Hall and the Humboldt, the southern route was the one always used later in the season. Sheep drivers also repeatedly traversed this road. "Consequently it was the most important

¹ John Henry Evans, *Charles Coulson Rich, Pioneer Builder of the West* (Norwood, 1936), pp. 171-225.

route for freighters as well as emigrants [between the Great Basin and California] until the completion of the Central Pacific and Union Pacific railroads in 1869 restored the preference for the old western [northern] route" from Salt Lake City.²

During the early period of Utah history the Mormons paid little attention to establishing settlements or developing in other ways the northern route to the sea. Before 1857 Brigham City, which lies only sixty miles from Salt Lake City, was the most distant colony from the Mormon Mecca along that route with the exception of Genoa, Carson Valley, Nevada. But by the time they had been in the Basin ten years (1857), Brigham and his followers had established thirty towns on the most favorable sites along the road to Los Angeles. The number of settlements had been increased to forty before the death of the Mormon leader in 1877. Young and his associates planned and established a continuous line of communities from Salt Lake City to San Bernardino, a distance of over seven hundred miles, thereby erecting a line of supply stations along the southern route.

We turn now to a project of Young's of which very little has been known. He was anxious to develop a cheaper mode of transportation in order to reduce the heavy expense involved in bringing immigrants and merchandise into the Utah Territory. With the steady growth of Mormon colonization southwestward toward the Pacific Coast, he conceived the idea of utilizing the Colorado River as a possible solution of the expensive transportation problem. In 1855 he began investigating this route. Little was known at that time of the navigability of the Colorado. In order to "get the soundings of the river and see if it were navigable for boats", Governor Young sent Rufus Allen with four companions to explore it.³ They traveled as far as Las Vegas springs, located in what is now southern Nevada, with William Bringhurst and a group of missionary colonists who had been sent there by Governor Young to establish a Mormon settlement. They reached Las Vegas springs on June 15, 1855. Bringhurst assigned two of his company, Sylvester Hulet and George W. Bean, to accompany Allen's exploring expedition.

Four days after arriving at Las Vegas, Allen and his companions started off for the Colorado. After traveling twenty-eight miles

² John Walter Caughey, "Southwest from Salt Lake in 1849", *Pacific Historical Review*, VI (1937), 164.

³ Record of Las Vegas Mission, June 17, 1855, Latter-day Saints church archives, Salt Lake City. The present study is based largely upon manuscript material in these archives.

they reached the river and followed its course. They remained on the trip only five days and then returned to Vegas and reported that on account of the extreme heat and desert country it was impracticable to proceed farther at that season of the year. Although they had traveled down the river for two days, they had found nothing but barren deserts, high mountains, and deep canyons. It was impossible for them to decide with certainty on the feasibility of navigating the Colorado to its mouth.⁴

Two years more passed before the interest of the Saints was again awakened in regard to the navigation of the Colorado. In the fall of 1857 the United States Department of War sent Lieutenant Joseph C. Ives "to explore the Colorado River for the purpose . . . of learning whether it could be used to advantage in the transportation of soldiers and munitions of war on the way to the valley of Salt Lake".⁵ Lieutenant Ives brought to the Pacific Coast a small steamer having "powerful machinery adapted for stemming the currents". It had been tried on the Delaware River, found to answer expectations, and taken to pieces and transported seventy-five miles up the Colorado River, where its parts were landed and reassembled. Then the ship, christened the *Explorer*, was launched, and Ives sailed a distance of one hundred fifty miles up the river to Fort Yuma, where the Gila River flows into the Colorado.⁶ The course of the stream above the mouth of the Gila was found to be crooked and the channel obstructed by numerous shifting sand bars. For miles the river flowed through a desert where at certain times high winds filled the air with fine sand almost to the point of obstructing vision. Upon reaching a point two hundred and seventy-two miles above Fort Yuma, Lieutenant Ives was able to get his ship over a troublesome rapid only by fastening a line to the shore and helping the ship up. He reported to the United States government as follows: "It appeared, therefore, that the foot of Black Cañon should be considered the practical head of navigation, and I concluded to have a reconnaissance made to connect that point with the Mormon road, and to let this finish the exploration of the navigable portion of the Colorado."⁷

An editorial appeared in the *Alta Californian* on May 20, 1858,

⁴ George W. Bean to George A. Smith, *ibid.*, June 24, 1855.

⁵ *Los Angeles Star*, Dec. 5, 1857; *Alta Californian*, May 20, 1858.

⁶ "On January 13, Lieutenant Ives started with the *Explorer* from Fort Yuma upon the unknown waters of the Colorado." *Deseret News*, July 21, 1858.

⁷ Ives, *Report upon the Colorado River of the West* (Washington, 1861), p. 87.

which helped to heighten the interest of the Mormons in the transportation possibilities of the Colorado River. The editorial stated: "At a distance of 325 miles above Fort Yuma is the great canyon of the Colorado. . . . The mouth of this canyon is the head of navigation, at least for boats on the lower part of the river. The body of water is large at the canyon, and perhaps the river may be navigable above it. . . . From the mouth of the canyon to Las Vegas is fifty miles."⁸

When the report reached Salt Lake City that "examination of the Colorado River for navigation was being conducted by the United States Government with some success", the hope of using the river as an outlet to the sea was revived in Brigham's mind.⁹ He waited hardly long enough for Lieutenant Ives's expedition to sail down stream before he dispatched George A. Smith with a company of twenty men "to explore the Rio Colorado and the country adjacent to it for suitable locations for settlements of the Saints".¹⁰ Smith and his companions left Cedar City on March 31, 1858, and made their way to the Colorado by following the courses of the Santa Clara and the Rio Virgin. After traveling down the Colorado as far as Beal's Crossing and searching in vain for desirable sites for settlements, they returned to Cedar City. Probably Smith's report was instrumental in the postponement of plans for developing shipping via the Colorado. During the next few years, however, the leaders exerted their energies in strengthening the colonies south of the rim of the Basin and in planting new towns on the southern route to the sea at important points on the Virgin, Santa Clara, and Muddy rivers.

When President Young and company visited the colonies in Utah Dixie¹¹ in May, 1861, they found that, notwithstanding the efforts during the past to colonize that region, the number of inhabitants was still very small—only seventy-nine families, living in eight small towns. The Mormon leaders, therefore, decided to exert special efforts in colonizing and developing "the natural resources of the south part of Utah". Accordingly, at the October conference of 1861 held in Salt Lake City, President Young called 309 families to establish a city at the junction of the Santa Clara and Rio Virgin. A total of 748 persons responded to the call, and President Young named the new city

⁸ *Alta Californian*, May 20, 1858.

⁹ History of Saint George Stake, 1847-73, f. 37, Latter-day Saints church archives.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*

¹¹ The elevation drops very rapidly in the southwest corner of Utah, which results in a much milder climate around Saint George than in other parts of the state. On account of this mild climate that part of Utah is called Dixie.

"Saint George".¹² At the same time a company of thirty families of Swiss converts settled at Santa Clara, five miles from Saint George. In the fall of 1864 a number of missionaries were sent to form colonies on the Muddy River, a tributary of the Virgin.

Brigham Young was now ready to test the practicability of directing immigration traffic and the transportation of goods from Europe and New York to the Caribbean Sea, overland across the Isthmus of Panama, and thence, via the Gulf of California, up the Colorado to the head of navigation. He announced to his followers: "We shall shortly want another path to bring home the Saints, and we want to prepare for it. . . . The Colorado is not far from our southern settlements, only one hundred twenty-five miles from Saint George."¹³ He also stated that if he went to live in Dixie, "he would soon have steamboats passing up the Colorado".¹⁴ Saint George was to serve as an inland supply station for the other communities in the Dixie country and as an outpost to furnish supplies to immigrants bound for Salt Lake City.

Shortly after making the foregoing statements, on November 1, 1864, Brigham appointed Bishop Anson Call to establish a colony directly on the Colorado. Call received the following instructions: "Take a suitable company, locate a road to the Colorado, explore the river, find a suitable place for a warehouse, build it, and form a settlement at or near the landing."¹⁵ In that same month the leading merchants of Salt Lake City formed "The Deseret Mercantile Association", the controlling interest in this organization being held by the church. Call was appointed the official agent for the association and immigration agent for the Mormon church. It was the purpose of the association to ship merchandise from New York and other eastern cities by water to Panama. From there the goods were to be shipped up the west coast of Mexico, through the Gulf of California, and up the Colorado River to the uppermost point that could be successfully navigated.

Call and his companions left Salt Lake on November 15, 1864. At Santa Clara, Jacob Hamblin, the most famous Mormon explorer and Indian missionary, joined the party to act as guide and interpreter. Call's report of December 2 stated:

We came to the Colorado River a mile below the narrows and several miles above the mouth of Black Canyon. About one-half of a mile below

¹² "Saint George Stake", f. 73. ¹³ *Deseret News*, Mar. 2, 1864. ¹⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁵ Brigham Young on Call's Landing, "Saint George Stake", Nov. 1, 1864.

the mouth of the wash [Callville Wash], we found a black rocky point, which we considered a suitable locality for the erection of a warehouse above high water marks; here we considered the best landing could be established. We found the river . . . one hundred fifty yards wide, or about as wide as the Illinois River—the selected site can be made as good a landing as the Peoria landing.¹⁶

The location chosen for the warehouse was on the north bank of the Colorado about fifteen miles upstream from the site of the present Boulder Dam. The place was given the name of Call's Landing, known also as Call's Fort and Old Callville. After selecting the site for the warehouse, the explorers continued down the Colorado one hundred and fifty miles to Hardy's Landing, near the extreme southern tip of Nevada, and thence to Fort Mojave. They then returned to the site previously chosen with a conviction that the best place had been selected. "Laborers, mechanics, supplies, tools, and every necessary thing to facilitate the erection of the warehouse without delay" were secured at Saint George.¹⁷ In February, 1865, the building was completed. Portions of the old warehouse were still standing when Boulder Dam was constructed. At the present time the remains of Old Callville are submerged in the waters of the Colorado.

When the warehouse was first completed, the Saints were rather optimistic as to the advantages they expected that steam navigation and the establishing of Call's Landing would bring to the inhabitants of the Great Basin. Several editorials and articles appeared in the *Deseret News* in the spring of 1865. One article definitely pointed out that a church warehouse had been built "one hundred twenty-five miles from Saint George, it being contemplated to have the Church immigration from Europe come to Utah via Panama and the Gulf of California, and up the Colorado to this landing as the highest practicable head of navigation on the river".¹⁸ In the words of an editorial:

We are satisfied that the Colorado route will receive a fair and thorough trial, with flattering prospects of becoming, sooner or later, commercially beneficial. . . . [Goods] can be brought by water to within some five hundred miles of this city [Salt Lake], and from there by land transportation on a road free from desert and alkali water, and affording markets at short intervals along its entire length.¹⁹

There was very little shipping, however, either to or from Call's Landing. On January 2, 1865, William H. Hardy left Hardy's Landing in a flatbottomed barge and by means of poles and oars propelled

¹⁶ Call to George A. Smith, *ibid.*, Dec. 25, 1864.

¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁸ "Report on Call's Landing", *Deseret News*, Jan. 20, 1865.

¹⁹ "The Colorado Route", *ibid.*, Mar. 8, 1865.

it to Call's Landing, arriving there in twelve days. He believed that with a little work upon the stream bed the Colorado could be made safe for steam navigation. At least three trips per month could be made from the mouth of the river to Call's Landing. Hardy was also of the opinion that goods could be shipped up and down the river most successfully during the month of April and from July to October. The high water and driftwood would make navigation unsafe from the middle of May to early in July.²⁰

Thomas E. Trueworthy attempted to bring one hundred tons of freight to Call's Landing in the spring of 1865. He arrived at his destination with only part of his load, having had to leave some of it at La Paz. Learning that Bishop Call had returned to the Great Basin, Trueworthy left his steamboat and cargo at the landing and made a trip overland to Salt Lake City, where he gave a discouraging report on Colorado River transportation.²¹

Whether or not the Mormons would have made the Colorado a practicable shipping route was never determined, for hardly had Call's Landing been built when their attention was turned from it to the transcontinental railway then under construction. Thus conditions beyond Brigham Young's control put an end to his plan of making the Colorado the main route of entrance into the Territory of Utah. Realizing that a railroad would supply cheaper and safer transportation, Brigham and his people abandoned the Colorado River project and gave their full support to the construction of the newer agent—the railway—in which they had for years been interested.

MILTON R. HUNTER.

*Latter-day Saint Institute,
Utah State Agricultural College.*

²⁰ Latter-day Saints Journal History, Jan. 14, 1865, Latter-day Saints church archives.

²¹ *Ibid.*, Mar. 25, 1865.

DOCUMENTS

CORONADO'S MUSTER ROLL

OUR knowledge of the first great exploring expedition into the American Southwest is derived in large part from the narrative of a common soldier, Pedro de Castañeda, written twelve years after the conclusion of the stirring events it describes. This account was published first in an imperfect French translation in Paris in 1838 and later in both Spanish and English from an original text, preserved in the New York Public Library, by George Parker Winship in 1896.¹ Mr. Winship did not consult the Archives of the Indies in Seville but nevertheless managed, by a thorough search of previous publications, to collect the extant documents on the subject to such good effect that since the appearance of his book, little of any value dealing with the expedition has been found, even in the Archives.² The instructions of the viceroy to the commander, the official diary of the expedition, the official list of its personnel and equipment, Coronado's own official report after his return, and the viceroy's formal report to the crown—in short, a good part of the documentation—have been lacking. Spanish law required such records to be kept, and papers of this kind have usually been carefully preserved. In the course of certain investigations in the Archives of the Indies in 1936 the writer was fortunate enough to encounter one of these essential documents, the missing muster roll, which is reproduced below. The four hundredth anniversary of the Coronado expedition, which is to be

¹ Henri Ternaux-Campans, *Voyages, relations, et mémoires originaux pour servir à l'histoire de la découverte de l'Amérique* (20 vols., Paris, 1837-41); Winship, *The Coronado Expedition, 1540-1542*, in the *Fourteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of Ethnology* (Washington, 1896). See also the reprinting in the Trail Makers series under the title, *The Journey of Coronado* (New York, 1904), which is superior at many points in the translation but lacks the full notes and bibliography of Winship's earlier edition. Another edition, with additional notes and an introduction by Frederick Webb Hodge, was published in San Francisco in 1933. As this last was a limited edition and hence is not widely available, and as the 1896 edition is out of print, references in the text of the document here presented are to the more widely available translation in the Trail Makers series. For an authoritative discussion of the bibliography consult H. R. Wagner, *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794* (2 vols., Albuquerque, Quivira Society, 1937), I, 105-15.

² H. R. Wagner, "California Voyages, 1539-1541", *Quarterly of the California Historical Society*, III, 302-303. See also his recent census of Coronado publications in *The Spanish Southwest*.

celebrated next year, gives a timely interest to the publication of this document.

The original purpose of Coronado's muster had been to provide an answer to the charge that New Spain was being depopulated as men flocked to join his forces and that it would be defenseless in the event of an Indian uprising.³ The document is of value now as a research implement in that it provides a nearly complete and authentic list of those who went on the expedition and hence may have left diaries or later *relaciones de servicios*. It lists the names of a total of two hundred and twenty-five horsemen, by rank and company, and, similarly, sixty-two foot soldiers. The Winship narratives provided a list of only thirty-seven names, including Coronado and the religious. The religious, with a small military escort, had gone on in advance, and a few soldiers had not arrived from Mexico City when the muster was held, so that their names, with some exceptions which will be noted, are unfortunately lacking from the list.⁴ Along with each man's name, properly described as to rank and in the order of the military formation, appear the number of horses which he provided, either personally or as a gift from the viceroy, inclusive of the pack animals of certain of the infantrymen. Five hundred and fifty-eight horses, two of them mares, are accounted for in the muster.⁵ The presence and separate listing of only two mares suggests that we may have been credulous in the belief that stray horses from the Coronado expedition stocked the Western plains with their first horses.⁶ A lone mule is listed as belonging to Juan Pérez de Vegara.

³ "When Mendoza reached Compostela, by the middle of February, 1540, Coronado asked him to make an official investigation of these complaints. The formal request is dated February 21, and the following day, Sunday, the viceroy held a grand review of the whole array, with everyone ready equipped for the march. As the men passed before the viceregal party the secretaries made an exact count and description of the force, but this document is not now known." Winship, *Coronado Expedition*, pp. 377-78.

⁴ Castañeda, in reporting the total force to be three hundred Spaniards and eight hundred natives, undoubtedly included the group that had gone on in advance. Winship, *Journey of Coronado*, p. 10.

⁵ "Son quinientos e cinquenta e dos cavallos" is the statement in the summary, but it overlooks four horses in the foot soldier group, and the "twenty-two or twenty-three" reported by Coronado and the "sixteen or seventeen" reported by Lope de Samaniego are, in both instances, given at the lower figure.

⁶ See Clark Wissler, "The Influence of the Horse in the Development of Plains Culture", *American Anthropologist*, XVI (1914), 1-25. Francisco de Santillán and Miguel Suarez (or Sánchez) are the two owners of mares, and no record of a loss by them has survived. For more recent discussions, which take the view that horses were introduced later, see Francis Haines, "Where did the Plains Indians get their Horses" and "The Northward Spread of Horses among the Plains Indians", *ibid.*, XL, 112-17; 429-37.

Interestingly and humanly enough, a check of about forty of the men who later presented claims against the government for services on the expedition, now conveniently available in the work of Francisco A. de Icaza, shows an almost invariable tendency on the part of claimants to multiply the number of horses they had provided, and in no case was any acknowledgment made of indebtedness to the viceroy for horses, despite the well-proved fact that his ranches provided most of them gratis.⁷ Moreover, a thorough search reveals that the names of some claimants, including the Scot, Tomás Blaque (Thomas Black, Blake, Blackie, or Blaikie), who claimed he had been with the expedition for three years,⁸ do not appear on the muster roll at all. The charitable view is that they were with the escort of the advance party or were late in arriving from Mexico City.

The weapons listed in the muster roll vary from person to person. The artillery is not described, although it is mentioned in the Castañeda narrative in various places, and this document carries the name of Hernando de Alvarado as captain of artillery. The horsemen, according to the muster roll, were equipped in the majority of cases with lances and swords, and some carried extra daggers. The foot soldiers were armed with twenty-two harquebuses, the primitive ancestor of the musket, fifteen crossbows, and a variety of swords, daggers, and native weapons from Mexico. Indeed, one of the surprises encountered in a perusal of the document is the fact that practically every soldier declares that he possesses arms of the country, *armas de la tierra*, and in many cases only native Mexican weapons are reported.

This departure from the idealized picture contained in many textbook illustrations and murals is further accentuated by an examination of the armor reported in the document. Only a few of the soldiers reported a full European equipment of armor,⁹ though nearly all had one or two pieces of Spanish armor, for example, a pair of kneepieces, a coat of mail, a helmet, a corselet, a bevor, or gauntlets. The great majority wore native buckskin suits of armor, *cueras de anta*, which were much more comfortable on the march and quite effective against Indian weapons. European armor must either have been at a premium, or else the men had learned from their sojourn in America the superiority of the lighter armor for fighting in the New World. In any event, it was an interesting early move toward the kind of fighting equip-

⁷ Icaza, *Conquistadores y pobladores de Nueva España* (2 vols., Madrid, 1923).

⁸ *Ibid.*, no. 738.

⁹ Coronado, with his famous gilded suit of armor, is a case in point, and Velasco reports "un arnés", which implies a complete harness.

ment that became standard, with the addition of a buckskin or cowhide shield, on the northern frontier by the close of the seventeenth century.

The muster roll closes with an attested copy of the oaths of fealty and allegiance administered to Coronado and to the members of the expedition at the end of the review. This particular copy of the roll and oaths was dated at Compostela, a few days after the muster, February 27, when, after the excitement of the departure, the notaries had time to get the papers in order.

The Roman numerals before the names indicate the number of horses supplied by the individual. In the text as printed below the notarial totals by pages have been omitted. Abbreviations have been expanded, but modern accents, capitalization, punctuation, and spelling have not been provided. "Xpoual", for example, has not been changed to "Cristóbal", and throughout the effort has been to approximate as closely as printing allows a palaeographic transcription of the original.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The University of Michigan.

THE MUSTER ROLL ¹⁰

Alarde	Compostela . . .	1540
El alarde q[ue] se hizo de la gente quel virrey enbio a cibola.		
Cibola	soldados	

Yo Juan de cuebas escriuano mayor de mynas e relaçiones¹¹ desta nueua [E]spaña por su mag[esta]d digo e doy ffee, que en la ciudad de compostella de la nueva galizia de la nueua [E]spaña estando presente el yll[ustrisi]mo señor don antonio de mendoza visorrey e gouer[nad]or desta nueua [E]spaña por su m[ages]t[ad] e gonçalo de salazar ffactor e peralmyndes cherino¹² veedor de la d[ic]ha nueua [E]spaña y xpoual d[e]oñate veedor de la d[ic]ha p[r]obinçia e otrà mucha gente se hizo el alarde de toda la gente q[ue] va a la t[ie]rra nueuamente descubierta por el padre proui[n]ci[al] frai marcos de niça¹³ de que va por capitan general fran[cis]co

¹⁰ The archival description is as follows: "Archivo General de Indias, Audiencia de Guadalajara, Legajo 5, Documento 2. Extracto del documento. 1540 Aud[ienci]a de Guadalajara. Testimonio en relacion de la gente armas y municiones que salió de compostela en N[uev]a E[spañ]a (siendo Virrey de ella D[o]n Ant[oni]o de Mendoza) que se llevó a la tierra nuevam[en]te descubierta por el P[adr]e fr[ay] Marcos de Niza, cuyo General fue Fran[cis]co Vasquez Coronado."

¹¹ A literal translation would be "chief notary of mines and reports".

¹² Spelled in a variety of forms in contemporary documents—"Chirinos" and "Cherinos" seem to be preferred.

¹³ Wagner found only one contemporary statement that Niza was provincial of the Franciscans (*Spanish Southwest*, I, 96-103). This provides a second one, and conclusive evidence is contained in the royal permission of April 17, 1538, in which Charles V authorizes Mendoza to send out the "Rdv. Padre Fray Marcos de Niça probincial de la orden de Sr. San Francisco en la Provincia de la N. España" to discover new lands to the north. Arch. Gen. de Indias, Justicia papers, estante 48, cajón 3, legajo 3/30.

vazq[ue]z de coronado el qual d[ic]ho alarde se hizo en veinte e dos dias del mes de hebr[er]o de mill e q[uinient]os e quarenta años siendo presente el s[eñ]or lic[encia]do maldonado oidor¹⁴ en la forma e manera sig[uient]e.

XXIII Capitan general fran[cis]co vazquez de coronado¹⁵ juro q[ue] lleua en esta dicha jornada en serui[ci]o de su magestad veynte e dos o veynte e tres cauallos e tres o quatro adereços de armas de la brida y de la gineta.¹⁶

XVII El maestre de campo lope de samaniego¹⁷ allide juro q[ue] lleua diez e seis o diez e siete cauallos e dos cueras de anta¹⁸ e vna cocta de malla e sus adereços y vnas coraças e armas de la t[ie]rra por q[ue] lo demas q[ue] traia se le quemó.

XIII don pedro de tobar¹⁹ alferez mayor juro llevar treze cauallos vna cocta e vnas coraças e otros adereços e armas de la t[ie]rra.

V don lope de gurra²⁰ cinco cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra e armaduras de castilla e de cateça e de cuera de anta.

III Hernando de aluarado²¹ capitan del artilleria quatro cauallos vna cocta e mangas y armas de la t[ie]rra e otros adereços e armas de la t[ie]rra.

III don alonso manrique²² tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y armas de castilla e p[ar]a cabeça y cuera de anta.

VII juan gallego²³ vna cocta e calçones e vna cuera de anta e vna bal-
lesta e otras armas de castilla e de la t[ie]rra e siete cauallos.

III Salinas²⁴ hijo de andres de salinas estante en megico tres cauallos vna cocta de malla y armas de la t[ie]rra e p[ar]a la cabeça.

III Rodrigo de frias tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra e vna cuera de anta.

III Fran[cis]co de santillan dos cavallos e vna yegua²⁵ cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.

III Andres de campo tres cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera de anta.

III Alonsó de velasco tres cavallos e armas de la t[ie]rra cocta e vn caxco.

I Lope gallego vn cauallo vn arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.

II Anton delgado dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra e para la cab[ez]a.

I Velasco vn cau[all]o y vn arnes armas de la t[ie]rra.

I Fran[cis]co de symancas vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.

¹⁴ Judge of the audiencia of New Spain.

¹⁵ Icaza, no. 364.

¹⁶ Including, of course, his famous gilded suit of armor, with its helmet crested with plumes. A reading of "de la grumeta" is also possible but does not fit the sense of the passage.

¹⁷ Winship, p. 11.

¹⁸ Apparently a buckskin protective covering for the body as the expression "cuera de malla" is used for a coat of mail.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 32.

²⁰ Undoubtedly the Don Lope de Urrea of the Castañeda narrative. *Ibid.*, p. 55.

²¹ One of the rescuers of Coronado at Cibola. Icaza, no. 1221; Winship, pp. 12, 24.

²² Icaza, no. 1369; Winship, p. 12, where he appears as Don Alonso Manrique de Lara.

²³ Winship, pp. 25, 26.

²⁴ Icaza, no. 1290.

²⁵ One of the two mares listed in this muster.

- I Marco Romano vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Juan perez aragones vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Fran[cis]co munoz²⁶ vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Juan de pena[s]²⁷ vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I M[ar]tin destepa vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Xpoual de la hoz vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Andres berrugo vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Gomez Roman vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Xpoual velasco vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Pe[d]ro mendez de sotomaioir²⁸ vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra dos p[ar]jes.
 IIII Gomez Xaurez de Figueroa quatro cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra çelada e barbote e vnas coraças.
 IIII Juan batista de san vitorees vna cocta e vna çelada e vn barbote e vna cuera e armas de la t[ie]rra e quatro cav[all]os.
 V Garçia del castillo çinco cau[all]os vna cuera de anta vna cocta de malla vna manopla.
 III Alonso de canseco tres cavallos e vna cocta e vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
 IIII Melchior perez²⁹ quatro cavallos vna cuera de malla e cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
 IIII Domingo m[ar]tin quatro cavallos vna cuera de malla otra de anta vn corsete armas de la t[ie]rra.
 II Lope de la cadena dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
 II Melchior de rrobles dos cavallos e vna çelada vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta.
 I Andres m[ar]tin vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Pedro deçija vn cau[all]o e vn caxco barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.
 II Pedro linares dos cavallos y armas de la tierra.
 II Juan de rramos dos cavallos e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 V Pedro de ledesma³⁰ çinco cau[all]os vna cocta vn barbote çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 XII Capitan don garçia.lopez de cardenas³¹ doze cau[all]os tres parez de armas de castilla e dos pares de coraças vna cocta de malla.
 V Juan nauarro çinco cau[all]os vna cuera de malla armas de la tierra vna çelada vn barbote.
 II Alonso del moral alferez desta compa[ñ]ia dos cau[all]os vn barbote vna çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 V R[odrigo] de ysla çinco cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra vna cocta e otras armas.
 III Juan lopez tres cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra.
 II Fran[cis]co gomez dos cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra vna ballesta e vn puñal.
 I Her[nan]do botello³² vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.

²⁶ Icaza, no. 250. ²⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 752, the name appears as "Peñas".

²⁸ Chronicler of the discovery of the Grand Canyon of the Colorado by the López de Cárdenas side expedition, Winship, p. 37.

²⁹ Icaza, no. 1144. ³⁰ *Ibid.*, no. 1166.

³¹ Winship, pp. 35 ff., tells of his journey with twelve companions to the Grand Canyon of the Colorado.

³² Icaza, no. 1301.

- III Maestre miguel e su hijo tres cauallos vna cocta de malla e vn jubon de malla caxco e su hijo armas de la t[ie]rra barbote e çelada.
- VI Capitan gutierrez de la caualleria seis cauallos vna cocta vnos caraguelles de malla vna cuera de anta tres armas de la t[ie]rra.
- VI Juan de villareal³³ alferez seys cauallos vn coselete vna çelada vn barbote vna cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Alonso lopez quatro cauallos e vna çelada vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Ger[óni]mo de estrada dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cocta de malla vna cuera de anta.
- II Peroboo³⁴ dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta.
- I Fran[cis]co de parada vn cau[all]o armas de la tierra vna cuera de anta.
- II G[erónim]o hernandez dos cauallos vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Baltasar de Azebedo vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Miguel S[uar]es (or S[ánchez]) vn cavallo e vna yegua³⁵ armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Al[ons]o M[art]in parra vn cau[all]o y armas de la tierra.
- V Juan Gomez de paradifias³⁶ çinco cauallos vna cota vn caxco armas de la t[ie]rra.
- VII Capitan diego lopez³⁷ veynte e quatro de seuilla siete cauallos vna cuera de malla con sus adereços vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Fran[cis]co de castro dos cauallos vna cuera de anta armas de la tierra.
- I R[odrig]o descubrir vn cau[all]o armas de la tierra.
- II Diego de morilla dos cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Nofre hernandez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Martin hernandez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Pe[d]ro hernandez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Alonso de aranda vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Grauiel lopez³⁸ dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vn barbote e çelada.
- III Bar[tolo]me napolitano tres cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra.
- V Capitan don R[odig]o maldonado³⁹ çinco cauallos vna cota de malla. con sus adereços e caraguelles barbote e çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
- V Juan de torquemada alferez çinco cauallos vná cotta caxo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Fran[cis]co gutierrez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna çelada.

³³ *Ibid.*, no. 548. At Coronado's command, he returned with news of the expedition.

³⁴ Clearly this in the original document. Pe[d]ro boo is what we should expect, from the town of Boo near Santander, Spain.

³⁵ See above, notes 6 and 25.

³⁶ In all likelihood the petitioner listed in Icaza, no. 837.

³⁷ "The alderman from Seville", who was present at the action in which Lope de Samaniego met his death; he also led a side expedition to Haxa. Winship, pp. 16, 66.

³⁸ Icaza, no. 1103.

³⁹ Led an advance party on the march to Quivira to a ravine, which had been reached earlier by Cabeza de Vaca. Winship, p. 67.

- II Sancho Ro[drigue]s dos cau[all]os armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta.
- I Alonso de Medina vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Her[nan]do de barahona vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Leonardo sanchez vna cuera de anta caxco armas de la t[ie]rra vn cau[all]o.
- I [Juan de] cepeda⁴⁰ vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Anton miguel tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Gaspar de guadalupe vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Her[nan]do de caso verde dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera de anta e vn bastidor.
- VIII Capitan don tristan de arellano⁴¹ ocho cauallos vna cuera mangas y caraguelles de malla armas de la t[ie]rra vnas platas vna çelada vn barbote vn arcabuz dos ballestas vna espada de dos manos tres spadas e otras armas p[ar]a sy e p[ar]a sus criados.
- V Alonso perez⁴² çinco cauallos vna cotta y cuera de malla e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan de solis farfan tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fran[cis]co Rodriguez vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra vna çelada.
- II Jorge paez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Miguel de castro vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Miguel S[uar]es (S[anch]es) de plazença dos cauallos vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Pedro nieto tres cauallos vna cotta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- V Capitan don diego de guevara⁴³ çinco cauallos vna cuera de anta vna çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Diego hernandez alferez tres cauallos vna cotta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- IIII Pedro mayoral quatro cau[all]os vna cuera de malla con sus faldas vn barbote e çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fran[cis]co de oliuares⁴⁴ vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Xpoual gutierrez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Andres P[er]ez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Goncalo de castilla tres cau[all]os e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Pedro de najera dos cauallos vna cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Luys hernandez dos cauallos vna cuera de malla gorxal vn barbote armas de la t[ie]rra.
- V Alonso go[me]s alferez çinco cauallos vna cotta de malla vna cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Alonso de paradiñas tres cauallos vna cota de malla vna cuera de anta barbote çelada armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Xpoual Cau[aller]o dos cauallos vnas coraças caxco vn barbote armas de la tierra.
- II Pe[d]ro hernandez dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna çelada vna cuera de anta.

⁴⁰ Undoubtedly the Juan de Cepeda who later claimed to have lost two horses on the expedition. Icaza, no. 1321.

⁴¹ Winship, p. 11; Icaza, no. 516.

⁴² Eldest son of the *bachiller* Alonzo Pérez. Icaza, no. 63.

⁴³ "The son of Don Juan de Guevara and nephew of the Count of Oñate . . .", Winship, p. 11.

⁴⁴ Icaza, no. 1214.

- III Fran[cis]co de portales tres cau[all]os vna cuera de anta vna cotta de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Anton g[a]r[ci]a dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Pedro marquez dos cavallos e armas de la tierra.
- I Martin hernandez vn cau[all]o vna cuera de anta.
- II Alonso maldonado dos cav[all]os armas de la tierra.
- II Juan paniagua⁴⁵ dos cavallos e armas de la t[ie]rra vna cotta e vna çelada.
- I Pe[d]ro go[me]s vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Antonio alvarez vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fernand go[me]s⁴⁶ vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Manuel hernandez vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Bar[tol]me del campo vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Fran[cis]co go[me]s dos cavallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Xpoual maldonado⁴⁷ dos cavallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan de contreras tres cau[all]os e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan galeras tres cau[all]os vna cocta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- IIII Fran[cis]co calderon quatro cavallos vna cocta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Velasco de barrio nuevo tres cauallos vna cota de malla vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Rodrigo de barrio nuevo su h[er]man[o] dos cauallos armaduras de cabeça y de la t[ie]rra.
- V Luys de bargas çinco cauallos vna cotta de malla armaduras de cabeça armas de la t[ie]rra.
- V Fran[cis]co douando çinco cauallos vna cotta armadura de cabeça armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fernan go[me]s⁴⁸ con armas de la t[ie]rra vn cau[all]o.
- II Fernan paez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Gaspar de saldaña dos cauallos y armaduras de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan Xarami[ll]o⁴⁹ tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan de villegas tres cauallos vna cotta vna cuera danta armadura de la tierra y de la cabeça dobladas.
- II Pedro de vargas dos cauallos vna cuera danta armaduras de la t[ie]rra y de la cab[ez]a.
- I R[odrigo] de paz vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra cuera danta.
- II Sebastian de soto dos cauallos y vna cuera danta e armas de la t[ie]rra y de la cabeça.
- II Fran[cis]co gorualan dos cauallos e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Fran[cis]co de carauajal dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Lope de la cadena tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Pedro de venabides tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta armadura de cabeça y vna cota de malla.
- II Xpoual de mayorga⁵⁰ dos cauallos vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Juan de venabides dos cauallos vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.

⁴⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1378.⁴⁶ See note 48.⁴⁷ Icaza, no. 1038.⁴⁸ Possibly the Hernan Gómez de la Peña of Icaza, no. 1116. See note 46.⁴⁹ Icaza, no. 867. The Captain Juan Jaramillo of his own narrative (Winship, pp. 222-41). He was not a captain at the time of this muster.⁵⁰ Icaza, no. 1377.

- III Luys descobedo tres cauallos vna cota de malla y cuera danta e armas de cabeça de la t[ie]rra.
- II Ju[an] de Ribadeneira dos cauallos y vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II H[e]r[nan]do de valle⁵¹ dos cauallos vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Andres de miranda vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Antonio de Ribera tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra cuera danta y armas de cabeça.
- I G[a]r[ci]a R[odrigo]es⁵² vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Pedro de vrel dos cauallos e armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
- I Xpoual perez davila vn cauallo y armas de la tierra.
- I Luis de pigredo vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- VII Juan perez de vergara siete cauallos y vna açemila y vna cuera y calças de malla y vn barbote y çelada y una manopla armas de la t[ie]rra dos arcabuzes y una ballesta.
- IIII M[art]in de villarroya quatro cauallos vna cota de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Juan de Beteta⁵³ vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Andres de cobarruvias dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y cota de malla armaduras de cabeça e barbote.
- II Miguel de entreambas aguas dos cauallos y mangas de malla armas de la tierra.
- I Diego de puelles⁵⁴ vn cau[all]o armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Ju[an] de Bustamante vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Ju[an] Vaca vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Geronimo Ramires tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Florian bermudez dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Pe[d]ro alvarez vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II R[odrigo] de vera dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Diego de çerbatos dos cauallos y vna cota de malla y caraguelles y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Rosele vazquez de garauel vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan franco de mentre tres cauallos vna cuera danta çaraguelles y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Juan pastor dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça y barbote.
- III R[odrigo] de tamaran⁵⁵ tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera danta y armaduras de cabeça.
- I Pascual bernal de molina vn cauallo y vna cuera danta.
- I Ju[an] R[odrigo]es de alanje⁵⁶ vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
- II Fra[ncis]co de temiño⁵⁷ dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Juan de gatzaca vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera danta.
- I Alonso esteuan de merida vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.

⁵¹ *Ibid.*, no. 1183.

⁵² *Ibid.*, no. 1312.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, no. 1076.

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1340.

⁵⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 1320.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1229.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, no. 1279.

- III Xpoual de quesada⁵⁸ tres cauallos y vn cota de malla y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Lor[enz]o aluarez dos cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça y vna cuera danta.
- V Domingo alonso cinco cauallos cota de malla armaduras de la t[ie]rra y de cabeça.
- II Xpoual descobar⁵⁹ dos cauallos cota de malla armaduras de la t[ie]rra y de cabeça.
- I Florian de maçuela vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Pe[d]ro sanchez del varco davila vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fran[cis]co de alcantara vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Juan lopez de sayago⁶⁰ tres cauallos armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
- I Fran[cis]co de padilla vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Pe[d]ro m[ar]tin cauo dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Di[eg]o de madrid⁶¹ tres cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Alonso de sayauedra vn cau[all]o y vna cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra y de cabeça.
- II Ximon g[a]r[cí]a⁶² dos cauallos vna cuera dantta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fran[cis]co gomez vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Luis de la chica vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Diego nuñez de garueña vn cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Hernando de alua vn cau[all]o e vna cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Xpoual g[a]r[cí]a vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Diego del castillo vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Juan R[odríguez]⁶³ de avalos vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Pedro de ortega dos cauallos y vna cuera danta armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Juan de Çepedes⁶⁴ dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II M[art]in sanchez dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Fran[cis]co M[art]in vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Juan Ximenez dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra vna cuera danta.
- I Pedro de venavente vn cau[all]o e cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I R[odríguez]o de trugillo vn cauallo cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Diego sanchez de fromista dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Alonso de valençia vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Bartholome serrano dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y vna cuera danta.
- IIII Mathin de Castañeda quatro cauallos armaduras de cabeça con su barbote y armas de la tierra cota de malla cuera danta.
- II Fran[cis]co de valdiui[es]o dos cauallos y armas de la t[ie]rra y vn caxco.

⁵⁸ "Que fué a Cibola por mandado de Vuestra Señoría Ilustrísima, para pintar las cosas de la tierra . . ." These paintings would be priceless today. *Ibid.*, no. 1298.

⁵⁹ Possibly the same person as the petitioner in Icaza, no. 640.

⁶⁰ Icaza, no. 994, gives the name as Juan López de la Rosa of Sáyo.

⁶¹ *Ibid.*, no. 620.

⁶² Possibly the "Ximon Garcia" of Icaza, no. 791.

⁶³ *Ibid.*, no. 1229.

⁶⁴ *Ibid.*, no. 1379.

- VII Alonso sanchez y su hijo syete caualllos y armas de la t[ie]rra y cottas de malla.
- II Juan M[art]in de la fuente del maestre dos caualllos e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Xpoual hernandez moreno vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Gonçalo vazquez vn cauallo y armas de la tierra.
- II Juan cordero dos caualllos y armas de la tierra.
- I Pe[d]ro lopez de çibdad Real vn cauallo y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Sancho ordoñez⁶⁵ quatro caualllos y cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Julian de samano dos caualllos vn corselete y cuera de malla y dos cueras de anta armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça.
- II Alonso gonçalez dos caualllos y armas de la tierra.
- II Hernan gomez de la peña⁶⁶ dos caualllos armas de la t[ie]rra y vn jubon fuerte.
- I Pe[d]ro geronimo vn cauallo y lança.
- I Pe[d]ro hernandez caluo cauallo e lança.
- II Diego nuñez de mirandilla dos caualllos y vna cota de malla.
- III Fran[cis]co Roxo loro⁶⁷ tres caualllos y armas de la t[ie]rra y armaduras de cabeça.
- I Andres hernandez de enzina sola vn cau[all]o e armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Miguel de torres dos caualllos y armas de la tierra.
- II Pedro pascual dos caualllos y cota de malla y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Aorta ome portugues vn cauallo armas de la tierra.
- I Diego de salamanca vn cauallo armas de la tierra.
- I Gaspar aluarez portugues vn cauallo armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Xpoual gallego vn cauallo y armas de la tierra.
- I Domingo Romero vn cauallo y cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Pedro nauarro dos caualllos cuera de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
- II Gonçalo de arjona dos caualllos y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- I Juan fioz trompeta vn cauallo y vn coselete y vna cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
- III Hernando bermejo⁶⁸ quatro caualllos y armas de la t[ie]rra y cuera danta.

Ynfanteria

Capitan Pablo de melgossa⁶⁹ absente por q[ue]no era allegado de Mex[i]co.

Lorenço girones vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.

Fran[cis]co de espinosa vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.

Alonso Ximenez⁷⁰ vn arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.

Juan de salamanca vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.

Fran[cis]co de Godoy vna Rodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.

Juan de santouaya galaçiano vn arcabuz y armas de la t[ie]rra.

Juan de duero vn arcabuz espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.

Domingo Ruiz arcabuz espada armas de la t[ie]rra.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*, no. 949.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, no. 1116.

⁶⁷ Icaza, no. 1207, lists a Francisco rroxo from Sicily, who had been on Coronado's expedition.

⁶⁸ Winship, p. 188.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 12.

⁷⁰ Icaza, no. 1133.

- Juan baruero vn arcabuz espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Diego diaz de sancto domingo espada y rrodela armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Fran[cis]co de Vargas espada y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Roque aluarez vallestas espada y cuera danta.
 R[odrig]o de gomez espada y puñal.
 Juan françes espada y rrodela.
 Hernan g[a]r[cí]a de llerena vna vallestas espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Juan m[art]in de la fuente del arco vna vallestas y cuera danta y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 R[odrig]o aluarez de cafra vna vallestas y espada.
 Alonso millero galiciano vna vallestas espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Andres m[art]in portugues vallestas espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Juan de vallarra espada y puñal y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Antonio de laredo vallestas espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Juan bermejo vallestas espada y puñal y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Miguel sánchez vallestas espada cau[all]o y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Pe[d]ro M[art]in de la bermeja vallestas espada y puñal armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Juan morillo vn caualllo espada y rrodela armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Alonso vos de rribadeo espada y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Pedro de talavera espada y rrodela mangas de malla armas de la t[ie]rra.
 M[art]in alonso destorga espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Pe[d]ro hernandez de guadalajara vn arcabuz espada y puñal.
 M[art]in hernandez chillon vna cuera de anta espada y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Baltasar de çamora espada y rrodela y armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Anton m[art]in vna ballesta vna espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Diego de medina vna espada vna rrodela e vna ballesta armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Galiveer vna cuera de anta espada e cosete.
 Diego de candia vn arcabuz espada e rrodela.
 Miguel hernandez espada e rrodela e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Jaco de bruças vna espada e arcabuz e vna Rodela.
 Esteuan m[art]in vn arcabuz espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 II Miguel de fuente Ravia dos cavallos tres espadas e vna rodela.
 Fran[cis]co lopez vna cuera danta vn montante espada e vn puñal.
 I Fran[cis]co gorez vn cau[all]o vna espada e vna rrodela.
 Gaspar Ro[dri]gue[s] vna ballesta espada e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 B[a]r[tolo]me de pedes⁷¹ vna espada e vn puñal vna ballesta e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Juan vizcayno vna espada vn puñal e vna espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Pedro de alcantara vna ballesta e vna espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Goncalo Yañez vna rrodela espada e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 I Alferrez pedro Ramos vna arcabuz esp[er]a da e vn cau[all]o.
 Atanbor lazaro espada e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Anton rruiz vn arcabuz.

⁷¹ "Cespedes" perhaps.

Juan de çelada vn arcabuz.
 Fran[cis]co de villa franca arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Juan de plazença arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Fran[cis]co gomez vn arcabuz e vn caxco e armas de la t[ie]rra.
 B[a]r[tolom]e S[ánchez] S[aur]es vna espada e vna rrodela.
 Alonso hernandez armas de la t[ie]rra Rodela e espada.
 Pedro de trugillo vn arcabuz armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Miguel de torrez vn arcabuz espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Alonso aluarez vn arcabuz e cuera de anta armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Fran[cis]co m[art]in vna ballesta espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 G[a]r[cí]a de perea vna rrodela espada armas de la t[ie]rra.
 Diego de mata espada e vna rrodela.
 Graviel hernandez vna espada e vna rrodela e armas de la t[ie]rra.

DLII Son quin[ient]os e çinquenta e dos cavallos.

E esta d[ic]ha gente de cauallo lleuauan sus lancas e espadas de mas de las d[ic]has armas declaradas e otras armas.

Por manera q[ue] son dozientos e treynta e tantos de cau[all]o de mas y allende de los q[ue] van adelante en conpañya de los Religiosos y de los q[ue] se esperan de mex[i]co q[ue] van en este d[ic]ho viaje e jornada.

E ynfanteria son sesenta e dos [h]ombres con las d[ic]has armas de mas de otras armas de la t[ie]rra q[ue] se les dio.

E la de mas gente q[ue] va por la mar e por la t[ie]rra q[ue] el visorrey ymbio.

E asy vista mirada y examinada la dicha gente por su señoria los d[ic]hos capitan general maestre de campo alferrez mayor e capitanes y caualleros de suso nombrados e declarados paresçieron ante su s[eñor]ía e dixerón q[ue] por aquellos se an movido con buen zelo a yr en esta jornada en seruiçio de dios y de su mag[estad] y en su réal nombre trabajar e procurar en ella hazer lo que deuen a su real seruici[o] como por manar dellos esta voluntad pidieron y suplicaron a su señoria yll[ustr]ísi[ma] permita y mande q[ue] asy ellos como la demas gente hazan la solenidad de juramento q[ue] en tal caso e viaje se requiere p[ar]a q[ue] mejor e mas effectuosamente hagan lo que deuan como buenos vasallos y seruidores de su mag[estad] pues cunple asy a su real seruici[o].

E luego el d[ic]ho capitan general fran[cis]co vazq[ue]z de coronado juro por dios todopoderoso y por su santa madre y por vna cruz que allí estaua e palabras de los santos evangelios donde puso su mano derecha corporalmente en un libro missal en manos del R[everen]do padre fray fran[cis]co de vitoria proffeso de la orden de señor san fran[cis]co q[ue] como buen xpiano vasallo e serui[d]or de su mag[estad] vsara el dicho cargo de capitan general q[ue] por su s[eñor]ía en nombre de su mag[estad] es nombrado p[ar]a la d[ic]ha jornada e t[er]min[ar] e guardara el serui[cio] de dios e de su mag[estad] y obedesçera y cunplira sus mandami[en]tos e del d[ic]ho señor visorrey en su real nombre como buen cau[all]er[o] hijodalgo lo deue hazer a todo su saber y entender.

E luego los d[ic]hos maestre de canpo alferrez e capitanes y

caualleros e la de mas gente cada vno por sy juraron en forma de derecho segund e como de suso se contiene poniendo sus manos derechas en la dicha cruz e libro so cargo del qual prometieron de ser obidientes al dicho fran[cis]co vazq[ue]z de coronado su capitan general e a otro qual q[ue]r capitan general q[ue] su mag[estad]o el d[ic]ho señor visorrey en su real nombre mandare e que no dexaron sus capitanyas e vanderas syn su Real mando e haran todo aquello q[ue] son obligados a hazer como buenos capitanes e gente vassallos de su mag[estad] lo qual paso en presençia de su s[eñori]a e de los d[ic]hos caualleros e personas arriba dichas y en presençia de my el d[ic]ho juan de Cuebas escriuano maior de minas de sus mag[estades].

En fee de lo qual y de mandami[ent]o del d[ic]ho yll[ustrá]mo s[eñor] virrey de la nueua[e]spaña saq[ue] la presente nomyna del dicho alarde en la dicha çiudad de compostella veynte e siete dias del d[ic]ho mes de hebrero de mill e qu[inqu]ientos e quarenta la qual va escripta en diez fojas de papel escriptas.

JUAN DE CUEBAS
RÚBRICA

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Problem of Historical Knowledge: An Answer to Relativism. By MAURICE MANDELBAUM. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1938. Pp. x, 340. \$3.50.)

THIS volume is a critique of relativism in historiography and an argument for the thesis that history as it actually has been is known and is described in books. The first chapter is a statement of the relativist position as the author conceives it, with the views of Carl Becker and Charles Beard used as illustrations. The second chapter describes the doctrines of European relativists—Croce, Dilthey, and Mannheim—and is followed by an inquiry into the relativist presuppositions. Efforts to overcome relativism are set forth in an examination of the theories of Simmel, Rickert, Scheler, and Troelsch, treated as counterrelativists. Convinced that the four critics have not succeeded in disposing of relativism, Mr. Mandelbaum takes up the task himself. In carrying out this undertaking he inquires into judgments of fact and of values, renders a long opinion on relevance and causation in history, and comes out with the conclusion that historians do write objective history, that is, do describe the past as it actually was in fact.

The first question is: Has the author correctly stated the relativist position? He defines relativism as the view that "no historical work grasps the nature of the past (or present) immediately". Had he added: "and tells the whole truth about it or describes it in miniature as it actually was", and stopped there, Mr. Mandelbaum would have correctly stated the relativist position which he thinks he has destroyed. But he goes on to say: relativism holds that "whatever 'truth' a historical work contains is relative to the conditioning processes under which it arose and can only be understood with reference to those processes". He continues: "To use an example taken from Beard, the works of Ranke do not contain objective truth: whatever 'truth' they contain is limited by the psychological, sociological, and other conditions under which Ranke wrote."

Mr. Mandelbaum does not cite any lines from my writings to prove this statement, and if I have ever printed anything like that, then I cannot write the English language. Ranke's works do contain statements of objective truth, many truths. When Ranke says that some person was born on a certain day of a certain year he states a truth about an objective fact. I have never meant to say that whatever "truth" Ranke's works contain is "limited" by psychological, sociological, or other processes under which Ranke wrote.

What I have tried to say so that it can be understood is that no historian can describe the past as it actually was and that every historian's work—that is, his selection of facts, his emphasis, his omissions, his organization, and his methods of presentation—bears a relation to his own personality and the age and circumstances in which he lives. This is relativism as I understand it, and it is not the conception put forth by Mr. Mandelbaum. I do not hold that historical "truth" is relative but that the facts chosen, the spirit, and the arrangement of every historical work are relative. Mr. Mandelbaum has missed the whole point of the business.

The second question is: What has Mr. Mandelbaum discovered? He says he has discovered that "the concrete structure and continuity to be found in every historical work is not the product of valuational judgments, but is implicit in the facts themselves." Again, "The relevance of one statement to another [in historical writings] depends upon causal factors which relate the events to which the statements refer. . . . The historian finds these connections and singles them out for others to see." Again, "the truth of a historical work consists in the truth of its statements" (p. 183). The relativists say that "valuational elements enter into the actual constitution of historical accounts. . . . However, if we examine historical works as they stand we find that this contention is false. For every historical fact is given in some specific context in which it leads on to some other fact." This would seem to mean that in the context facts select themselves as one leads to another. Query: Who supplies the context? Second query: In *whose* historical work does Mr. Mandelbaum find one fact inexorably leading to another? Third query: Will any historical writer maintain that he merely finds a fact in a context and that this fact leads him on to all the other facts *seriatim*? It is an interesting commentary that Mr. Mandelbaum does not cite a single historical work, not a page of written history, that does what he says historical works "as they now stand" actually do.

In short, Mr. Mandelbaum thinks that historians can and do tell "the" truth of history and that the relativists are all wrong in holding that this feat cannot be accomplished. As assistant professor of philosophy at Swarthmore he naturally takes the philosophic view of things, but he is supported in this contention by some historians of distinction. It would be helpful to have cited some work in history which tells "the" truth of any brief time-span in history, to say nothing of history. Does Rhodes or Channing or Bancroft? How many living historians would be willing to stand up in public and say that they can describe the American Revolution or the Civil War or Reconstruction as it actually was, in personalities, events, and circumstances, that is, tell the whole truth about it?

New Milford, Connecticut.

CHARLES A. BEARD.

The Gateway to History. By ALLAN NEVINS. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1938. Pp. vii, 412. \$3.00.)

PROFESSOR Allan Nevins came over into the field of professional historical writing and teaching from the field of journalism. He has already made for himself a distinguished place among the academic practitioners of the historical craft. He occupies an important professorship in one of the outstanding American universities. Moreover, he has published a large number of substantial works since he became a professor of history. Indeed, he may fairly be said to have supplanted Albert Bushnell Hart as the most successful exemplar of mass production among American historians.

The fact that Professor Nevins has been able to win his way among historians and to be easily and graciously accepted by the most austere members of the guild has pleased the present reviewer no end. In my *History of Historical Writing* (pp. 369-70) it has been my agreeable duty to defend scholarly journalists against the slurs of certain haughty historians, with their ever-ready quip of "mere journalism". Since I entered journalism after a long apprenticeship in professional historical training and teaching, it was possible for me to do this with good taste, and Professor Nevins has always come easily to hand as cogent proof that journalists can compete successfully with the general run of the historical profession.

In spite of his professorial success, Professor Nevins could not have been entirely oblivious to the undercurrent of professional bias against the journalist, and it would not be unlikely that he has harbored sentiments compounded of inferiority and resentment. It would appear most logical and probable to regard the present book as a defiant, if amiable, vindication of his historical prowess. He throws down his gauntlet to the historians and demonstrates to his own satisfaction, as well as to the reviewer's, that he knows more about the general science and literature of history than many a professional historian. In other words, the present volume would appear to be Professor Nevins's final effort to demonstrate that he has "arrived" and "belongs".

The book opens with a defense of historical interest and historical writing, though the author regards history as more a matter of erudition and aesthetics than a pragmatic aid to social understanding and social planning. Then we have a rebuke to those who take too dogmatic or narrow-minded a view of historical interests. Next we find a survey of the materials of history, from primitive folklore to the elaborate collections of historical documents which have been compiled and published under official or quasi-official auspices. Chapters follow, analyzing unreliable historical documents, the garbling and falsification of historical materials, and the nature of historical evidence.

The author then argues for the value of considering history as a series of

important problems rather than merely a superficial narrative of historical happenings. The importance of dominant ideas in shaping historical development is discussed, though in a way which makes one regret that Professor Nevins never had the opportunity to study under James Harvey Robinson. The relation of geography to human events and the course of history is thoughtfully considered, and this is followed by a not-too-sympathetic analysis of possible contributions of sociology to historical interpretation. But Professor Nevins is tolerant towards social history, if the latter is not too rigorously dominated by social theory. In dealing with the problem of biography and history, Professor Nevins, who has given much of his time to biographical writing, appears as a protagonist of the ample and forthright conventional biography, having little patience with the methods of Strachey, Bradford, and the so-called "new biography". There are some who may lift an eyebrow over Professor Nevins's belaboring of Emil Ludwig for his "tendency toward overproduction".

Professor Nevins comes nearest to real enthusiasm in his praise of the great literary historians from Macaulay to Parkman and Prescott. There seems no doubt whatever that he would prefer being a second Macaulay to standing in the shoes of Sidney Webb.

Professor Nevins concludes his work with some homilies on the reading of history, in which he earnestly recommends the reading entire of the great classic historians from Gibbon onward. This may be excellent advice, but if one were to take it too seriously, he would never have time to exhibit the historical productivity for which Professor Nevins is justly famous.

While conceding that this is a very valuable and exceedingly stimulating work, it is the impression of the reviewer that Professor Nevins has slightly overdone his apologia and vindication. No man could be quite so spontaneously and automatically learned. It is beyond human capacity to be both an adept in chasing a firetruck and easily at home with the most obscure medieval chronicler or the most esoteric Polish archivist. On the other hand, in some of his theoretical discussions Professor Nevins slumps badly at times because of his lack of command of better examples and more cogent literature.

The weakest portion of the book is unquestionably the bibliography. For the most part this is a hodge-podge, lacking alike completeness or high selective powers. Archaic and incompetent works are interspersed with the most recent and reliable books. Publishers and dates of publication are all too frequently lacking. Finally, it is not unfair to suggest that Professor Nevins may have been a little less than generous in his bibliographic exercises. Certain books upon which he seems to have leaned very heavily are not mentioned in the text, footnotes, or bibliography.

Auburn, New York.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson. Edited by JAMES LEA CATE and EUGENE N. ANDERSON. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. x, 499. \$4.50.)

THE editors of this *Festschrift* have demonstrated a very important service which such a publication may render, namely, that of making available studies too long to appear as articles yet too short to be printed as monographs. Scholars interested in the Crusades as well as in imperial politics in the twelfth century have cause to be grateful to them for the publication of Einar Joranson's thorough study of the "Palestine Pilgrimage of Henry the Lion". Likewise much of the vividness and actual value of Florence Edler's important contribution to economic history would have been lost if she had been forced to condense her study. As it is, the reader can almost sense the clouds of dust which arise from the caravans of the Van der Molen as they ply between Antwerp and Italy in the early sixteenth century. These two studies occupy almost a third of the whole book and greatly enhance its value for students and teachers of medieval history.

The other fifteen contributions, though of varying length, more nearly conform to the pattern of articles for periodicals. Their range in time, place, and theme is so great that anyone less versatile than the brilliant teacher whom they seek to honor can scarcely hope to appraise them all adequately. He is harassed by the dilemma of praising immoderately those articles with whose subject matter he is least familiar or seeming to condemn with too faint praise those whose fields are better known to him. Perhaps, under the circumstances, his best course is to single out those articles which have impressed him most without disparagement to the others which may have equal merit.

Among the ten articles which deal with various aspects of medieval history there are two notable contributions to pre-Renaissance humanism. The article by F. J. Tschan on Bernvald of Hildesheim bears all the earmarks of a finished study. That of J. G. Ross on twelfth century interest in the antiquities of Rome opens up a relatively unexplored vista of classical study. J. L. Cate has applied all the refinements of critical scholarship to his study of church and market reform in the England of Henry III, an excellent contribution to economic history. The opening essay on St. Birgitta of Sweden by Conrad Bergendoff might well serve as a public lecture, entertaining as well as informing. There are two interesting contributions to medical history by L. C. MacKinney and Mary C. Welborn. Helen R. Bittermann's article on the struggle between secular and regular clergy suggests the introduction to a more extended study, as does Geneva Drinkwater's study of the origin of Subiaco. J. T. McNeill's article on the emergence of conciliarism raises the interesting question as to the relative importance of institutional development and the exigencies of a particular situation in shaping events.

The five articles on historiography form a somewhat separate section of the book. Meinecke, Justus Möser, Kautsky, and Theodore Roosevelt are appraised as historians. S. R. Tompkins has approached historiography in a somewhat unusual fashion by tracing the ebb and flow of successive historical interpretation around a theme of unending interest, the Varangians in Russian history. E. N. Anderson has dared to penetrate the philosophical aura of Meinecke's *Ideengeschichte* and offer a definite challenge as to the utility of history. All of these articles make interesting reading.

There is in the closing pages a chronological list of the publications of James Westfall Thompson, to whom the volume is dedicated. The wide range of interest in time and theme displayed by the contributors is more than matched by that of the publications of the teacher. This record of nearly forty-five years of scholarly production is truly amazing, the more so as one discovers that the output has not diminished with age but is still apparently in full flow. Thompson has made a record seldom equaled by one who has discharged for so long the duties of a full-time teacher. To his work as a teacher the contributions of his students in this volume pay high tribute, nearly every one of them exemplifying the careful, painstaking, exact scholarship which he taught them as well as the enthusiasm for historical study with which he inspired them. It is a fitting tribute to his work both as scholar and teacher that the American Historical Association has placed his name upon its presidential roll.

University of Minnesota.

A. C. KREY.

Social Thought from Lore to Science. By HARRY ELMER BARNES, Lecturer, New School for Social Research, and HOWARD BECKER, Professor of Sociology, University of Wisconsin, with the assistance of ÉMILE BENOÎT-SMULLYAN and Others. Two volumes. (Boston: D. C. Heath and Company. 1938. Pp. xxiv, 793, lxxxiv; viii, 794-1178, lxxvii. \$5.00; \$4.50.)

THIS work is an outstanding contribution to the social sciences that will serve for many years to come as the standard textbook on the history of social thought. It combines in admirable fashion the main ingredients of a historical text—reliable information, pertinent criticism, and historical perspective. In these volumes the student will find not only clear and authoritative discussion of the contributions of social thinkers throughout the ages but also understanding of the background upon which theories originated and insight into the cross-fertilization of ideas and the influence they exerted.

The work begins with a discussion of the social thought of preliterate peoples and that of the ancient Far East and Near East. It ends with a discussion of the very latest contributions to the interpretation of social phenomena by contemporary writers of all countries. This extension of the historical scale at both ends is a novel departure from the usual procedure of textbook writers who begin their account with the Greeks and seldom carry

it further than the end of the nineteenth century. This departure alone establishes the distinct superiority of this work over other histories of social thought. The inclusion of pre-Greek reflections on social life greatly improves the historical perspective of the student; while the bold venture of Barnes and Becker into the workshops of the social scientists of today informs him not only of the present status of social science but enables him to gauge the probable direction of future developments.

Another significant departure from the usual run of textbooks is the attempt to regard the history of social thought as a process rather than as a succession of topics. The authors view the development of social thought as part of the evolution of society "from the Sacred to the Secular" and link the social thought of each period with the general social and cultural situations with which it is related. This approach represents a mode of exposition called *wissenssoziologisch* and combines the history of social interpretations with a social interpretation of that history.

For a work of its size, *Social Thought from Lore to Science* has surprisingly few shortcomings. One feels at times that the authors were trying to accomplish too many things at the same time. In some respects the encyclopedic character of the work blurs the perception of its structural features. Less relevant material could have been excluded to make room for a more extensive treatment of significant contributions. There are also passages of straight reporting where one misses critical comment. The tracing of the antecedents of ideas is not always convincing, and some judgments, particularly of the works of contemporary writers, are of doubtful validity. These flaws, however, are insignificant in comparison with the monumental character of the work and the contribution it makes to the knowledge and interpretation of social thought.

Columbia University.

THEODORE ABEL.

Political Institutions: A Preface. By EDWARD MCCHESENEY SAIT, Professor of Political Science, Pomona College. [The Century Political Science Series.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. vi, 548. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Sait has written a fresh and vigorous volume on the state. That fact alone should enlist our interest and win our praise, for over most academic studies of the state lies the heavy hand of tradition. Professor Sait looks at political institutions with his own eyes and delivers himself with considerable freedom, being in fact scornful of most theories. He properly entitles his book a "preface", since it deals with such primary matters as the nature of the state, its origin, its sovereignty, its law, its constitution, and its distinctive forms. On some of these subjects he does much better than on others. Thus he is particularly lucid on the relation of law and the state but much less satisfactory on the problem of democracy. The reason for this unevenness may be that while the author makes excellent critical use of

the older literature of politics he largely ignores the new conditions, new needs, and new functions that are so crucial for the interpretation of the changing state.

Within the limits of this review we cannot do more than give an illustration or two of an approach and a manner of treatment that are constantly provocative and frequently stimulating. At the outset Professor Sait proclaims a strongly behavioristic or, as he would prefer to call it, "realistic" position. A "realist" takes little stock in theories, in "excogitated ideas". Political institutions are not the product of political theories, of preconceived plans or conscious designs, but of innumerable minor adjustments and collisions between man and his environment.

It might be replied that many great political changes at least appear to have been inspired by the changing tides of doctrine or even by the faith or phantasy that animated a leader and his immediate following. To explain all systems of government, from medieval theocracy to present-day dictatorship, by resort to the principle of inevitable adaptation to environment is to make a dogmatic and quite needless assumption. Professor Sait's appeal to the "scientific approach" is not relevant here. Political theories are for the most part not explanations of facts at all. No institutions were ever built on a factual study of how men behave—if for no other reason than that every institution is a control of behavior. Politics is a system of controls depending on a system of values, and neither the controls nor the values are inductions or generalizations concerning how men actually behave. The problem of the scientific study of institutions has to be set in other terms altogether. It is perhaps significant that Professor Sait, with his disbelief in the dynamic role of doctrine, is apt to take refuge in the barren cyclical theory.

We hope that he will in any future edition rewrite his chapter (xix) on "The Decline of Democracy"—not because he takes sides with those who think that democracy is collapsing but because the argument of this chapter is stated on a level far inferior to that of the rest of the book. An author who previously has been acutely critical now parades extensively, without a single hint of criticism, the pseudobiology of Alleyne Ireland and N. J. Lennes and Ralph Adams Cram. In place of a considered analysis of the state of democracy we are given a collection of odds and ends of alarmist opinion, ranging from Clemenceau to Senator Borah.

Apart from this chapter, the book as a whole is well calculated to stimulate a more intelligent study of politics.

Columbia University.

ROBERT M. MACIVER.

Building the British Empire: To the End of the First Empire. By JAMES TRUSLOW ADAMS. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. xvi, 438. \$3.50.)

The British Empire. By CHARLES F. MULLETT, University of Missouri. (New York: Henry Holt and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 768. \$3.75.)

MR. ADAMS, writing on the empire for the general reader in America, devotes much attention to England. His purpose in doing so is clear. He sees the empire as the product of the British race and character, its growth as the extension of British institutions as well as the expansion of British people and interests. Thus the first half of this first volume tells the history of England from earliest days to the Elizabethan era, and even the remainder devotes more attention to internal than to overseas developments, though the relative space accorded to the latter increases towards the close. Within this framework the selection of factual material is on the whole conventional, but there is usually a generous amount of interpretative comment that both enlivens the narrative and ensures to the general reader, however slight or distorted his background of historical knowledge may be, a sympathetic as well as a significant introduction to the subject. Repeatedly the author stresses the importance of habits of mind, such as the English preference for discussion and compromise of immediate disputes rather than fighting and generalizing. He deems "political instinct" more important than frontiers in establishing democracy among British settlers in new lands. His easy style is generally lucid despite the condensation of the narrative, but there are some inexplicable errors of fact on important matters. For example, it is alleged that Magna Carta guaranteed the right of jury trial to "freemen", and "livery and maintenance" are incorrectly defined. There is confusion in dealing with the Proclamation of 1763 and the Quebec Act, especially with their territorial provisions concerning the west. The interview between Richard II and Wat Tyler "exemplified in dramatic fashion the English way of talking things over" (in the sense intended by the author) only if one ignores the prompt sequel.

Mr. Mullett's textbook opens with a bird's-eye view of the empire today and then devotes about a third of its space to the first empire. The importance of naval power and international rivalries in relation to imperial growth are particularly well brought out, besides the political and economic aspects of colonial expansion and mercantile policy. A pertinent chapter discusses the manifold effects of this expansion upon English society in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. Then, after an excellent general chapter on "Colonial Policy and Ideas since 1815", the treatment becomes less closely articulated as developments in each part of the empire are taken up in turn for the years before responsible government and again in rotation for the later period, the whole being concluded by a brief general chapter. In the development of the second empire more recognition might have been given to the needs of defense and to elements of genuine humanitarianism as factors in influencing attitudes and policies both in Britain and in some of the colonies.

The comprehensiveness of the author's intention is commendable, yet so much local detail is sometimes included as to result in a condensation of statement that tends to be cryptic, ambiguous, and occasionally erroneous. This is particularly true in the case of Canada, which is treated at more length than other Dominions. Misleading statements are not always insignificant. The loss of the British tariff preference to Canadian wheat was a consequence of the repeal of the corn laws, not of the navigation acts. The Canadian government has not assumed control over "most Canadian railroads"; the Canadian Pacific, with mileage almost equal to that of the Canadian National, is still in private hands. To say that "before 1867 virtually everything cultural in what is now Canada had a French flavor" is not only generally misleading; it completely overlooks Nova Scotia's cultural precocity before that time. Lists of suggested readings appended to the chapters are up to date and adequate. The index is disappointingly slight. The map of Canada and Newfoundland fails to show the Quebec-Labrador boundary as settled in 1927 by the Privy Council.

Queen's University.

REGINALD G. TROTTER.

ANCIENT HISTORY

Excavations at Olynthus. Part VIII, The Hellenic House: A Study of the Houses found at Olynthus with a Detailed Account of those excavated in 1931 and 1934. By DAVID M. ROBINSON and J. WALTER GRAHAM. Part IX, *The Chalcidic Mint and the Excavation Coins found in 1928-1934.* By DAVID M. ROBINSON and PAUL AUGUSTUS CLEMENT. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xxi, 370; xxxi, 413. Plates 110; 36. \$15.00 each.)

WHAT Pompeii is to ancient Italy, Olynthus is becoming to classical Greece: a Pompeii less well preserved but better excavated—like Pompeii, destroyed all (or nearly all) at one time (348 B.C.) and, like Pompeii again, an excavation largely of private houses with finds important for social and economic history. Thus far two residential districts have been found: on the South Hill a continuous settlement from *ca.* 1000 B.C., poorly housed and never containing over two thousand people; on the North Hill some 235 large houses arranged in blocks laid out *ca.* 430 B.C.

The Hellenic House, which is concerned with the North Hill, is first of all a study of city planning. No logic-bitten visionary could have gone further than the Olynthians. Every house was to be sixty feet square. The houses were to be built in blocks, each of ten houses arranged in two rows of five houses each. No land was wasted on "grounds" around the houses; all land not built on was streets, straight streets intersecting at right angles at the corners of every block. To get the winter sun in the court, all houses faced

south. Actually this whole scheme was but slightly modified in execution.

Strict regularity ended with the city plan. Instinctively blending logic, or conformity to type, with individuality, the Olynthians, like good Greeks, planned the interiors of their houses each as he pleased. Sixty-five houses have been excavated. No two are precisely alike in plan, though all have courts on the south side: courts with porticoes, the north portico being prolonged into a hall (the whole portico-hall was known as the *pastas*), which is the feature characteristic of Olynthian houses.

It is a curious fact that the Greek house of the classical period has been known hitherto only through a few sporadic, half-unintelligible examples, which hardly vivified the literary references. Now we know the kind of dwelling inhabited by the middle-class friends of Plato, Xenophon, Demosthenes: the homes of those who could provide hoplite equipment or even a horse for themselves—the oligarchs if there were a fairly large oligarchy. One of them bought a typical house for 5300 drachmae.

The entrance was through a vestibule leading to a heavy wooden door studded with big bronze nails. In the court stood an altar to Zeus Herkeios. Formal dinners were held in the best room, the only room with an anteroom so planned as to ensure privacy. The couches were ranged along the sides, facing a floor often paved with mosaic at once bold and delicate—the classical vase painting now first known to us in mosaic form. North of the *pastas* was a suite of living rooms and a large kitchen with a great flue instead of a chimney; the bathroom, for heat, was off the kitchen, next to the flue. A storeroom and sometimes a shop completed the ground floor; upstairs were bedchambers. There would be space, I should think, for not more than three slaves—household servants; nothing as pretentious as a special doorman was provided for. No separated suite for the women has been found; the rooms where the no less than 2600 loom weights have been discovered suggest that the women were not shut upstairs. Animals were rarely stabled in the house. Contrary to previous belief, there were windows in the outer walls. Water was piped to public fountains from several miles away. Streets were paved only where they sloped. Drainage was arranged merely to protect the adobe walls of houses; Greek senses were stronger in every way than ours. The walls of rooms were white, yellow, and especially red: color is different in the Mediterranean glare.

As generally in Greece, foundations were stone; roofs, tiles on wooden rafters; pillars, wooden with stone capitals nicely profiled; and walls, sun-dried mud-brick, *i.e.*, adobe. Adobe is *not* a sorry material; it is durable when protected from rain, soundproof, highly resistant to weight and to temperature changes, and almost as retentive of nails as soft wood.

This volume grew out of a dissertation by Dr. Graham. The text is meticulous, generally reasonable, and clear; a full apparatus of tables, indexes, and plates displays and orders the crowd of details.

The Chalcidic Mint is monumental. From every known relevant coin there is constructed, by an exhaustive technique, the chronology of the mint at Olynthus coining for "the Chalcidians" (whose organization is now dated more securely from 432 B.C.) in the successive periods without (432-379) and with (379-348) the magistrate's name. In the first half of the fourth century Olynthus apparently minted for the Bottiaeans also. In 348 Philip II's soldiers pulled down most of the houses. Ferguson had urged (*Am. Jour. Archaeol.*, XXXIX, 154-55) that somewhere an Olynthus existed after 348; now a few coins (75 out of the total 3757) show that some houses in the northwest corner of the North Hill were inhabited until 316, when Cassander moved "the surviving Olynthians, who were not a few" to help found Cassandria (p. 370; Diodorus, xix, 52; *The Hellenic House*, pp. 9-17); and almost half of the 216 coins found at Olynthus's seaport, Mecyberna, date in the period 348-316. No considerable indication of habitation after 316 has appeared at Olynthus or Mecyberna. Hence the post-316 Olynthus, known only from a few citizens' names, is still to seek.

That is no criticism of Professor Robinson's rich excavation. He has in fact given us a clear image of about half a classical city. This is more than we ever had before. It is to be hoped that excavations will not cease until we have a clear image of Olynthus in its entirety. The parts will have their fullest meaning only when they can be related to the whole.

Harvard University.

STERLING DOW.

Demosthenes: The Origin and Growth of his Policy. By WERNER JAEGER. [Sather Classical Lectures.] (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1938. Pp. x, 273. \$2.50.)

THIS work is a successful attempt to reverse the unfavorable judgment which, for varying reasons, has prevailed among German writers of ancient history for about a century. The attacks on Demosthenes began at a time when German patriots were striving for the unification of Germany under the leadership of Prussia. Viewing ancient history in the mirror of their own time, the historians among them decided that Macedon was the Prussia of the Greek world, predestined to achieve its unity. The statesman who led the struggle against Macedonian supremacy appeared to them, therefore, as little better than the *Particularisten* in southern Germany, who opposed the realization of the great national aim for what seemed to their critics to be selfish dynastic reasons.

Gradually, however, as it came to be realized that there was no such close analogy between fourth century Greece and nineteenth century Germany, different reasons were given for the depreciation of Demosthenes's policy. J. Beloch, for instance, an outstanding representative of the positivistic conception of history, in the introduction to his *Griechische Geschichte* vehemently impugns the view that it is great men who make history. Historical

change, in his opinion, is brought about through the subconscious tendencies of the anonymous masses. A man, therefore, who opposed the general tendency of his age, which in the case of Demosthenes led from the Hellenic city-state to Hellenistic monarchy, appeared to him somewhat lacking in political insight.

With most of the present-day historians in Germany it is again the great man, the hero, the leader, who makes history, and the judgment on the opponents of the man of destiny, in Demosthenes's case Philip of Macedon, has become still harsher—curiously enough, since the hero would have little opportunity of displaying his heroism if there were nobody to resist him.

There are more serious objections, however, to this view. After the event it is easy to say that it would have been wiser to submit to a rising power than to bring misery upon one's country by stirring it up to a resistance which finally turned out to be futile. But in the past, at least, he would have been considered as a poor patriot and politician who advised his fellow countrymen to submit to a newly rising power instead of warning them to prevent its growth before it became really dangerous, as Demosthenes did. And even when a stage is reached at which resistance becomes almost hopeless, the fact and the knowledge that there have been men who chose to perish rather than fail to revive the struggle for freedom whenever there was the slightest chance to do so is no less important an element in shaping the life of future generations than victory and conquest, though the effects of the latter may be more immediately visible and more conspicuous. Jaeger's book does not deal with this aspect of Demosthenes's later life, as does Clemenceau, who praises Demosthenes as a martyr for freedom and civilization. Jaeger deals with the statesman who tried to save his country while there was still a fair chance of doing so.

He begins with an admirable analysis of the political situation as it developed from the beginning of the fourth century and of Demosthenes's personal development up to the time when he first appeared on the political stage. This provides the reader with the means of looking at things as they must have appeared when they happened. Having thus eliminated the false wisdom based on knowledge so easily acquired after events, Jaeger shows that Demosthenes was a wiser statesman than his opponents, but that the Athenians did not follow his advice when success would have been almost certain, and that when they finally acknowledged that he had been right, the chance of success was spoiled through the lack of sufficient earlier preparations and the interference of other political leaders.

Quite appropriately, Jaeger's work practically ends with the battle of Chaeronea, following which the struggle for independence became almost hopeless. The few pages that are devoted to later events are concerned not so much with Demosthenes's last struggle against overwhelming odds as with the proof that the hopes of his opponents did not come true—that

Greece was not unified under Macedonian hegemony, and that even in the light of later developments the Demosthenes of 354-338 appears to have been the wiser statesman.

Larchmont, New York.

K. v. FRITZ.

Stadt und Herrscher des Hellenismus in Ihren Staats- und Völkerrechtlichen Beziehungen. VON ALFRED HEUSS. [Klio Beiheft.] (Leipzig: Dieterich. 1937. Pp. xi, 273. 19.25 M.)

THE present work adds one more to the number of important studies devoted by its author to the difficult border zone in which international relations and empire building overlap. In an attempt to discover the legal basis, if any, of the control of Greek cities by Hellenistic kings the various instruments and manifestations of power are examined, but with results that are consistently negative. The cities were not regularly under the control of royal governors, and the general character of their government and their theoretical freedom were affected neither by the presence of garrisons, nor by the sporadic intervention of royal representatives in the civil administration, nor by the tenure of office within the state by kings or their appointees, nor by the presence of royal officials—rarely found—standing outside and alongside of the regular city government, nor by the activity of kings in connection with appointment of foreign judges invited to cities, nor by the payment of tribute to, or the collection of indirect taxes for, the royal government. Though kings frequently suggested measures to be adopted by cities, the suggestions were generally given in the form of advice, and the final validating authority was always the decree of the community itself. The study of interstate relations leads to a similar conclusion. Treaties were not used to justify the supremacy of the kings, and even treaties of alliance were rare; the decrees of *asylia* suggest complete independence; neither leagues nor deification of rulers served to legitimize the supremacy of kings. The upshot is that there was no extensively used legal justification for subordination, that the cities theoretically were free, and that the kings had little to fall back on except the old method of co-operating with political parties friendly to themselves. Important in this connection was the proclamation and defense of freedom used particularly by Antigonus Monophthalmus.

Every reader will be impressed with the meticulous care and frankness with which the complicated material is handled, though it is inevitable that specialists in various fields will question details or feel that some material has been overlooked or not given due weight. The present reviewer, while inclined to accept the identification of the *diagrammata* mentioned in connection with the activity of foreign judges in cities as the letters of kings on the subject of the appointment of judges (pp. 72-84), is doubtful about the similar explanation of *diagramma* in Cretan inscriptions (pp. 84-86, but cf. Mijnsbrugge, *The Cretan Koinon*, ch. iv). He also disagrees with some de-

tails in the interpretation of the leagues of the period and believes that the importance of the *symmachy* has been underrated. This, however, does not affect the general conclusion, for the *symmachy* definitely was based on the theoretical independence of its members. In general, the cumulative effect of the evidence is convincing. It is too early to pass final judgment on Heuss's theory, but his study certainly marks a great advance and will remain an important contribution.

The University of Chicago.

JAKOB A. O. LARSEN.

The Herods of Judaea. By A. H. M. JONES, Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 271. \$3.50.)

Mr. Jones published in 1937 an extensive, well-documented, and useful study entitled *The Cities of the Eastern Roman Provinces*. The present work, which is of a more popular character, seeks to present "a picture of the political, economic, and religious life of the Jewish people" in the time of the Herods. The story is told in sober and dignified language. There are maps, genealogical tables, an index, and several full-page illustrations, but there are no notes, citations, critique of sources, bibliography, or references to other scholars and their often divergent views. The general reader is not supposed to be interested in such things, and to some extent this assumption is probably correct. Something may be said in favor of relegating footnotes to an appendix, but to leave them out altogether does not seem advisable.

The majority of those who have heard of Herod the Great know him only as the monster depicted in Matth. II. Without any further explanation, this gruesome tale is apparently dismissed as a legend (p. 155). Yet "The Massacre of the Innocents" by Matteo di Giovanni is used as a frontispiece. Some account of the searching recent studies of Josephus as a historian and the nature of his sources would have been helpful. In the case of the first Herod even a writer more careful and impartial than Josephus would have found it difficult to produce a consistent and wholly reliable sketch from such material as he had at his disposal. If the excerpts from Nicolaus of Damascus show a bias in favor of the king, it is natural that there should have been much distortion of facts and malicious gossip in the accounts derived from circles friendly to the deposed dynasty, resentful of the dependence on Rome, and hostile to Hellenism. The manner in which Mr. Jones deals with the remarkable administrative qualities of Herod I and his numerous public works and benefactions is no more generous than just. Especially valuable is his discussion of the revenues of the kingdom.

The story of Salome's dance before Herod Antipas, with all its novelistic features, is accepted as historical. In describing the burlesque on Agrippa I in Alexandria Mr. Jones says that the crowd mocked Carabas, dressed up as a king, with the cry "Marein, Marein (Syriac for 'my lord')'" (p. 192). There is no such reading in Philo's treatise *In Flaccum*, sec. 39, where the incident

is recorded, and it would not be Syriac for "my lord". The shout of the mob was no doubt "Mari", which means "my lord". It was probably an imitation of the greeting given to the king by his countrymen.

It may well be believed, as the author suggests, that the Jews would have been saved from many bitter sufferings if they had adopted more fully the Hellenistic culture which Herod I and Agrippa I attempted to foster among them, abandoned some of their ancestral customs, and refrained from rebellion against Rome. But the moral value of loyalty to conviction, horror of degrading pagan customs, and willingness to suffer for the sake of righteousness must not be overlooked.

One could wish that an author so familiar with the field, generally fair in his judgment, and capable of good writing had adhered less persistently to his deliberate plan not to include in his picture certain vital features. Men like Hillel, Gamaliel, and Johanan ben Zakkai are not referred to at all. Yet the tendencies they represent go far to explain the remarkable survival of Judaism, without a sacrificial system, a temple cult, or a national state. John the Baptist, Jesus, and Paul receive only casual mention. Yet even if it is freely granted that they were little known to the bulk of their contemporaries and that our knowledge of them is fragmentary and uncertain, it can scarcely be questioned that the spiritual forces they released were important manifestations of the religious life of the Jewish people in the epoch of the Herods.

Cornell University.

NATHANIEL SCHMIDT.

MEDIEVAL HISTORY

Studies in Manorial History. By ADA ELIZABETH LEVETT. Edited by H. M. Cam, Fellow and Lecturer of Girton College, Cambridge, M. Coate, Fellow and Tutor of Lady Margaret Hall, Oxford, L. S. Sutherland, Fellow and Tutor of Somerville College, Oxford. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xviii, 404. \$8.50.)

It is fortunate for students of English manorial history that the publication of Professor Levett's later work proved possible. It is fortunate, too, even if it renews for her friends the sharp consciousness of loss, that this posthumous volume conveys real indications of her distinction as a person and as a writer. Her able editors, Miss Cam, Miss Coate, and Miss Sutherland, have been obliged sometimes to supplement and explain where the original notes were scanty and the subject not worked out, but such additions are always indicated and do not affect the main theme. It is of interest to know that amongst those first undertaking this edition was Miss M. V. Clarke, whose untimely death has caused another sad loss to historical scholarship.

The volume contains a delightful portrait, a short preface by Miss Levett's

sister, and an appreciative memoir by Miss E. M. Jamison. Here are shown the ineradicable influence of "the immemorial antiquity of the Sussex countryside" on Miss Levett's later predilections, and the profitable years in Oxford, where she took a first in the Honour School of Modern History. She then spent a year at the École des Chartes and traveled abroad extensively at various times thereafter, but her main interests remained in Oxford, at St. Hilda's, until she became a professor in the University of London in 1929. Her comment on the promotion is characteristic of her broad interests: "I am well content with the fate which has converted me from a Reader in Economic History to a Professor of mere History."

Professor Levett's own work as printed in this volume consists first of her inaugural lecture, where there is perhaps a pleasant reminiscence of Stubbs's famous inaugural. In it she expresses her concept of the indivisibility of history and also her belief, very refreshing in these utilitarian days, that history is an art and hence needs no justification—"it is an art, an inheritance, an end in itself. . . . I care nothing if history is proved to be entirely useless." In an appreciation of Vinogradoff she speaks of his power of making students understand the part played by agrarian history in universal history and in comparative jurisprudence. His influence in economic interpretations is seen clearly in her work.

The main thesis of her later studies, especially of the notes and essays here printed on the conditions in St. Alban's manors, is that side by side with the lord's will and the custom of the manor there must also be considered in the development of agrarian life the work of administrative councils, and that these may be found in all great monastic, episcopal, and secular estates, even as early in some cases as the thirteenth century. This is an important thesis which must be carried further by her students, as Miss Page has done in her admirable work on Crowland Abbey, and by others interested in the manor. The notes on St. Alban's, in their various stages of completion, illustrate, too, her other interests. They continue, for example, her studies of the effects of the Black Death, concerning which she gives figures and concrete examples. Her well-known article on the financial organization of the manor, first published in the *Economic History Review*, is conveniently reprinted here, together with her article contributed to the *Mélanges* dedicated to M. Ferdinand Lot in 1925. The volume contains also valuable transcripts of documentary material, of court books, extents, and the like.

With all its incompleteness and somewhat varied content, it is a volume which we could ill afford to miss and which more than ever makes us regret the untimely cessation of writing so keen, so delicate, so distinguished in its reliance on fact and its power of reflection. "May she rest from her labors for her works will follow her."

Mount Holyoke College.

N. NEILSON.

Saint Dominique: L'idée, l'homme, et l'oeuvre. Par PIERRE MANDONNET, O. P. Tome I, *Étapes*. Augmenté de notes et d'études critiques par M. H. Vicaire. Tome II, *Perspectives*. Augmenté de notes et d'études critiques par M. H. Vicaire et R. Ladner. (Paris: Desclée de Brouwer et Cie. 1937. Pp. 280; 321. 60 fr.)

THIS book embodies the results of a vast deal of labor and thought on the part of its authors regarding Dominican origins, the activities of the first members of the Order of Preachers, their legislation and liturgy, the position taken by the papacy concerning some of the problems of the period, and other more or less closely related topics. The figure of St. Dominic appears and reappears time and again; yet nothing is said of his early life and training, of his years as a canon of Osma, and little enough of the man apart from his work. Possibly this was unavoidable. It may well be that Dominic lives only in the society called after his name; at any rate, amid much lucid exposition of the importance of his labors, the reader will find nothing of that grace and beauty that add so potent a spell to the story of Dominic's contemporary, Francis of Assisi.

The second volume opens with an account of the general disregard of preaching in the medieval church and of the steps taken toward remedying the unfortunate consequences of this neglect. This leads naturally to a consideration of the need of sound learning, to the thesis that an *Ordo praedicatorum* must be an *Ordo doctorum*, and to some account of the emphasis on study among the Dominicans. The chief contribution to knowledge in the entire work is, in my judgment, the study of the Rule of St. Augustine, in which the author controverts the almost universally accepted view that the rule is merely a letter written for the guidance of some nuns at Hippo and restores what he believes to be the rule itself. This is followed by three chapters on the Augustinian Rule of St. Dominic and an essay on the Institutes of the Preachers, an essay directed primarily to those who, like its author, are living the religious life *secundum Regulam Beati Augustini et Institutiones Fratrum Praedicatorum*.

To all who are interested in the thought and expression of the later Middle Ages this work should prove to be of considerable value. It is interrupted, or perhaps reinforced, with specialized studies, some of which, of course, have little appeal to those of us who are not associated with the Dominican family; and there are included articles by the late Fr. Mandonnet which have already appeared in print. Here and there the information is too compact and cries aloud for amplification; and some pages are little other than lists of names. Especially is this the case with the nine brief chapters which, under the general heading "Activity of the Preachers", treat in forty-three pages such topics as their preaching, teaching, and writing, their influence on ecclesiastical and civil society, their liturgical use, and the archi-

ture of their churches. Although Mandonnet and the writers who collaborated in this book, who seemingly owe much of their interest and their training to him, may have settled some of the questions concerned with the origins and early history of the Order of Preachers, this can hardly be regarded as final and definitive. It is, rather, a foundation well and truly laid, on which, it is to be hoped, other scholars will erect a worthy superstructure of Dominican studies.

Washington and Jefferson College.

ALFRED H. SWEET.

The Constitutional History of Medieval England from the English Settlement to 1485. By J. E. A. JOLLIFFE, Fellow of Keble College, Oxford, Lecturer in Medieval English History in the University of Oxford. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1937. Pp. vii, 524. \$5.00.)

THE brief foreword of this book gives no hint of the class of readers intended to be reached. Thus the task of the reviewer is hard. The title leads him to expect a rounded treatment of English constitutional history to 1485, as the word constitutional has usually been understood. But he finds that the author expands what he knows best or what interests him without a sustained attempt at a balanced treatment. Some sections are learned monographs, and there is not much expository or carrying-on power to help the beginning or partially trained student; yet the translation of Latin citations in the footnotes may indicate that such readers were in mind, although there is little consistency in this translating, and it wanes as the book progresses. There is no sufficient introduction to the literature of the subject. The reader learns (with a few notable exceptions) little of the discussions and divergent positions of important scholars. Naturally, the results of scholarship are here—Stubbs, Tout, Round, Stenton, and the author's own research are prominent—but the curious impression is given that more of the work than seems possible comes *de novo* straight from the sources, though there is a special disclaimer of personal conclusions for the period 1377-1485. The book is weakened throughout by a neglect of chronicles, which are needed to keep abreast of thought as also for their factual content. Here it would have been well to follow Stubbs, Mr. Jolliffe's great exemplar. The too brief "bibliographical note" of four pages is even harder to understand in matters of inclusion and exclusion than such lists usually are; and books are included whose subject matter (not to mention the authors' conclusions) is wholly or largely untouched in the text.

In writing governmental history there is no scheme of arrangement that approaches satisfaction. Chronology and logic fight a dubious battle. There are here five main time divisions, of which the first two, dividing at Alfred, are on the Anglo-Saxon period, 28 per cent of the whole. The last three are 1066-1272, 1272-1377, and 1377-1485. Each of these five is divided into two

rather general topical divisions, of which the first relates more to the localities and the second to the central organization. There is the inevitable overlapping.

The more original ideas fall in the earlier part of the work. There is a skillful statement of how kinship blended with lordship and an analysis of the varying lordships in the passing centuries. The author's own research (*England before Feudalism*, 1933) has supplied special knowledge of the local systems before the conquering shire and hundred regime of the tenth century, and much new study of dooms and charters leads him to the conclusion that almost everything of value "in the freedom and integrity of racial institutions was carried forward to the account of the English state". There is something new on the *wite*, on compurgation, on the principle of peers in jurisdiction, and "default" is noted in Anglo-Saxon procedure. No private jurisdiction over free men is found before the tenth century and little before the eleventh. There is all a specialist's knowledge of bookland (see the author's "English Book-right", *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, Vol. L). A belief in absolute right of property, real as well as personal, in Anglo-Saxon times is reached, and there is much about wills (through some mistake Dorothy Whitelock's *Anglo-Saxon Wills* is referred to as by "L. Whitelock"). In touching the old problem of the hundred there is no going into the hazy antiquities of the race, military or pastoral. The whole thing started with semivoluntary *frithgilds* in response to tenth century royal edicts respecting thieves, hue and cry, and keeping the peace, those mighty kings turning lynch law into hundred courts which reached maturity, with oath and ordeal, under Edgar. It is also believed that early in that century there was a burghal period or phase of administration which appears as an interlude during the reconquest of the *Danelagh*. The old divinity and the new of Anglo-Saxon kingship are discussed, and an excellent study of the king's peace clears some of the obscurity of the other peaces. It is believed that the king's peace had gone far towards being national before the Norman Conquest and that feudal warfare was later limited not solely because the kings were strong but because feudalism was brought into a country which did not tolerate war between subjects. There is little hint of the Roman and Teutonic sources of Frankish institutions, and a knowledge of Continental feudalism is assumed. The fief, especially its contractual feature, appears as the one great institution which the Conquest brought. The Conqueror is heir to the whole administration of the Confessor, and before the Conquest are found the beginnings of practically all the important governmental features (even of a common law), with the single exception of the Continental fief and all that institutionally derived from it. The author's leading text, that the English communities were without Roman influence, were free at the start, and were "primarily communities of law", rings through the book; for a thousand years there was "supremacy of law and the function of the community to declare, and, if

necessary, change it". The summary of conditions on the eve of the Conquest, notably the legalistic basis of government, appears to be the high point in the whole book.

Mr. Jolliffe seems to deny that the Norman kings legislated. He draws a hard line at 1154 and asserts that legislation began with Henry II's assizes—a strained classification for these instructions to justices, albeit they entered so creatively into the unwritten common law. The carry-over from Henry I is minimized, and that from Geoffrey of Anjou's short but pregnant rule of Normandy, which Haskins estimated so highly, is omitted. It is Stenton's point of view that the dark age was the century this side of the Conquest and not "beyond", as was Maitland's; and Jolliffe follows Stenton undeviatingly. Thus we read nothing of the precursors of Henry's assizes and little of the background of his juries. Indeed the whole jury history and its relations to self-government are slighted. There is nothing of that critical evolution of juries into judges of fact or the spread of juries through voluntary choice of litigants. And the people's public training for all later time through both judicial and nonjudicial juries finds no place. The background of Magna Carta receives little attention, and, while feudal contract is emphasized, an important omission is that of previous charter history. In fact the rising against Longchamps in 1191 is presented as almost the sole episode leading to the Charter. Only a few of the Charter articles are mentioned. As to Article 61, clumsy and unsuccessful as it was, it is a hard saying that there was "no formal scheme of administrative control embodied in the Charter" and that the twenty-five barons and the four barons "in no way anticipated the conciliar committees of later kings". Also it is hard to see how the Charter of 1216 "was substantially the same as that of 1215". All the confirmations of the charters are taken lightly—"the same comedy was played . . . which no longer convinced anyone". There is a kind of contempt for "time-worn" things: charter confirmations, attempts to control the king's ministers, and the like. "Time-worn" seems almost to define the things oftenest mentioned in earlier books. The case against Richard II is "time-worn"—freedom of the courts and sanctity of the law. "Medievalism of outlook" the author calls it. It seems modern or, rather, timeless. As soon as the author is on the ground of Tout's volumes enthusiasm appears, and treatment of the administrative departments is out of proportion. Wardrobe and chamber are favorites, and dreary personal detail comes into the account. For this there is omission or slighting of many things which lie back of England's achievement in political democracy and her place in the world today. With all praise for Tout's feat in writing the great *Chapters* on a neglected side of the constitution and especially in giving the civil service its place in history, yet it was a right instinct which impelled earlier writers to seek first limited monarchy, the court system, the common law, and parliament.

Within the space allotted to this review it is possible to specify only a few matters that have been omitted or neglected. There is nothing of the origin of representation and election, of the king's turning from appointment by officials to a compulsory local choice, and scarcely any account of elections to parliament in either county or borough. A perfunctory account of the origin and development of the common-law courts covers little over a page, and there is more space for the rivalries of the Percies and Nevilles than for the common law. The relations between church and state are almost wholly left out. The books of Glanvill and Bracton and the Dialogue concerning the Exchequer find no place. In connection with the royal summons of November, 1213, there is no discussion of the king's motives and methods in concentration of representatives, and 1154 is given as the date of its beginning (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XIX, 735-50). We find almost nothing of the decline of the shire and hundred courts and no mention of courts leet, baron, and customary; no discussion of the statutes *De donis*, *Quia emptores*, and *Mortmain* and their effect on land law; no consecutive account of the genesis of justices of the peace and no mention of Miss Putnam's fundamental work anent them; no inclusion of the rise of civil and criminal equity or comparison with the equity of the early common law, the history of the court of chancery being only incidentally mentioned, and nothing of its special jurisdiction in the field of trusts and uses—and the same with respect to the council's developing star chamber jurisdiction. A notable omission is the discussion in political theory at the time of the New Ordinances to be found in *Chronicles of Edward I and II*, which in the abstract notion of the crown, method of dealing with a recalcitrant king, and full recognition of the consequences of royal control of the courts left little to be added by the thinkers and actors of the Puritan Revolution. There is no discussion of the famous clause in the Statute of York or mention of Dr. Haskins's recent monograph on the subject. Conditions leading to the disfranchising act of 1430 are not described, nor the process and significance of impeachment or bills of attainder. The significance of creating peers by letters patent as bearing on the future of the constitution is not explained. Again the question presents itself: for whom is the author writing? One thing is clear: this is no book for the prospective law student. Maitland and the judiciary are obscured. Tout and the administration are ascendant.

Some errors or misconceptions may be noted. That old deceiver, *commune consilium*, reappears and haunts the pages from 174 to the end. At first dealt with rather cautiously, it grows upon the author until he calls it "the primary council of the realm" (it is even written *concilium* on p. 297). The universality of "common counsel" as a form of expression in the writers of this period, which has been analyzed in great detail (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 1-17), is here narrowed and twisted to mean some preparliamentary assembly; and the nice distinction between *concilium* and *consilium* observed by contem-

porary chroniclers and officials, which can be shown by citation of literally thousands of contexts, is overlooked. The author has slipped into an error which warps his treatment of a leading theme. He neglects *magnum concilium*, which was a frequent and meaningful term, and does not suspect that the *communi concilio et consilio* of William I's ordinance is a corrupt text. The descriptive and nontechnical use of the term *curia regis* and all its manifold variants is not clearly understood, and the question of the institutional origin of the Norman king's court is blurred. The first use of *parliamentum* in connection with a central assembly is still dated 1246, as in Stubbs, and there is also the mistake of attributing its early uses solely to chroniclers (see *Mod. Language Rev.*, IX, 92, 93). *Colloquium* is treated as a developed assembly name in some way different from *parliamentum* and is made the subject of a transitive verb (p. 291). It is the plain meaning of a statement on page 215 that the king's bench as well as the common bench derived from the bench of five justices which Henry II appointed in 1178, and the statement is made that "the Great Charter accepted a court of Common Pleas as an established fact and fixed its session at Westminster". It is not pedantry to point out, as has often been done, that the Charter mentions common pleas but not a court of common pleas (which was not an official name) or indeed a common bench. On page 313 reference is made to the royal summons in 1226 of four representative knights from each of eight counties (*Rot. Litt. Claus.*, II, 153), but, apparently as a result of Stubbs's oversight, there is no mention of the summons of popularly elected knights from all the counties the next year (*ibid.*, pp. 212-13). And there were thirty-seven counties in the thirteenth century, not thirty, as appears to be stated on page 351. The representative knights of 1254 are spoken of as summoned to "make a grant", whereas the grant was made in the county courts, and the knights were summoned to answer definitively, *præcise respondere*, the same procedure being enjoined upon the diocesan synods and the representative clergy who bore the records of their grants. A study of the summonses of 1227 and 1254 shows that it is incorrect to say that 1254 was "the first occasion when a single constituency of each and all in the shire was available as a basis of representation". The first occasion was at the earlier date. In every connection, and especially in what relates to the origin of parliament, too distinct a line is drawn at 1272. The practices of representation, local election, concentration, and the king's purposes in speaking with knights and burgesses had all been worked out before that date. The "aids, mises, and prises" of Confirmatio Cartarum are regarded as merely recalling Article 12 of Magna Carta and also as having to do with wool. It seems unnecessary to point out the inaccuracies here. In all that relates to royal revenue the word taxation is often used in too broad and untechnical a way, and in matters touching import and export duties the author should surely have used the books and articles of Professor Gras. Besides the neglected author-

ities already noted, it may be remarked in conclusion how little of Maitland's pregnant writing is used. There is also slight reference to G. B. Adams's work, notwithstanding the debt owed him in the matter of the feudal contract. There is no mention of Professor Morris's constitutional history to 1216 or of Professor Stephenson's research on urban origins. The apt caption of an earlier review of this book (*The New Statesman and Nation*, November 6, 1937), "Stubbs Redivivus", might well be expanded to "Stubbs Redivivus et Tout Triumphans".

The index is very disappointing. On the subject side it is so weak as to be of little use, while a large proportion of the names of persons is of obscure officials.

University of Minnesota.

A. B. WHITE.

A History of the English Coronation. By PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM, Professor of History in the University of Göttingen. Translated by Leopold G. Wickham Legg. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xv, 283. \$4.25.)

THIS study is based primarily on the *ordo* or form of ritual employed at the coronation and extends to England the type of investigation which the writer has carried on for various medieval lands on the Continent. The main theme is supplied by the changes in legal and religious ideas shown by successive *ordines* when interpreted in the light of history. The outcome is some useful history, in the statement of which the author displays a high order of scholarship.

The first example of kingly anointing in England occurs in 787; the first coronation *ordo*, influenced by Frankish usage, appears in the time of Edgar. Through an *ordo* half Anglo-Saxon, used in France from about 980, the skeleton of the French coronation became much the same as the English. A second English *ordo* became from 1059 the basis of the Hungarian coronation. After the Norman conquest the queen was crowned as a sharer in the royal power, though apparently never until 1274 at the same time as the king. The archbishop of Canterbury crowned both king and queen, and in case he was unable to do so, one of his suffragans performed the rite. The archbishop of York did not become his alternate until 1689. Since the Norman conquest the place of coronation has been Westminster. Upon the idea that coronation was a sacrament rested the assertion that an anointed king could not be deposed. Innocent III held that the power of the king was not superior to that of the church because he was anointed in a manner different from that of priestly consecration. The fact that the so-called Anselm *ordo* provided for consecration of the king with oil different from that used in the case of a bishop, is linked by Professor Schramm with the argument of *rex et sacerdos*, used earlier in the York anonymous manuscript to justify the monarch's control in ecclesiastical affairs. Yet coronation robes were in

many ways similar to ecclesiastical vestments; the king, from the time of Henry I, was popularly held to have a power in treating the sick; and a form of anointing to imply the king's ecclesiastical power was occasionally used even in the fourteenth century. Only after the king had been legally declared head of the English church did Archbishop Cranmer pronounce the anointing just a ceremony.

The chapter of greatest interest to the student of constitutional history deals with the election and succession of the king. The Anglo-Saxon principle of election is shown to have been urged in some form to support every succession of the twelfth century except that of Richard I. Ever since 1404 the succession is seen to have been sustained by act of parliament, for even the legal defects of the accession of James I were removed in this way. Such acts in most cases have meant the rejection of the stronger hereditary claim, more recently in the interest of certain constitutional principles and of the Protestant church. The proclamation of a new king on the day of his successor's death dates only from the sixteenth century.

The scholar will regret the relegation of documentation to the conclusion of the work, which materially increases the difficulty in following the proofs offered by the learned author.

University of California.

W. A. MORRIS.

Bartholomew of Exeter, Bishop and Canonist: A Study in the Twelfth Century, with the Text of Bartholomew's Penitential from the Cotton MS. Vitellius A. XII. By Dom ADRIAN MOREY, Sometime Scholar of Christ's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xi, 320. \$6.50.)

THIS book is what one would call, to use a term of art, a "cabinet picture". The author paints around his central figure the life of the church in England during the twelfth century. This was the time of the Becket controversy and of the growth of the canon law in England and elsewhere. Thus there is no lack of tensions and dramatic conflicts, which are reflected in the life history of the eminent canonist, Bartholomew of Exeter. To be sure, the author's leitmotiv is "the man and his work", but in the first part of the book, composed of six chapters, there is much more than a mere sum of biographical data. The author puts the man, whose importance he does not overrate, in his *milieu*, understood in the broadest sense, and thus makes a contribution to the general twelfth century history of the Catholic Church in England. The second part of the book consists of an edition of Bartholomew's penitential, which was suggested, as we are told, by Professor Holtzmann.

While the first three chapters, dealing with the external circumstances of Bartholomew's life, are of general interest only in so far as they show the typical *curriculum vitae* of a clergyman rising to prominence and the

difficulties into which the Becket controversy threw the whole contemporary English clergy, the next three are more significant. The one on the bishop as a papal judge-delegate, the longest in the book, is particularly important because it illustrates the working of the system. It shows that English canonistic studies have advanced a good deal since Maitland's admirable *Roman Canon Law in the Church of England* was published forty years ago. Of course, Maitland's studies form the basis of our author's exposition, perhaps a little too much so. The author should have given more critical attention to the sources and newer researches; thus Barraclough's theory of the "provocationes ad causam" in *Acta Congressus Juridici Internationalis*, III (Rome, 1936), could have been made use of on page 46. The unqualified assumption of a "normal process of canonical jurisdiction" (p. 46) seems rather questionable for this period (see Barraclough, *Eng. Hist. Rev.*, LIII, 494, n. 3). The author reaches the interesting conclusion that "the increased activity in England of the canon law at the end of the century was almost inevitable and that, even had Becket failed to resist, the king would have found it no easy task to run counter to the tendencies of the age". This agrees with Barraclough's view on this point.

The edition of the penitential is preceded by a short introduction on the role and the origin of this type of literature, which purports to be no more than a brief summary of the more or less generally accepted views. The text of the penitential is accompanied by constant references to its immediate sources, *viz.*, Burchard, St. Yves, Peter Lombard, and Gratian. It is known that after Gratian the treatment of penance became a theological matter and ceased to be a legal topic dealt with by writers on canon law, and thus the publication of a post-Gratian penitential is of interest for the study of this development, which, in contrast to the copious literature on the early penitentials, has been rather neglected. One may regret that the author has refrained from any such analysis and has not attempted further to examine whether any influence was exerted by the refinements of the theory of penance on the development of secular criminal law. Such a study would seem to be rather promising for the twelfth century. Professor Oakley's *English Penitential Discipline and Anglo-Saxon Law in their Joint Influence* (1923) would serve as an excellent model.

Taken as a whole, this book is a highly valuable addition to the literature on the twelfth century church.

University of Minnesota.

STEFAN A. RIESENFELD.

Terrae Incognitae: Eine Zusammenstellung und kritische Bewertung der wichtigsten vorcolumbischen Entdeckungsreisen an Hand der darüber vorliegenden Originalberichte. Von Dr. RICHARD HENNIG, Hochschulprofessor in Düsseldorf. Band III, 1200-1415 n. Chr., Beginn des Entdeckungs-Zeitalters. (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1938. Pp. x, 389. 6 gld.)

Dr. Hennig originally planned to include in Volume III of this series important travelers and explorers who lived between 1200 and 1492. Since a volume more than twice the size of the preceding ones would have been necessary for the materials which he had assembled, he has limited the present volume to the voyages of forty travelers who lived before 1415. The general arrangement of the material is the same as in the preceding volumes. Each chapter is divided into two sections: in the first part the editor presents selected passages from an edition of the traveler's narrative, translating the text if it is not already in German; in the second part he gives a summary of the entire narrative and an estimate of its significance. He tends to choose more or less striking or picturesque descriptions. Sometimes a hundred or more pages of the original are omitted between the selected excerpts, at other times only a few words. In the latter case the editor's text may present puerile repetitions which lower the tone of the original.

The editor's choice of editions is not always fortunate. For Marco Polo he utilizes the edition of Hans Lemke (Hamburg, 1907), merely citing the edition of Benedetto for a minor comment in his critical remarks. Yet Benedetto's edition contains scores of passages not found in Lemke's. Some critics questioned the validity of these passages, but my discovery of the Toledo manuscript in 1932 gives a stamp of authority to the new passages of Benedetto. (See *Speculum*, XII, 1937, pp. 456-63. The Toledo manuscript has now been published by A. C. Moule and Paul Pelliot: *Marco Polo: A Description of the World*, Vol. II, London, George Routledge, 1938.) Dr. Hennig's statement about Sir John Mandeville (p. 162) may well be questioned: "Ein Ritter dieses Namens ist im England des 14. Jhds. jedenfalls nicht zu ermitteln . . ." (cf. K. W. Cameron, "A Discovery in *John de Mandevilles*", *Speculum*, XI, 1936, pp. 351-59).

In his criticism Dr. Hennig seldom touches on the influences of other travelers, of atlases, maps, etc. He includes a chapter on the legendary discovery of the Madeira Archipelago by Machim. In addition to citing the famous legends of fabulous lands, historians should consider, I believe, the possibility of the influence of more popular folklore on the mind of medieval youth. In the *Primera crónica* of Alfonso el Sabio (p. 341a), Charlemagne receives Galiana in an inhospitable manner, and the latter answers: "Don Maynet, si yo sopiesse aquella tierra o dan soldada por dormir, pero que mugier so, yrme ya alla morar." More than two centuries later, at the time of the discovery of America, almost the same words appear in the mouth of Pármemo in the *Celestina* (Act VIII).

Although Dr. Hennig has apparently assembled his materials rather hastily, his vast knowledge of geographical lore is reflected throughout the greater part of the volume. The source which he cites on page 333 should read Volume 26 instead of Volume 75.

There is need of a work similar to *Terrae Incognitae* in English, with

a more up-to-date bibliography and a more careful selection of passages, written for the layman as well as for the scholar.

The University of Wisconsin.

J. HOMER HERRIOTT.

Magna Carta. Vorgelegt von FRITZ CRAMER, von Berlin. Angenommen auf Antrag von Herrn Prof. Dr. Karl Meyer. [Abhandlung zur Erlangung der Doktorwürde der Philosophischen Fakultät, I, der Universität Zürich.] (Merano: S. Poetzelberger. 1937. Pp. l, 284. 25 Swiss fr.)

THE Great Charter is a subject that has not been exhaustively treated. Some years hence, when all the documents of the royal archives—and others if possible—shall have been published for the reign of King John, a definitive work can be written. Meanwhile, with only the sources at present at our disposal, there would have been an opportunity, by minute analysis, to elucidate certain questions still obscure, such as the real reasons for the differences between the Petition of the Barons, the Great Charter, and its confirmations. I have myself recently tried to show that there is an advantage in explaining and interpreting the Petition of the Barons before attempting a consideration of the charter elaborated by the king's counselors; but I did not claim to give more than a sketch.

Mr. Cramer's book is not a work of this kind. He has certainly devoted to it prolonged labor, and respect should be paid to his conscientiousness, honesty, and devotion to historical research. He will be repaid for it by the competence that he has acquired in the course of his investigation. The very extensive apparatus of bibliography, references, citations, and collations with which this three-hundred page book is loaded has at least given the author himself a great mass of information. He has worked over a very extensive surface. It remains for him to dig deeply. It is to be hoped that in his future work he will dispense with so much citation of modern historians and not be afraid to have opinions of his own.

As to the contents of the book: In spite of its length, the twenty-page bibliography is not exhaustive. There are omissions. For example, to make his note on *utlagatio* more precise Mr. Cramer ought to have consulted the best study, that of André Réville ("Abjuratio regni", *Rev. Hist.*, Vol. L, 1892). But I don't consider such omissions as so serious. The important thing is to cite the essential and to have read and read carefully everything that is cited. I wonder if Mr. Cramer has read all the works which he enumerates. It does not appear that he has made use of the excellent book of W. A. Morris, *The Medieval English Sheriff*. He would have found there a substantial chapter on the sheriffs in the time of King John and the complaints that were made against them.

Mr. Cramer gives the text of the Great Charter, accompanied by a German translation of which some criticism may be made. Proper names are translated in general according to the somewhat too informal methods

of English historians or even without any method at all: "Johannes filius Hugonis" becomes "John Fitz Hugo" and later (p. 26) appears as "John Fitz Hugh". In the first article of the charter the expression, so strange, "sciatis nos . . . in primis concessisse Deo" is translated by "Wisset das Wir . . . als erstes Gott gelobt . . . haben". The word *ballivus* is translated by *Beamte*; it would clearly be better to leave it untranslated, as the majority of German scholars do.

Mr. Cramer does not concern himself with the history of the crisis of 1215 and devotes his book to an exposition of the articles of the charter. He disregards the order in which they were written and adopts an order which he regards as more natural. This is a very dangerous procedure and one which is not always skillfully carried out by the author. I could have understood the juxtaposition of Article 12 (on the feudal aids) and Article 14 (on the meetings of the *magnum concilium*); but he postpones this last to the end and places it in the group where the "guarantee clauses" are assembled. This gives a distorted view and shows a lack of interest in the order followed by the framers of the charter. Is it merely accidental that the articles that interested the barons come first?

I cannot follow the author step by step in the mass of irrelevant discussions, of divergent interpretations, of citations of Anglo-Norman and foreign texts, where he continually wanders and where his readers are in danger of losing sight of the subject of the book. The citations are excessive; the entire text of the *Inquest of Sheriffs* as well as whole pages of the *Dialogue of the Exchequer*, for example, are taken from Stubbs's *Select Charters*, which is accessible in all libraries. Mr. Cramer wastes his time in giving a confusing bibliography on the condition of the peasant in England as well as in compiling long notes on the will, the marriage portion, and the dower in the style of elementary law lectures.

It would have been desirable if he had given his considered judgment on the disputed articles of the charter. His manner of interpreting Articles 12 and 14, of which I have just spoken, is a typical example of the excessive timidity which seizes him when he comes to the heart of his subject. He adheres here to the traditional view: he believes that *commune consilium regni* means *magnum concilium*. In his bibliography, however, he cites an article by Albert Beebe White (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXV, 1-17) which seems to show clearly that *commune consilium* was not used in this sense in England and means, in this context, general assent, public opinion. Why does Mr. Cramer not give his reasons for disregarding this interpretation? The subject is surely important enough. He does me the honor to refer to my opinion that Article 14 is not a guarantee to the English people of the principle of consent to taxation. I emphasize the fact that it does not appear either in the Petition of the Barons or in the confirmations of the charter. I believe that far from having been demanded by the barons,

it was skillfully inserted in the charter by the king's counselors not to assure consent to taxation but to annul the right which the vassals arrogated to themselves of consenting individually. Mr. Cramer holds cautiously to the old interpretation, but he ought to have explained why he thinks that I am wrong. Here again he avoids a discussion of great importance.

In conclusion, this book is not the one we were waiting for. It will, however, be consulted as a useful repository of facts, of texts, and of historians' opinions on English institutions in the thirteenth century.

Paris.

CH. PETIT-DUTAILLIS.

The Crusade in the Later Middle Ages. By AZIZ SURYAL ATIYA, Professor of Medieval (including Oriental) History in the University of Bonn, Sometime Charles Beard and University Fellow of the University of Liverpool, and History Tutor, University of London. (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 604, 30s.)

DR. Atiya has made a comprehensive study of the idea, first set forth in the publications of the Société de l'Orient latin, that the crusades as a general European movement did not cease with the fall of Acre in 1291. He has proved that they remained a vital force in European and especially in papal politics, though with some change in immediate objective. The old idea of conquering the Holy Land directly gave way before a greater understanding of Eastern conditions. St. Louis had attempted the conquest of Egypt, and even of Tunis, as the key to Jerusalem. Later proponents suggested conquering the Ottoman Turks or, better still, the schismatic Greeks before attacking Palestine itself.

In his *Crusade of Nicopolis*, published in 1934 (reviewed in *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 548-49), Dr. Atiya announced his intention of providing a complete work on the later crusades from all sources, Western and Oriental. He has amply fulfilled his promise. The present book includes a short preface on the possibility of the success of a crusade in the period; an exhaustive discussion of the works of pilgrims and propagandists of the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries; a description of Eastern Christendom, of the relations of Europe with the Mongols, and of such Latin missionaries to the Near, Middle, and Far East as had bearing on the crusade; and a scholarly account of the crusading movement, expedition by expedition. A closing chapter discusses the counterpropaganda of the Islamic world and the reaction of the East to Western attacks.

To complete so large a task required years of painstaking research. Every problem has been re-examined from the sources, with copious references to modern opinion. A new reading of the manuscripts in all the chief repositories in Europe and the East and personal investigation of the scenes of the attack on Alexandria by Pierre de Lusignan and of the battlefield of Nicopolis offer fresh interpretations and points of view. Scholars

will be interested in the tabulation of the contents of the recently discovered Mamluk correspondence with Aragon from the Archivio de la Corona de Aragon in Barcelona, given in the appendix. Other appendixes provide complete lists of pilgrims and travelers, with references to the manuscripts or printed editions of their accounts, a list of the crusaders, and chronological tables. There is an admirably arranged bibliography and an index. The reviewer notes the omission of C. W. David's new edition of *De expugnatione Lyxbonensi* (Columbia University Press, 1936) from the bibliography.

The failure of the later crusades is attributed to the lack of discipline and tactical skill on the part of the Westerners, not to the overwhelming numbers of the enemy. The commercial greed of the Genoese and Venetians vitiated all proposals for an economic blockade to bring Egypt to terms. ("Sanctions" seem destined to ill-success.) Sometimes the Italians warned the sultan of impending attack or diverted such attacks to their own profit. The insistence of the papacy on complete submission of the Eastern churches also prevented co-operation with Christians in the East, long after the impossibility of a reunion of the churches was apparent. The final disillusionment of Western chivalry at Nicopolis made further enthusiasm impossible.

The illustrations, two of them in color, the maps, the type and format are well chosen. The proofreading is excellent. Errors are few and in the main such as will not confuse the reader.

New York University.

A. A. BEAUMONT, JR.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

The Crescent and the Rose: Islam and England during the Renaissance.

By SAMUEL C. CHEW. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xviii, 583. \$5.00.)

THIS book concerns itself with what was known about Turkey and the Near East in late Tudor and early Stuart England. It is based upon an exhaustive analysis of all that was written on the subject by English traders and travelers. Professor Chew does not attempt to criticize what was written or to appraise its accuracy. He is concerned rather with what Englishmen believed to be true than with what actually was true. As we should expect from him, his chief emphasis is upon the Near East in Elizabethan literature and drama. But he gives us what is probably the best account in print of the famous Sherley Brothers, and he has an excellent chapter on Mediterranean pirates, particularly on the English renegades among them, such as the notorious Captain Ward.

He makes no attempt to follow systematically such subjects as the growth of trade or the development of political relations with the Near

East. We hear little of the vicissitudes of the Levant Company, of Venetian and French trade rivalry, and not so much as he might have told us about the efforts of William Harborne and Edward Barton, Elizabeth's agents at Constantinople, to stir up the Turk against the Spaniard. In this connection we commend to his attention the correspondence of Harborne and Barton printed by Pears (*English Historical Review*, VIII, 439-66) and Read (*Walsingham*, III, 326-32), the well-documented account of Harborne's embassy by Rawlinson (*Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th ser., V, 1-27), and Harborne's own (unpublished) narrative in the British Museum (Lansdowne MSS., LVII, no. 23, ff. 65-66). We commend also the correspondence of the Venetian ambassador at the Porte (*Cal. S.P., Venetian*, 1581-91). Professor Chew seems to have ignored in general the very considerable amount of material on Turkey in the English diplomatic correspondence of the times. But he may, perhaps justly, take the position that these diplomatic dispatches were confidential documents which had little or nothing to do with shaping English opinion.

As a whole the book is a scholarly as well as a delightful piece of work. Though it is addressed primarily to students of literature, it contains a great deal of value to students of history.

University of Pennsylvania.

CONYERS READ.

English Political Thought, 1603-1660. By J. W. ALLEN, Late Professor of History, Bedford College, University of London. Volume I, 1603-1644. (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 525. 21s.)

THE field of political theory, as Professor Allen rightly suggested ten years ago in the introduction to his *History of Political Thought in the Sixteenth Century*, is one generally neglected by historians. Other topics have doubtless been slighted hitherto because of lack of interest. This can scarcely be the explanation, however, in the case of political theory, since it is concerned with principles which for centuries have aroused the keenest controversy. It seems more probable that historians have been reluctant to deal with this subject because of the number and magnitude of the problems which it presents. The writer who grapples with it not only suffers from all the ills to which his colleague, the constitutional historian, is heir, but other serious ones as well. He must, of course, separate the marrow of his subject from the bone of contemporary political events and yet refer to these often enough to explain the living origin of the concepts with which he is dealing. He is torn between the desire to explain his subject in terms of its own age only and the necessity of giving it some intelligible modern form, as by making it a portion of the story of how the present came to be. To all these, and similar, difficulties of a general sort there are added, in the case of the historian of political theory, other difficult problems. He must keep in mind the development of abstract

theories while adequately treating the individuals and their works in which these theories find expression. He must distinguish idealistic thought from realistic, the wishes of utopian dreamers from the arguments which counsel at the bar have found it expedient to employ in presenting a given case before a particular tribunal. Shall he neglect one or the other of these types of theory, and, if not, how is he to treat his material in any coherent order without losing sight of this fundamental distinction? Surely the pioneer author who ventures into such a briar patch of thorny problems earns his readers' gratitude.

Mr. Allen has not only done this but has also presented his material in a fresh way, for he writes as a strong royalist. Such a treatment of early Stuart history on scholarly lines has been overdue for some time. When no secret is made of the author's sympathies, the intelligent reader must welcome a documented argument for the policy of the crown in matters on which the opposition view has long held sway among the historical profession.

Yet it must be said that the author has made generous use of his pioneer's license. He has forgotten the cautions called for by the above mentioned difficulties, some of which he himself pointed out a decade back, and the clarity of his focus has been affected. Interspersed with treatments of subjects which belong to political theory, as generally understood, the reader now finds discussions of political events, expositions of various theological outlooks, and even some pointed strictures on the prose style of Milton's controversial pamphlets.

This breadth of interest has limited the space available for particular theorists, even though the author now devotes an entire volume to the thought of a single country during less than half a century. Bacon and Raleigh, Hales and Chillingworth, Montague and Laud, Parker, Hunton, and many others are all considered in chapters so short as to admit of little analysis. Even that little is frequently weakened by the author's apparent indifference to the contributions of predecessors in these specific fields. Surely a pioneer surveyor may take advantage of the scattered clearings in his territory. A consultation of the works, say, of Y. C. Hoe, W. K. Jordan, and Perry Miller would have greatly strengthened the discussions of parliamentary sovereignty, toleration, and Puritan thought. Some freshness of treatment may be gained by this method of ignoring most other secondary writers, but this cannot justify the comparative neglect of such sources as parliamentary journals and diaries. The development of the theory of the social compact is discussed without any reference whatever to Sir Edwin Sandys or his memorable speech in the House of Commons on May 21, 1614.

In attempting the badly needed apologia for the royal policy in this period the author relies on the argument that common law precedents were on the side of the royal theory, which in his view resolves itself into the not

unreasonable claim of the right to break the law in times of emergency (pp. 4-25, especially pp. 12, 14). Yet, if I have not misunderstood him, he then appears to damage his case by conceding—in the face of contemporary Continental analogies to the contrary—the inevitability of the triumph of the rising tide of opposition (pp. 40-43, 359-62) with whose virtual victory in 1644 the volume ends. Similarly, on the ecclesiastical side, he accepts the liberal theory to the extent of defending the high church position by claiming for its advocates a superiority in the virtues which are generally supposed to be peculiar to their theological rivals, instead of arguing for them on their own particular merits, which were certainly not inconsiderable. The complexity of his thought on Puritanism—of which he makes the desire for assurance of election the distinguishing feature—may be briefly suggested by the following puzzle: “No one is likely to deny that Prynne was a representative Puritan (p. 278).” “There were Puritans who, like Prynne, were Erastian; but they, it seems to me, were eccentric and exceptional (p. 302).”

A recent president of the American Historical Association, who has done a great deal of pioneering in this very difficult field, is said to have contemplated at one time the publication of a summary of his findings. It is to be hoped that the project has not been abandoned, for the subject still needs the master touch.

The University of Chicago.

M. M. KNAPPEN.

A Commentary on Macaulay's History of England. By Sir CHARLES FIRTH, Sometime Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 375. \$7.50.)

THE lectures which constitute the chapters of this volume were first delivered more than twenty-five years ago, but the lapse of time has not appreciably diminished their worth. Through them Sir Charles Firth hoped to encourage students of the period of Macaulay's *History* to maintain an open mind and to seek to weave new evidence “into the tissue of the national story”. This the reader should constantly bear in mind for it probably serves to explain why Firth laid particular stress upon Macaulay's defects on the one hand, and, on the other, upon evidence which Macaulay neglected, or of whose existence he was, perhaps unavoidably, unaware. In consequence the judgments here expressed are generally adverse to the Whig historian, although, since no general summary is effected, it may be that they do not express the author's complete opinion. Allusion is made to some of Macaulay's merits, but in general they fall into the background.

Yet the treatment accorded the *History* is illuminating, although not always novel. Of special worth is the commentary on Macaulay's manner of writing and on his use of authorities. Firth holds that Macaulay's determination to write a history that would interest everybody who could

read led him to use the devices of the orator rather than those of the writer, with resultant exaggeration. Macaulay's skill in combining the difficult materials of his celebrated Third Chapter is recognized, although here, as elsewhere, Sir Charles discovers an unscientific tendency "to generalise too boldly from imperfect data". Due credit is given for the use of newspapers, pamphlets, the literature, and even the "facetiae" of the day, but it is pointed out that Macaulay was unaware of the dangers involved in using some of these authorities to establish facts, and that "when his personal prejudices came into play his vigilance relaxed".

The chapter entitled "Macaulay's Errors" constitutes the most considerable indictment which Firth presents. The combination of a phenomenal memory, which converted impressions into realities, with what Macaulay himself described as imaginative "castle building", led too often to historical disaster on the part of one who "scorned neutrality". Conjectures are stated as facts, "omniscience intervenes to supply the want of evidence", and "severe censure" is deserved when authorities are edited or altered as is sometimes the case.

Out of his wealth of knowledge Sir Charles indicates major bodies of material which even now call for investigation and enumerates Macaulay's omissions, both major and minor. His own scientific treatment of evidence is apparent when he handles such matters as the breaking of the boom at Londonderry and the Brest expedition. His command of the biographical and critical literature on Macaulay is manifest in many quick summaries and numerous asides. But it is his telling analysis of the defects, pardonable and otherwise, of Macaulay's *History*, his exposition of the "besetting sins" of its author, that renders Firth's *Commentary* welcome to an audience larger than that which listened to the lectures of prewar days though inevitably smaller than that which Macaulay stirred.

Brown University.

ROBERT H. GEORGE.

The Organization of the English Customs System, 1696-1786. By ELIZABETH EVELYNOLA HOON. [The American Historical Association.] (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. ix, 322. \$4.00.)

DR. HOON began this study in the hope of shedding further light on the effects upon the colonial tobacco trade of the abuses in the English customs service. Perhaps in consequence she approaches the matter with the notion that eighteenth century bureaucrats had some closely articulated policy known as mercantilism which, consciously and consistently applied, actually interfered with the real business of collecting the maximum revenue authorized by the statutes. Yet after a categorical statement that "the customs system, then, was the instrument of putting mercantilist policy into effect at the British ports", mercantilism is happily allowed to give way to a clear, well-organized, and interesting description of the customs service from the

date of the passing of the last Navigation Act to the year preceding Pitt's Consolidation Act.

To set the stage, some indication is given of the complexity of the administrative problems dealt with by the customs service. By 1784 no less than 100 separate accounts of customs had been opened, of which 68 were still in force, levying many differently rated and computed duties on the same commodities. By 1784 the tobacco duties were five times the value of the tobacco; between 1759 and 1784 the duties on tea ranged between 65 per cent and 120 per cent. Each duty was paid separately by the merchant, kept in a different account by the collector, and allocated by the exchequer to the special fund or service indicated by statute.

The treasury board constituted the final authority in customs matters, but the board of customs commissioners were entrusted with their practical administration. They regulated procedure, supervised personnel, considered merchants' petitions, and formulated customs policy. They concerned themselves with a vast amount of the business of the Port of London, even in routine matters, and, though their supervision of the outports was more general, every questionable case might be submitted to the board by local officials. Miss Hoon lets us see the commissioners and their secretaries and clerks at work in the east wing of the custom house, beginning the day with breakfast together and even sacrificing holidays to the press of business. Directly subject to the commissioners was a central office for the receipt of revenue and the preparation of accounts, made up of the receiver general, the receiver of fines and forfeitures, the receiver of the superannuation fund and other treasurers, the controller general and other auditors, the inspectors of personnel, such as the general surveyors, and the legal experts who supervised prosecutions and advised the board on questions of policy.

The survey of the central agencies is followed by a close examination of the complex organization of the Port of London and of the less highly developed custom houses of the outports. The next chapter, headed "Personnel", is one of the most interesting in the volume, since it endows the abstract official with some of our common humanity. Something of the same human interest crops out in the details of the actual procedure involved in a merchant's passing his goods through the customs. A certain lesser appeal attaches to the account of the efforts of the customs officers to stop smuggling through land and water patrols. A description of the procedure in cases of seizure for smuggling concludes the volume.

Profound research is evident on every page of Dr. Hoon's work. At times it seems that a great deal of detail is introduced which is scarcely necessary to an understanding of the organization of the English customs system in the eighteenth century. But much of this very detail is evidence of first importance for the significant question of the quality of govern-

ment provided in England in this period. Through her intimate views of one of the greatest departments of the state machine at work, Dr. Hoon provides new material for a revaluation of the concept of the inefficiency and corruption of government in the eighteenth century as it derives from the scarcely objective delineations of later reformers. There were abuses. The fixation of salaries made the fee system inevitable. Patronage appointees were often poorly chosen. Short hours and frequent holidays—dare a modern even hint that they were altogether bad? Failure to consolidate new levies with old, probably impossible as long as specific levies were earmarked for specific obligations, made for complexity; and complexity made for fraud. But on the whole Dr. Hoon shows that the bodies in executive control were sound and that they made “endless efforts” to secure the just and efficient working of the customs system. Encouragement of every kind was given to deserving officers for good service, and penalties were inflicted for violation of trust. The customs board were aware of abuses, such as those of useless and outworn offices, heavy fees, and long absences, and sought to reduce or abolish them. “The Commissioners were conscientious in duty and intelligent and fair in their decisions on customs cases”, says Dr. Hoon; and from the evidence in her volume the same qualities were prevalent among the lower officers with comparatively few exceptions.

In some way or other, perhaps through her long researches in England, Dr. Hoon has been exposed to the disease known as the English Index. It is true that in elaborate cross references and subheadings she shows acquaintance with the American variety; but the pernicious foreign infection is evident in connection with such entries as *London, Merchants, Seizures*, and others. Instead of 164 undifferentiated page references under *Customs Board*, in a book of 291 pages of text, would it have been less useful to cite pp. 1-291, *passim*? Or possibly to omit such citations altogether?

University of Illinois.

F. C. DIETZ.

The Clandestine Organization and Diffusion of Philosophic Ideas in France from 1700 to 1750. By IRA O. WADE, Associate Professor of Modern Languages in Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 329. \$3.50.)

In this volume the author has set himself the task of proving his thesis that there existed during the first half of the eighteenth century a clandestine manuscript literature in France, sufficiently important to establish “a solid foundation of liberalism upon which the writers of 1750-1789 had to build”. In the main the volume consists of a study of the most influential of the manuscript treatises: the number of copies in existence; where they are to be found; a comparative study of the various copies; and an analysis of

each treatise and an estimate of its importance. The solid scholarship and meticulous care shown by the author in presenting details give considerable validity to his thesis.

These manuscript treatises were a means of defying the censorship, which was fairly strict during the first half of the century. Copies were made, both by professional and nonprofessional copyists, and circulated or sold by literary bootleggers. There is no way of knowing exactly how many were written or the extent of the circulation. In some instances even the authors are unknown. From those treatises that he has been able to track down, the author concludes that the clandestine philosophic movement was both active and widespread and that its influence reached not only readers but also famous writers. It is known that Voltaire, Rousseau, Montesquieu, and Holbach made use of them. The treatises described by the author are nearly all devoted to attacks on revealed religion in general and on Christianity in particular, generally from the deistic viewpoint. This underground stream of propaganda prepared the audience for the Voltaire of Ferney, who is now seen to be the culmination, not the beginning, of the anti-Christian movement in eighteenth century France. Sometimes the underground stream bubbled to the surface, as in the cases of the *Lettres philosophiques* of Voltaire and the *Lettres persanes* of Montesquieu, which appeared during the first half of the eighteenth century.

The best known of the clandestine treatises is the *Testament* of Jean Meslier, to which an admirable chapter of the present study is devoted. This bitter denunciation of Christianity by a renegade priest was widely circulated in manuscript before it appeared in print in the later part of the century, when the censorship was relaxed. In the opinion of the author, the *Testament* "is unique in that it embraces all the scope of eighteenth century liberal criticism".

The greatest single influence on the clandestine writers was Spinoza. His *Tractatus*, with its scientific method of Biblical criticism, later known as Higher Criticism, "was more than a model: it was both a wealth of information and a stimulus to the further development of free thought". There was also considerable English influence, which took the form of translations of the writings of the English deists, especially those of Toland and Woolston.

For all its admirable qualities the volume has serious limitations. It treats the anti-Christian propaganda as an isolated phenomenon with little or no relation to the historic background. And the author does not seem to be aware of the great social transformation that France experienced in the eighteenth century of which the intellectual ferment was, in part, the expression. The clandestine treatises, to judge by the author's attitude, must have been endowed with a miraculous power of spontaneous fecundity, one manuscript generating another. The volume is essentially a scholarly cata-

logue rather than a work on intellectual history and hence more valuable to the librarian than to the historian.

The City College, New York.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

The Charity School Movement: A Study of Eighteenth Century Puritanism in Action. By M. G. JONES, Fellow of Girton College, Lecturer in History in the University of Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiii, 446. \$7.00.)

THE movement for national education in the British Isles is customarily considered a nineteenth century phenomenon and is associated with the growth of radicalism, of belief in progress, and of the new factories. Miss Jones wants to date the beginnings of the movement in the seventeenth century, when the first charity schools were set up in Wales. She sees it as continuing throughout the eighteenth, with hundreds of schools established and hundreds of thousands of children taught to read, and merging with, indeed providing the structural organization for, the successful educational societies of Bell and Lancaster. This is her major thesis, backed by wide study in little known or used printed and manuscript sources.

Charity schools were distinguished by four characteristics: they were for the children of the poor; they emphasized the reading, writing, and memorizing of religious catechisms; they were complete in themselves, not designed as stepping-stones to grammar or other schools; and they were supported by annual voluntary contributions from puritanical-minded men and women. These schools are mentioned in all histories of British education as an outgrowth of the reforming zeal of Queen Anne's reign, which succumbed to the "general apathy" of the mid-century. Miss Jones does not deny that interest in them slackened in the third decade, though she makes great point, without very much supporting and with no statistical evidence, of the numbers that lasted till the century's end. A continuous and sustained movement can be found only if one jumps in turn from one part of the British Isles to another, for when contributions fell off in one nation an eager group in another caught up the idea. Thus the schools of the Welsh Trust of 1672, lasting scarcely a decade, were followed in turn by those of the English S.P.C.K. in 1701, the Scottish S.P.C.K. in 1709 and 1738, the Incorporated Society in Ireland in 1733, and Griffith Jones's circulating schools in Wales in 1737.

Not one of these joint-stock companies stressed education for education's sake. In Wales, up to 1779, when the funds became tied up in a chancery suit and the schools abruptly ceased, the object was a purely religious one. In England men hoped that the schools would discipline the lower classes to their proper station in life. Intended to be a means of social control, they soon developed into propaganda agencies, first for the Jacobites and then for the Whigs. That controversy killed the movement; the S.P.C.K. aban-

doned elementary education for the mission field in 1733. The Scots society in the Highlands and the Incorporated Society in Ireland tried to use charity schools to destroy Catholicism, but they found it impossible to combat deep-rooted prejudice in the one locality or the quiet courageous work of the hedge-priest in the other. From this brief summary of Miss Jones's argument it would appear that interest in popular education was sporadic and scattered, that the only continuity is in the idea of a charity-school organization, and that such pathetic, ill-supported schools as lasted beyond 1800 can scarcely be said to have contributed anything more than the form itself to the widespread educational movement of the nineteenth century.

Neither educational ideas nor public interest in them can be divorced from general intellectual movements. Miss Jones seems to think that the flame of pure philanthropy burned always with a constant, steady glow, that the England of Sarah Trimmer and of John Howard felt the same way about poverty and human suffering as the England of Thomas Firmin and Robert Nelson. At times, indeed, she suggests that the growth of radical thought, the increase of more precise knowledge, and the religious revivals left an influence upon education, but she makes no effort to correlate them with the charity-school movement. The unsatisfactory character of such generalizations, the too frequent repetitions, the occasional disorderliness of organization, all of which mar an otherwise very useful book, are not attributable to her lack of industry or of understanding, for she possesses both. They are rather the result of spreading the actual writing of this book over a number of years. Materials long a-gathering and ideas long a-forming should be brought and held to sharp focus in writing a book.

Yale University.

STANLEY PARGELLIS.

Jacob Emden: A Man of Controversy. By MORTIMER J. COHEN. (Philadelphia: Dropsie College for Hebrew and Cognate Learning. 1937. Pp. 336. \$3.00.)

It is well for the author of this book that he modified the title by the subtitle, for as a biography of the man whose name it bears, the work is deficient in many respects. Jacob Emden (1698-1776), an outstanding personality in German Jewry during the eighteenth century, wrote many important books in the field of Rabbinics and possessed a fine historical sense coupled with critical acumen. His analysis of the *Zohar*, the leading book of the Kabbala, was a veritable contribution to historical literary criticism and helped much towards the evolving of a better understanding of Jewish mysticism and its doctrines. Of all this we have very little in the present volume, where the literary phase of Emden's activity is dealt with in a few pages.

The author was primarily interested in Emden's controversial activities,

and of these mainly in his strife with Jonathan Eibeschuetz, which lasted for years and created great commotion in world Jewry at the time and became also the concern of the governments of Denmark and the city of Hamburg. It is the story of this strife, which is told in detail occupying more than half of this work, that constitutes its chief merit. The same cannot be said of the treatment of Emden. Dr. Cohen attempts to analyze his personality from the point of view of Freudian psychology and endeavors to explain his activities in that strife, as well as his life-long struggle against all erratic movements in Judaism arising from false Messianism and misleading mysticism, as caused chiefly by sexual repression and mental morbidity. That Emden was of a quarrelsome nature, unsuccessful in his aspirations, and in his attacks often resorted to gross exaggeration, may readily be admitted. But that he possessed an inferiority complex, lacked courage, or that sexual repression played such an important part in his personality is more than dubious. The author is biased in favor of Eibeschuetz, and many pages read like apologies for his favorite hero. The translation of passages from the original documents is affected by that bias.

Engrossed in the task of proving his thesis, Dr. Cohen at times commits errors which he could easily have avoided. Thus he not only ascribes to Emden a work entitled *Seder Olam Rabba we-Zutta* but says that he wrote it in order to refute the doctrines of the Frankists (p. 257), though every student of Jewish history knows that the *Seder Olam Rabba* and the *Seder Olam Zutta* are historical works written in the second and the ninth century respectively. Emden merely edited them, adding some notes.

Notwithstanding these criticisms, this volume contains much material which throws light upon a notable episode in Jewish history and will be read with interest by students in that field.

Hebrew Theological College, Chicago.

MEYER WAXMAN.

Africa Emergent: A Survey of Social, Political, and Economic Trends in British Africa. By W. M. MACMILLAN. (London: Faber and Faber. 1938. Pp. 414. 15s.)

The Road to the North: South Africa, 1852-1886. By J. A. I. AGAR-HAMILTON, Senior Lecturer in the Department of Modern History, University of Pretoria. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1937. Pp. xvi, 458. \$7.50.)

IN the perennial and never-to-be-settled debate on the proper relationship between the social sciences the first of these books is significant. Professor Macmillan, himself a historian, demonstrates how profitable it can be for the historian to disregard the traditional barriers between history, economics, political science, and sociology. The result is a book which is not exactly history, yet could have been written only by a historian.

The key to Africa's history and politics is its deep poverty throughout the ages and the intractable nature of the wealth which it did contain. It was largely because Africa's bush and soil yielded so little that the sixteenth and seventeenth and eighteenth centuries plundered it of its people, or more accurately of its labor. At a moment when Africa seems fated to be the scene of more political shuffling between the imperialist powers, a book that deals with the economic and social realities of African society itself can only be timely. To such a task Professor Macmillan brings an experience such as only few students of Africa are likely to have. True to the advice of Carlyle that the historian must see as well as read, he has implemented research in documents and records by extensive tours. In Africa, especially, personal acquaintance is vitally necessary, for the history of backward and illiterate peoples, through the default of customary materials, must be read in their living institutions and customs. *Africa Emergent* is an important book, rich in fact and suggestion.

In the first four chapters is given the fullest and easily the best explanation that we have of why Africa is deficient in "most of the essential means of civilization". Endemic diseases, debilitating parasites, foods of low dietetic value, soils deficient in essential chemicals, irregular rainfall—these go far to explain the centuries of African stagnation.

When he has explained, Professor Macmillan goes on to persuade and to suggest reform. He puts forth the claim of the modern African to the material progress and the cultural rights which the Victorian empire promised the dependent empire. In this phase of his study he constitutes himself a commission of one to report upon the great variety of agencies which bear upon the life and effort of the modern African and to recommend how colonists, merchants, capitalists, government officials, missionaries, and others should make good their responsibilities to the great mass of over 150,000,000 Africans. In this aspect of his study, students will want to read him side by side with Lord Hailey's *African Survey*. Even here, however, Professor Macmillan's criticism and recommendations are rich in stimulating historical analogies.

In telling the story of white expansion northwards between 1852 and 1886 Dr. Agar-Hamilton takes a first step toward what has long needed to be written, a history of land policy and settlement. Sometimes his conclusions have to be dug out of his too-detailed pages. Yet in the main he shows real resource and wisdom in refusing to be misled by the red herrings and side issues of more than thirty years of unbroken land disputes. His discussion of the famous quarrel over the Diamond Fields, the source of so much bitterness in Anglo-Boer relations, is admirably direct, and his conclusion suggests by implication that Downing Street was after all wise in ignoring the legal problem of ownership and concentrating instead on the practical problem of maintaining law and order.

The road running northward from the Cape Colony, which gives the book its title, was of strategic and commercial importance. It ran through an important area of native settlement, much of which is today the Protectorate of Bechuanaland. After the annexation of the Diamond Fields in 1871 the British government fought off effort after effort to saddle it with responsibility for the territory adjoining the Road to the North. When it finally annexed the Bechuana territory, in 1885, it did so reluctantly to prevent the Dutch republics, or possibly Germany, from closing the road. In spite of its reluctance it stumbled into one of its most constructive achievements in its tortuous South African policy. The Bechuanaland Protectorate is today one of the most spacious areas of native settlement guaranteed to the natives in all South Africa.

It is a pity that the author has adopted the orthography of specialist students of the native languages. What may be gained in technical accuracy is lost in intelligibility. Names that usage had made familiar again become strange and often unpronounceable.

The technical side of the book is meticulously done. There are very few slips. The two maps at the end are clear and most useful. It is a pity that the expense of printing a monograph such as this precludes a still freer use of maps. A map of the water resources of Bechuanaland or reproductions of some of Colonel Moysey's sketches of interspersed white and black settlement, to be found in the Public Record Office, would be a great help in following involved passages.

The State University of Iowa.

C. W. DE KIEWIET.

South West Africa in Early Times: Being the Story of South West Africa up to the Date of Maharero's Death in 1890. By HEINRICH VEDDER.

Translated and edited by CYRIL G. HALL. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xv, 525. \$6.00.)

IN this volume Dr. Heinrich Vedder, to whom students of African history are already heavily in debt, tells the story of South West Africa from earliest times to 1890. He is chiefly concerned with the migrations and wars of the native tribes, mainly in the nineteenth century, though he includes the earliest contacts of European navigators with the country and the later explorations of the white man. The German occupation in 1884 is referred to but is not described in full; it does not properly belong to the history of the natives, which is given here for the first time in very great detail. The reconstruction of native history was no simple matter; it was made from "old notes, letters, reports, and diaries and, to a lesser extent, from information given by word of mouth by Europeans and natives who have been long in the land". The author is fully justified in believing that students "will not be able to learn anywhere else" the things that constitute the story told in this book.

Many readers might feel inclined at first sight to agree with Dr. Vedder in his modest view that the book can have only a limited appeal, "for much that it contains is of very minor importance in comparison with the great events of the world at large, and can only be interesting to those who have, in some way or other, become closely identified with our sunny land". The author deals mainly with the tyranny of the Orlams, chiefly under Jonker Afrikander, with the Herero struggle for independence, and with Henrik Witbooi's war against the Hereros. The names are local, the customs are strange, and the reader must frequently refer to the maps in the book to make certain that he is aware of what is going on. The style is simple, direct, unadorned. Despite the ambitions of the translator to make the English text as nearly as possible "according to Fowler", errors of grammar and style are in evidence here and there.

The book has in it much of the quality that gives the Old Testament a significance transcending ancient Palestine. This comparison with the Old Testament is intentional, for the reader is often reminded of a similarity as he reads of the warring nomadic tribes, of the watch set over herds of cattle, of the struggle for water, of brutal chieftains who raid and kill on slightest provocation; consciences they do not appear to have, except when missionaries, like the prophets of the Old Testament, warn and seek to restrain them.

Apart from its general sociological interest Vedder's book is to be recommended to those who think of Africa as a Garden of Eden until the white man entered it in the serpent's role. Among native Africans there was an imperialism as real in its results and as material in its purposes as that of the Europeans. This volume deserves credit for reminding us of this very important fact.

Yale University.

HARRY R. RUDIN.

Le Président de Brosses et l'Australie. Par ALAN CAREY TAYLOR. [Études de Littérature étrangère et comparée, Collection dirigée par Paul Hazard.] (Paris: Boivin & Cie. 1937. Pp. 190. 30 fr.)

IN the decades before the French Revolution celebrated writers in France, almost to a man, pointed out the evils of colonial expansion. They saw in oversea possessions a cause of useless wars; they pictured the horrors of slavery and the slave trade. In Voltaire's jaundiced eye Canada appeared as nothing more than some "acres of snow"—a phrase destined to be too famous. He and other *philosophes* did, it is true, appreciate the value of some parts of the empire, but they could not regard them as worth what they had cost and were costing in human lives and treasure. Thanks to their attacks, public faith in the value of colonies was badly shaken.

Yet, paradoxically enough, the concept of a perfect colony persisted in the second half of the eighteenth century. Dr. Taylor's welcome little

volume on the neglected Charles de Brosses and his interest in Australia helps to illustrate it. De Brosses was a provincial magistrate whose travels from his native Dijon were confined to journeys to Paris and Italy. But Europe alone did not constitute the world of this firm believer in empire. Led at first to the study of geography by his father, De Brosses was later prompted to take a particular interest in Australia (or what was known of it) from reading Buffon and Maupertuis. He wrote several memoirs on the subject, and from these grew his *Histoire des navigations aux Terres australes*, which appeared in two volumes in 1756. English and German translations followed after the Seven Years' War.

Dr. Taylor not only performs the useful service of summarizing the contents of this work but also shows its influence on the voyages of Bougainville and Cook. In a few years the geographical questions posed by De Brosses in regard to Australia were answered. In answering them, however, the explorers failed to found colonies, as he had proposed. Not until near the close of the eighteenth century did Australia first receive white settlers—and these in the form of convicts.

De Brosses's rules for colonizing arrest attention. An expedition sent out for the purpose of founding an establishment, he wrote, should bear in mind scientific as well as commercial and military considerations. It should promote agriculture rather than the search for precious metals. And it must not interfere with the religion of the natives. While De Brosses expressed no objection to Negro slavery—the antislavery movement was still in its infancy—he wanted full justice done to non-European races. Dr. Taylor naturally does not go into this subject, but it would be intriguing to know whether the men who planned the Bonaparte expedition to Egypt in 1798 had read De Brosses. Certainly the ideas underlying that remarkable enterprise strongly resemble those of the Dijon magistrate.

For the rest, Dr. Taylor deserves credit for calling attention in this careful scholarly study to the man whom Voltaire mockingly saluted as "Président des Terres australes". The book has a selective bibliography and an index of persons.

The National Archives.

CARL LUDWIG LOKKE.

Matthew Boulton. By H. W. DICKINSON. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xiv, 218. \$4.50.)

THIS is the latest load of good metal to be dug out of the two great collections of Boulton and Watt manuscripts housed in Birmingham, England. Samuel Smiles used these papers ninety years ago, before they were generally accessible; but since 1923 Messrs. Lord, Roll, Dickinson, Jenkins, and others have explored them for economic and technical material, and President Guy Stanton Ford has found in them clues to a "Lost Year in Stein's Life" (*On and Off the Campus*, 1938, pp. 161-203).

Mr. Dickinson has written biographies of James Watt and Robert Fulton and is co-author of the most authoritative work on the early steam engine. His training as an engineer makes him an expert guide on all technical points; but it leads to a certain stilted amateurishness in style, to questionable historical generalizations, and to a failure to realize the political or economic significance of parts of his story. These shortcomings are, however, unimportant, and should detract nothing from our gratitude for a valuable picture of a dominating personality in a dynamic society.

Boulton once told Watt that his interest in the latter's engine was due partly to his "love of a money-getting ingenious project". That phrase described his whole business career. He was an energetic money-getter and always had some new plan in mind or on hand. But his plans were always "ingenious"; they must give scope for resourcefulness, inventive capacity, and experiments in organization, equipment, or methods. The friend of Franklin and Priestley was as intellectually active in his business affairs as when he was arguing with the scientists in the Birmingham Lunar Society. What he did as "nurse and midwife" to Watt's engine we have long known, and Mr. Dickinson makes the contribution even more important than we used to think it was. But before Boulton met Watt he had already wrestled with the problems of producing better and cheaper buckles and buttons, of organizing a large factory with six or seven hundred workers, of combining manufacturing and marketing in one firm, and of making splendid pieces of steel jewelry, plate, and ormolu. After he had launched Watt's engine, he went on to new conquests, of which the chief was the revolution in minting coins. He built a mint of his own, with automatic machines attended by one or two boys and driven by a steam engine. He persuaded the British government—which had made virtually no copper coins for fifty years—to give him orders, and in ten years he minted 3500 tons of copper. The age-old famine of small change ended, and the curse of counterfeiting disappeared.

The book is full of good things: of Boulton's strategy in marrying his deceased wife's sister, after distributing 180 copies of *Fry on Marriage* among his friends; of statements of business policy and of the case for mass production of standardized articles; of Dr. Johnson's amazement when he saw the machines turning out "twelve dozen buttons for three shillings"; of skillful lobbying; of "hunches" which establish Boulton as an important inventor of secondary rank; and of eighteenth century verbal pomposity. Twenty pictures of the man, his works, and his products are beautifully reproduced. But how did the proofreader—a Cambridge one, of all people—come to doze long enough to let a sentence on page 121 begin with a small letter?

The University of Minnesota.

HERBERT HEATON.

Les commissaires aux armées sous le Directoire: Contribution à l'étude des rapports entre les pouvoirs civils et militaires. Deux tomes. Par JACQUES GODECHOT, professeur à l'École navale. (Paris: Éditions Fustier. 1937. Pp. li, 675; 438. 160 fr.)

Fragments des mémoires de Charles-Alexis Alexandre sur sa mission aux armées du nord et de Sambre-et-Meuse. Par JACQUES GODECHOT. Édition critique avec une introduction et des notes. (*Ibid.* Pp. 224. 40 fr.)

THE subject of the *commissaires* under the Directory was suggested as a topic for a doctor's thesis by Albert Mathiez some ten years ago, when there was as yet no clear idea as to the exact status of these officials. Toward filling this gap the author had the good fortune of finding a report drawn up for the Directory in 1799, enumerating all the *commissaires aux armées* appointed since 1795, with a résumé of the instructions given them. It is unfortunate that this document is not reprinted, for in a sense all that his two volumes offer do not make up for the lack of it.

M. Godechot's work is based on a long investigation not only in the chief French archives but also in Italy and Switzerland and in the archives of the German lands occupied by the armies of the Directory. It is not clear whether or not this painstaking search turned up much new material of importance. There is no appendix of documents, and those used in the text appear only as fragments incorporated in a running narrative, consisting largely of personal altercations, official controversies, and elaborate explanations of unimportant details. These wrangling conflicts the author presents no doubt impartially, but he does not avoid entering at great length into very trifling matters, and too often his narrative gives an impression of moving rapidly over the surface of many topics without summing up any of them or reaching substantial conclusions.

The author conceives his subject primarily as a study in the relations between the civil and the military power—starting from the premise that the authority given the *commissaires* was an index of the supremacy of the civil over the military power. His general thesis is that a decline of the civil authority was a cause of the trend which ended in a dictatorship. It seems fair to say that nothing his book offers supports such a thesis. The army commanders were appointed by the civil power no less than the *commissaires*, and on the whole appear to have been more trusted. It seems clear that in the eyes of the Directory the *commissaires* were very secondary figures, constantly changed about and dismissed, and dependent upon their fugitive political connections at Paris. Some of them were obviously unqualified and incompetent men. The fragment of the memoirs of Charles-Alexis Alexandre, listed above, which M. Godechot publishes as a separate volume, reveals a striking example of this type.

It is worthy of note that in 1796 sentiment in the army against con-

tinuing the war and against territorial conquests became so strong that the Directory considered it a serious danger. It was not because of militarist but because of political pressure (from one faction in the government) that the decision was made for prolonging the war and for a general program of conquest. The "faction des anciennes limites" were now proclaimed traitors, and the *commissaires* had to take on the duty of suppressing such views in the army.

All the reports here quoted state with the utmost frankness that in Germany as in Italy the population at large hated the French invasion, and that the French partisans were only an insignificant minority. M. Godechot sees this as a reversal of the original attitude of the liberated peoples and presents his book as an explanation, in part, of the "désaffection croissante des pays conquis ou occupés par les armées françaises envers ces Républicains qu'ils appelaient de tous leurs vœux en 1795". After all, are the most fantastic interpretations of Hitler and Goebbels any more extravagant than this—"qu'ils appelaient de tous leurs vœux en 1795"? A century from now, will a national school of historians still be able to present the recent events in central Europe through a colored mist of romantic patriotism such as has become an accepted tradition in portraying the march of the Revolution outside the old frontiers?

Cambridge.

T. H. THOMAS.

Europe and the French Imperium, 1799-1814. By GEOFFREY BRUUN, New York University. [The Rise of Modern Europe, edited by William L. Langer.] (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xiv, 280. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Bruun's theses are two: first, "the Napoleonic empire was an anomaly in a continental society already sundered and diversified by nationalist traditions", and therefore "the restoration of a balance of power among the nation-states" was "a more or less predictable resolution of an abnormal situation"; secondly, along with doctrines of natural rights, the philosophers of the enlightenment had "recognized the necessity of regulating the activities of the individual in the interest of more effective government" and that ideal "found its most vigorous expression . . . in the efficient despotism of the Empire" (p. xiii). There is, to be sure, an apparent contradiction in those two theses. If Napoleon's despotism was a realization of a century-old philosophy, then it is hard to see how it can be considered an anomaly headed for a more or less predictable liquidation. Yet, since Mr. Bruun undoubtedly means that it was chiefly inside of France that the Empire was the realization of eighteenth century political theory and chiefly outside of France that it was a counternationalistic anomaly, the apparent contradiction is resolved. It is possible, however, to regard the rise of dictatorships as a more or less regular consequence of revolutionary chaos, and international aggressiveness as a more or less

regular consequence of dictatorships. If that view is right, philosophy played a small part in making Napoleon a dictator, and there was nothing anomalous about his imperialism. Nevertheless, both of Mr. Bruun's theses are tenable, and he supports them intelligently—often with deftness, verve, and the proper dash of epigram and philosophic speculation. Perhaps no one in this country could have presented the most recent theories and the best literature on the Napoleonic era in a better-written synthesis.

Left to himself, Mr. Bruun might have produced a volume almost perfect for its purpose. His book contains, to be sure, the few inevitable points of fact or judgment on which other experts might demur—particularly the consignment of the republican tradition to a position of relative unimportance among the consequences of the French Revolution. But its more important shortcomings appear to be due to a probably unconscious effort to conform to the rules laid down in the editor's "Introduction" (already prefixed to earlier volumes of this series). In the endeavor, for example, "to go beyond a merely political-military narrative" (p. xi) there has been added a chapter (x) on "European Thought and Culture in the Napoleonic Era". There can be no objections to going beyond the merely political-military even in a study of the Napoleonic era, where there was so little on the Continent that was not somehow military-political. Yet, when the cultural aspects are treated only as an afterthought and are not made an intimate part of the story as it progresses, there is something textbookish and distinctly unsynthesized in the result. The chapter deals with a field in which the author is obviously not expert; indeed, there is no good reason why, being a specialist in revolutionary institutions and thought, he should be expert in it.

Nor does there seem to have been any good reason why "the minutely detailed, chronological approach" (p. xi) should not have been used in the present instance. After all, time is almost the only objective norm with which the historian deals. History happens in chronological order, and there is no good reason for being apologetic about it. One should, of course, stop at certain points in a narrative to review antecedents or to present cross sections of contemporary situations. But in narrative history the essential sequence is a time sequence. When that is violated, the effect is either needless confusion or needless repetition. Mr. Bruun employs sometimes the topical and sometimes the chronological arrangement, and the result is disturbing, as could be shown in detail if space permitted. Whatever the gains from the occasional resort to the topical arrangement may have been, they were hardly sufficient to compensate for the perplexity that sometimes results from the desertion of the strictly chronological order.

Mr. Bruun, in one regard at least, has not followed the precepts laid down in the introduction. He has given great attention to the per-

sonality of Napoleon and the national history of France. That is only as it should be. The history of Europe from 1789 to 1815 is essentially the history of France and Napoleon. Nearly everything that is interesting to the general reader comes under the heading of foreign relations with France or internal reactions to Napoleonic domination. It is only fitting that Mr. Bruun should have followed the time-honored tradition of writers on the Napoleonic era by giving the greatest amount of his space to France and the emperor, discussing England, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Spain, etc., only as it became necessary to indicate their relations and reactions to the French imperium. In that regard Mr. Bruun is considerably less of an innovator than the introduction (p. xii) would lead one to believe. And that is fortunate. Despite a somewhat obtrusive irony at the expense of those he calls "the liberal historians", Mr. Bruun continues in the best tradition of Thiers, Sorel, Rose, Kirchseisen, *et al.*—and that observation is intended as a compliment to a deserving book.

The University of Chicago.

LOUIS R. GOTTSCHALK.

Wages and Income in the United Kingdom since 1860. By A. L. BOWLEY, Emeritus Professor of Statistics in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 151. \$2.50.)

THE author's purpose was to bring into a coherent whole his numerous earlier studies of wages and income, with emphasis on papers now out of print or not readily accessible. Recommendation of the work to specialists would be superfluous. Students of the trends of British wages, income, and prices have long found Professor Bowley's writings outstanding sources of information. The reader who is not acquainted with statistical techniques may have difficulty in viewing the volume as a "coherent whole", especially unless he keeps in mind the author's statement that the essence of his studies is not the obtaining of absolute figures but the measuring of changes. The linking of relatives for tracing the trends of British wages and prices (for the volume deals with real as well as money wages) gives comparatively adequate results because of the comparative homogeneity and the limited area of the United Kingdom. The book is much more than a compilation of statistics, for the author brings to bear his wide knowledge and mature judgment on such important subjects as earnings and needs, labor costs, and shifts in occupations and industries.

It is surprising that so eminent a statistician as Professor Bowley has used ambiguous terms in his tables, the meaning of which can be ascertained only by careful reading of the text. Many of the tabulations standing alone might mean either rates, or hourly earnings, or daily earnings, or full-time weekly or annual earnings, or the actual averages of weekly or of annual earnings when account is taken of part time and overtime. Most

of the tables deal in fact with average full-time or "normal" weekly earnings. English readers may not find the terms ambiguous, but American readers are more familiar with the concept of average earnings as the actual average when the highly variable elements of part time and overtime are taken into account.

Most readers will probably be mainly interested in the general discussions and in the more generalized tables, such as those on pages 6 and 94, giving the long-term trends of wages and other forms of income. These two tables bring out, for example, the significant fact that there was an increasing disparity before the World War in the classes of income. Money wages per worker increased less than one fifth from the average of the years 1901-1905 to 1913; while the national per capita income during the same period increased more than one third.

Washington, D. C.

WITT BOWDEN.

Charles Darwin: A Portrait. By GEOFFREY WEST. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 359. \$3.50.)

Mr. West, an English writer, has brought to the portrayal of Darwin's life an excellent literary style, a dispassionate freshness of approach, and an avowed purpose as a biographer to present Darwin the man for the better understanding of his work. Such an account is useful, for while more than a dozen lives of Darwin have appeared since 1882, most of the more recent ones seem to have been written with the idea that the reader needed only to have certain aspects of his work or his personality illuminated. Gamaliel Bradford's *Darwin*, for example, is a study of the man's personality, not of his work. The subtitle of Henshaw Ward's *Darwin: The Man and his Warfare* gives a clue to its emphasis. To many persons today, however, Darwin's name has almost mythological vagueness, and the contentions of the nineteenth century have little emotional significance. Readers should value this new biography for its clarity, its striving for historical accuracy, and above all for its judicial quality.

The Darwin of this study is a very human personality profoundly influenced by his environment and by his inheritance, especially that derived from his grandfather, Erasmus Darwin. Mr. West makes the reader live Darwin's life along with him, as Darwin shifts seemingly by chance from a medical to a theological career, only to have the preparation for the latter broken off by an opportunity to pursue a hobby as naturalist on the *Beagle* and so to find his life work. Despite the rigid limitations imposed by his ill-health he persisted throughout the rest of his life with his endless observations and his careful writing. His intellectual integrity gradually forced him, by the overwhelming pressure of the facts he observed, to uphold theories of evolution, of the struggle for existence, and of natural selection, which had been foreign to his views of life. *The Origin of Species* was a

preliminary statement written rapidly to support the priority of his theories over Wallace's; but a lifetime was too short for the great work. As Mr. West traces the stages of Darwin's thinking, it becomes the work of a man gifted with courage, patience, and amazing powers of observation. The author and the reader alike find Darwin humanly great.

The final chapter, "The Fragmentary Man", is an excellent sketch in fifteen pages of the importance of Darwin's work and its limitations as various critics and historians have seen them during these sixty years. His biographer's conclusion is that Darwin's ultimate and enduring greatness is as a man.

This portrait should be useful as "collateral reading" in the colleges for scientific and nonscientific students alike, both for the importance of its subject and for the temperate and impartial use Mr. West has made of the sources in print. The extent of the bibliography bears testimony to his thoroughness.

Goucher College.

DOROTHY STIMSON.

Norway and the Nobel Peace Prize. By OSCAR J. FALNES. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 332. \$3.50.)

It may at first seem anomalous that a Swedish industrialist, the inventor of dynamite, should become the founder of a peace prize to be administered by the Norwegian *storting*. Alfred Nobel came by his scientific interest naturally. His father, Emmanuel, had developed underwater mines for Czar Nicholas II and had experimented dangerously with nitroglycerine. Professor Falnes's book explains how Nobel came to make Norway the instrument for carrying out his ideas of promoting peace and how the *storting* later administered his will. But it does more; it provides a carefully documented account of Norway's peace movement from the Swedish-Norwegian crisis of 1895 to the postwar period. Nobel's own skepticism was expressed when he said: "The savants will write excellent volumes. There will be laureates. But wars will continue just the same until the force of circumstances renders them impossible" (p. 11). His hope was apparently for some sort of collective security, a general alliance against the first aggressor. The efforts of Björnson, Norwegian *litterateur* and peace advocate, attracted his interest. But the tension produced by the crisis of 1895 was a powerful factor in explaining Nobel's choice. The nineties were also the years of greatest momentum for Norway's peace movement. When Nobel's will was published in 1897, London, Washington, and St. Petersburg were showing active interest in peace and arbitration.

The first peace prizes were awarded in 1901. Up to 1905 Norway had no foreign minister, but her *storting* had its "Peace Union" and joined in interparliamentary efforts in Europe. Independence in 1905 did not check the work of Norway's Nobel Committee. Halvdan Koht, now foreign

minister of Norway, was an ardent nationalist before 1905 and a consistent worker for peace always. Through the Nobel Institute and Frederick Stang neutral Norway has accepted a responsibility for restoring international co-operation among scholars since the close of the World War. The Nobel Foundation, through its peace prize and in other ways brought out in this volume, has labored for international amity in a world quite different from that envisaged by Nobel. Despite the dark outlook, says the author, "logic and history nevertheless indicate that men will continue to have use in the future for some distinction such as the Nobel Peace Prize".

Dr. Falnes's book is topical rather than chronological in arrangement and includes much biographical material, especially valuable for the non-Norwegian reader. Except for an occasional awkward transitional paragraph, the matter is presented in a clear and succinct literary style. The book promises to be for some time to come the best account in English of Norway's peace efforts and her administration of the Nobel Peace Prize.

University of California at Los Angeles. WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

The Secret Letters of the Last Tsar: Being the Confidential Correspondence between Nicholas II and his Mother, Dowager Empress Maria Feodorovna. Edited by EDWARD J. BING. With a Preface by R. H. Bruce Lockhart. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. 313. \$3.50.)

IN the twenty years since his death the character and policies of the last emperor of Russia have been described by many of his contemporaries. His personality has been further revealed by the publication of his diaries and of portions of his correspondence. Mr. Bing has now made available in English nearly two hundred letters or parts of letters which passed between Nicholas II and his mother during the years 1879-1917. A part of this correspondence, that covering the years 1905-10, has been published in *Krasnyi Arkhiv*, 1927, number 3 (also available in French, *Lettres de Nicolas II et de sa mère*, Paris, 1928), and 1932, numbers 1 and 2. In the Russian edition the letters are apparently given in their entirety; in the volume under consideration they are not. The letters which Mr. Bing now gives us are notable, as Mr. Bruce Lockhart observes in his agreeable introduction, for the fact that "political events of the first magnitude are sometimes not mentioned at all" and are "sometimes dismissed rather shortly in a few sentences". These letters are not, therefore, of great value to the student of Russian history; they are a contribution to the history of the Romanov family and its connections, and they should be enjoyed by readers who like to look behind the façade of pomp and circumstance of royalty.

The ideas and personality of the last czar are, of course, important to the historian. These letters confirm the opinion that Nicholas was pious and devoted to his immediate family, that he was happiest when reviewing

troops, hunting, or cruising on the imperial yacht; that in times of great national difficulty he was calm and confident as the servant and instrument of God; that he was bored by official business, disliked and distrusted ministers who showed initiative and independence, and rather despised those who did not. When the emperor expresses approval of an official, it is often one who has the dubious distinction of having acted with severity rather than with compassion and understanding. When the dowager empress in 1902 asks why her "dear good Nicky" chooses "to be *guided* and *deceived* by a *liar* like Bobrikoff", the czar asks her to remember "what a row the Germans kicked up in Papa's lifetime in the Baltic Provinces—yet in a few years a strong and steady hand brought complete appeasement".

Nicholas explains somewhat apologetically why he signed the Manifesto of October 17. "There was", he writes, "no other way out than to cross oneself and give what every one was asking for." Later, he explains that the righteous anger of loyal people flared up in Jewish pogroms "because nine-tenths of the trouble-makers are Jews". The description of the assassination of Stolypin, which occurred in the czar's presence, is as unemotional as an account of a review of troops and contains no comment on the public service of the victim or the police connections of the assassin. The dowager empress's comment was much more forthright. The letters touch briefly on the Russo-Japanese War, the Bosnian crisis, and the Balkan wars but not on the diplomatic crisis of 1914.

Mr. Bing, in accordance with his intention to refrain from giving the book a scientific character, makes no reference to relevant works or sources; his editorial notes are few, informal, and very brief. Insofar as it is possible to judge by comparison with the letters available elsewhere, he has made a good selection. Omissions, whether a sentence, a paragraph, or several paragraphs, are not indicated. A summary of the omitted sections or the conventional sign of omission might have prevented misunderstanding in certain cases without unduly distressing the unscientific reader to whom this book is addressed.

Stanford University.

H. H. FISHER.

Friedrich Naumann: Der Mann, das Werk, die Zeit. Von THEODOR HEUSS. (Stuttgart: Deutsche Verlags-Anstalt. 1937. Pp. xii, 751. 9.60 M.)

THE subject of this biography belongs not only to a past generation but to an epoch that has passed and gone. Naumann's active life began with the advent of the young kaiser, with whose social and political ideals he early associated himself, and down to 1908 he continued to entertain a somewhat naïve faith in the compatibility of democracy and the empire (see *Democratie und Kaisertum*, 1900). Although at no time vouchsafed the

role of political leadership, he was a pioneer in social welfare and a great moral force, especially with the youth and the masses.

Naumann was of German intellectual and French Huguenot stock in which theology, pedagogy, and medicine were major interests. The son of an Evangelical pastor, he studied theology, which his highly sensitive nature soon led him to translate into applied Christianity. He organized the Evangelical Labor Union, built up the workmen's library at Göttingen, edited the weekly journal *Die Hilfe*, and founded the National Social Union (Nationalsocialen Vercin). Elected to the reichstag in 1908, he naturally associated himself with the liberal group, championed parliamentary government, and broke many a lance against Prussian conservatism and the Social Democrats. He was critical of Bülow's overconfidence and shared with Barth, whose associations with Bryce and other British Liberals is well known, a strong sympathy for England. Although carried away for a time by the emperor's naval propaganda, his sanity and sense of fitness revolted against the stupid "deutsche-russische-französische Coalition überwindet Briten" thesis of Niemann's *Der Weltkrieg*. As he got deeper into the economic and social problems of the day, he also got further away from his early religious views and, under the influence of Max Weber and Rudolf Sohms, drew closer to Marx and socialism. The ablest orator of his day, he became an inspired missionary to the proletariat. He took part in framing the Weimar Constitution and bitterly opposed the signing of the Treaty of Versailles.

Paradoxical though it seems, the Nazis have found in this ardent champion of toleration and freedom of conscience the germs of much of their own philosophy. Naumann's concept of the *Volksstaat*, as an all-powerful state based on service and social justice, implies unquestioned fidelity to the nation (Volk) even in its darkest hours. The sacrifices involved must be willingly given. "National Sozial zu sein ist kein Geschäft es ist ein Opfer". Here we have the essence of the totalitarian state. Furthermore, Naumann's *Volksstaat* involved, as a matter of course, the unity of all Germans in one political state. He was, as his biographer puts it, *Gross Deutscher*. His views on *Mitteleuropa* reflect the historical realism and the militant nationalism of Treitschke and harmonize closely with those of Hitler.

Written by his onetime secretary, intimate friend, and co-worker, Theodor Heuss, to whom the family papers and other personal records were freely accessible, the biography is remarkable for its penetrating understanding of the spiritual and inner forces that shaped Naumann's life and work. At the same time there is a commendable appreciation of their relationship to the larger movements of contemporary German history, and the volume throws much light not only on religious, educational, and other social

problems of the period but also on foreign relations. The style is at times cumbersome and unnecessarily involved, even to the extent of obscuring the author's sympathetic appraisal of Naumann's social philosophy, which is, in the opinion of the reviewer, a distinguishing feature of this excellent biography.

The University of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM E. LINGELBACH.

British Documents on the Origins of the War, 1898-1914. Volume X, Part II, *The Last Years of Peace.* Edited by G. P. GOOCH and HAROLD TEMPERLEY, with the assistance of LILLIAN M. PENSON. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1938. Pp. lx, 921. \$5.25.)

THE first half of this valuable volume makes clear the complicated tangle of negotiations which finally resulted in the initialing of the Anglo-German Bagdad Railway Agreement on June 15, 1914. By it the Bagdad Railway relinquished the concession to build an extension from Bagdad to Basra, admitted two British directors to the company, and accepted arrangements assuring the British political domination in the Persian Gulf and control of navigation improvements in the Shatt-el-Arab. In return, England withdrew her opposition to the Bagdad Railway and to an increase of the Turkish customs from 11 to 15 per cent and promised German participation in a new Inchcape company for navigation of the Tigris and Euphrates. There were numerous other minor provisions, with a reasonable give-and-take worked out amicably by the two experts, Alwyn Parker and Richard Kühlmann. The negotiations dragged on for nearly four years because there were so many interdependent conventions which had to be arranged and signed. England, by the Triple Entente agreement of 1907, had to get the consent of France and Russia and had to make preliminary conventions with Turkey. Turkey in turn had to agree with Germany for the modification of the Bagdad Railway concession. France, Russia, and Italy, while the getting seemed to be good, pressed Turkey for railroad concessions to themselves. And Turkey, as always, was suspicious, dilatory, obstinate, and divided in counsels. As a result, before all the necessary Turco-German negotiations were completed, the World War intervened to wreck the initialed Anglo-German agreement, which might have gone far to improve the relations between the two countries.

Parallel with these negotiations went steps for a new Anglo-German agreement in regard to the Portuguese colonies, which was finally initialed on October 20, 1913. It provided among other things for combining into one document the three secret documents of the 1898 treaty for the contingent partition of the Portuguese colonies and for dropping Timor out of the agreement because Australia would be excited at the possibility that Germany might acquire this little island. In this whole question, unlike that

of the Bagdad Railway, the fatal stumbling block to final signature was difference of view in regard to publication. Sir Edward Grey wanted to publish the new treaty, but Germany did not.

In the last third of the volume are gathered together various interesting diplomatic odds and ends of the last years of peace: the withdrawal of British ships from the Mediterranean and the well-known Grey-Cambon exchange of letters in November, 1912; the futile negotiations for an Anglo-Italian pact, 1912-14, for securing the status quo in the Mediterranean; Anglo-German naval relations subsequent to the Haldane Mission, including Churchill's "naval holiday" proposal and Grey's refusal to let him go to the Kiel Regatta to talk with Tirpitz, and excellent reports on the German navy by the British naval attaché in Berlin; the Russo-German press feud started by the *Kölnische Zeitung* article in March, 1914; the secret Anglo-Russian naval negotiations and their mysterious disclosure in the *Berliner Tageblatt*, which Grey thought "shows serious leakage in Paris", but which really came from Siebert in London; the Arab national movement; and some other interesting matters.

Messrs. Gooch and Temperley, as well as Miss Penson, are to be greatly congratulated on the admirable way they have edited and brought to conclusion the main part of this invaluable material for prewar history. A supplementary twelfth volume will contain a general index, a chronological table, and some documents omitted in or unavailable for earlier volumes.

Harvard University.

SIDNEY B. FAY.

Before the War: Studies in Diplomacy. By G. P. GOOCH. Volume II, *The Coming of the Storm*. (New York: Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. viii, 447. \$4.00.)

IN this volume Mr. Gooch continues to study the policies of individual statesmen and to avoid a conventional narrative of events, with the same merits and disadvantages noted in the review of the first volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 748-51). Though attractively written, both volumes will appeal to the specialist rather than to the "general reader"; with their completion there is little left to be said about prewar diplomacy.

Although Mr. Gooch does not see Sir Edward Grey through the spectacles of Hermann Lutz or Count Montgelas, he recognizes that his compatriot sometimes applied different standards to different countries, as when he protested against the annexation of Bosnia but did not against the seizure of Tripoli (p. 95), and that he "deliberately misled his countrymen" about the Anglo-Russian naval negotiations in June, 1914 (p. 116). Grey is also criticized for failing to recognize the psychological effect of the preparation of detailed schemes of military and naval co-operation (p. 115). He was "free from the almost neurotic Germanophobia of [Sir Eyre] Crowe" (p. 34), but he did not trust the German government, except Bethmann, and

"seemed to doubt whether the Germans were genuinely good people" (p. 81). Nevertheless, he tried to work with Germany—within the limits imposed by the friendships with France and Russia. Mr. Gooch does not offer a solution of Grey's problem but lets the record speak for itself.

Perhaps the greatest contrast between Grey and Poincaré was that whereas the Englishman preferred understatement, the Frenchman "never minced his words" (p. 174). Inspired at all times by "sleepless suspicions" of Germany (p. 159), Poincaré wished to know exactly where he stood with Grey and Sazonov, and he spent most of the year 1912 trying to find the answer; he thought he had found it in the Grey-Cambon letters of November, 1912, but French and British interpretations were different (p. 168). Mr. Gooch does not believe that at any time Poincaré "desired or worked for war" (p. 197); indeed he earned German recognition for his attempts to prevent and restrict the Balkan conflagration. But, unlike his predecessors, "he admitted the eventuality of a general war about Balkan questions" (p. 199).

For Bethmann as an honest man struggling with forces beyond his control, notably Tirpitz, Mr. Gooch has always manifested a certain sympathy. The narrative indeed leaves the impression that the German chancellor, responsible only to his master, enjoyed less liberty of action than Grey or Poincaré, who had to consider their parliaments. In any case, it seems exaggerated to say that "German policy, except in regard to the fleet, was not shaped by the Kaiser" (p. 256). Certainly on the fateful July 5, 1914, it was William II who formulated the German attitude towards Austria and Serbia and then informed Bethmann of it. Mr. Gooch, in fact, says only that Bethmann "expressed his assent" (p. 270), after the *fait accompli*. Mr. Gooch also quotes with apparent approval Otto Hammann's statement that after Sarajevo Bethmann "recognized that if it came to war, England would fight against us" (p. 274). But he acted otherwise down to July 27, 1914. Even after that date "the sincerity of his desire to avert a conflict was as obvious as *his determination to keep the ring for his ally*" (p. 277; italics are the reviewer's). Could any more damning verdict be passed? Mr. Gooch's conclusion is that there is "little excuse" for Bethmann's stumbling into a conflict "when the best cards were in the hands of the foe" (p. 286).

The picture of Berchtold is surprisingly friendly, for he is described as "an experienced statesman grappling with difficulties which he had done nothing to create" (p. 374), and the notion that he was a dilettante is ridiculed. For some reason there is no reference to the notorious Prochashka affair of December, 1912, in which Berchtold's press bureau apparently tried to provide an incident which might lead to war with Serbia. It is not quite correct to say that in 1914 Austria "coveted no man's territory" (p. 445), and the remark that "in taking up what he regarded as a challenge

[the Serbian ambitions] Berchtold was speaking for his countrymen" (p. 445) is open to question. He was speaking for the ruling Germans and Magyars but hardly for the Slavs, who constituted a majority of the population.

It is Sazonov who fares most badly at Mr. Gooch's hands. Although without personal ambition, he seemed to have no scruples, particularly in dealing with Russia's allies; he was indeed "more trusted in Berlin and Rome than in Paris and London" (p. 311). Because he was constantly changing his mind and accepting one day what he had violently denounced the day before, he was greatly disliked in Downing Street and the Quai d'Orsay. The wonder is that the Triple Entente survived his ministrations. In 1914 Sazonov wanted peace, but he had "inherited a tradition from which he had neither the power nor the wish to depart" (p. 369); Russia's responsibility for the conflict "was greater than Sazonov was prepared to admit". But Mr. Gooch has never been the champion of an exclusive responsibility. All the foreign ministers in 1914 wanted peace—"but they desired other things still more" and were prepared to fight for them.

The University of Chicago.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Social and Economic History of the World War. JAMES T. SHOTWELL, General Editor. 150 volumes. (New York: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1921-1937.)

"THE economic history of the postwar period is to extend to a time when the economic consequences of the war shall reach an equilibrium." This statement was written in 1921 by Friederich von Wieser, the Austrian economist, in a circular letter to collaborators in this great history of the World War. For fifteen years thereafter scholars of world reputation and ministers of cabinet rank worked under the general guidance of Professor Shotwell in this co-operative intellectual enterprise comparable in magnitude to the *Monumenta Germaniae Historica*. Whether the equilibrium that Wieser, like all classical economists, believed must come in the long run has arrived, we cannot say. But if it has come, then, by an ironic turn, the equilibrium is the crystallization of war economy itself. That which was launched as a study of the social and economic structure of the world in an abnormal phase—the phase of war—has become an analysis of the structure of a normal society of the nineteen thirties. Even the two volumes of the American series—Clark's masterful analysis of the cost of the war in America and Hines's account of the war history of American railways—have become strangely contemporary as the problem of social income in the large is set before the American people and as the American railroads reach their financial impasse.

Each national series was planned and executed by a national editorial committee. Among the 150 volumes of the completed series there is at

least one volume each for every prewar European country except Switzerland, Portugal, and Spain. The British series was pragmatically conceived; the list of twenty-four titles, taken together, does not make a systematic array. There are volumes on *The Industries of the Clyde Valley* and on the coal and metal industries, but there is nothing as comprehensive as Fontaine's *L'industrie française pendant la guerre*. Keith's volume on war government in the Dominions, Lloyd's on *Experiments in State Control at the War Office and the Ministry of Food*, Henderson's *Cotton Control Board*, together with Dearle's *Dictionary of Official War-Time Organizations*, do not begin to match in comprehensiveness Redlich's work on Austrian war government or Renouvin's on French. A volume that was to have been written by Professor W. G. S. Adams might perhaps have filled this gap. But even in their internal style the British volumes are specific rather than systematic. This is true, for instance, of Hirst's summary of the consequences of the war to Britain.

Compared with the British series, the Austrian is rigidly disciplined, ordered, centralized. There is no deviation toward any provincial, local interest. Piedmont gets a volume in the Italian series, but not even Galicia or Tyrol receives equivalent recognition from Vienna. The Austrian volumes march side by side with a united front: Bibliography, Money, Government, Industry, Commerce, Food, Labor, Health; then an account of the vast plans for an economic *Mitteleuropa*; then the tragic finish—"the economic collapse of the Monarchy". This contribution to the Shotwell series is, perhaps, the last monument left by the centralist tradition of the Habsburg monarchy.

The French series is arranged, like the Austrian, on a systematic base, but it exfoliates into various individual turns of interest. There are separate war histories of seven cities, a volume on regionalism, and others on such things as supplies of wood, hydroelectric power, and "the struggle of private organizations against the high cost of living". Since it combines the features of both the British and Austrian series, the French series, quite naturally, includes almost as many volumes as the former two together.

The German series remains truncated, the full plan unachieved. Mendelssohn Bartholdy did not write the history of the German war government, and other important volumes that were in the plan have been withheld or have not been completed. The Russian series of twelve volumes, written by men of the old regime, is perhaps comparable to the Austrian as the last great enterprise of the old Russian historiography. It is not, and does not pretend to be, an account of how the Revolution came to Russia. Florinsky's masterful summarization, *The End of the Russian Empire*, does not go behind the scenes of the revolutionary movement; rather it knits together the conclusions separately established in the

volumes on Russian agriculture, central and local government, army and economic life, and carries them on with a swinging narrative. The Italian series is noteworthy for the two carefully reasoned contributions of Signor Einaudi. There are other gems. Special mention should be made of Professor Mitrany's volume on *The Land and the Peasant in Rumania*.

What were the social and economic consequences of the war? What do the scholars and administrators mean by "costs and consequences"? It is evident that they do not all mean the same thing. According to Mendelssohn Bartholdy, the war caused Germans to lose faith in the principle of causality; according to Francis W. Hirst, the English came out of it feeling that the old truths were verified; Yovanovitch found that the wartime depopulation of Serbia saved the country from the problem of caring for a landless proletariat; in Italy, as Einaudi saw it, "the war inoculated the governing class and the people with the germ of a moral disease more destructive than the economic wastage of the war itself". The moral disease of the Italians was a liking for state paternalism. Emin Pasha saw a "moral decline" as a war consequence in Turkey, but this decline ran toward wine, women, and song, not toward the corporative state.

Kohn's "consequences" of the war in Russia consist of such items as the movement of population in Russia during the war. From Finland comes a report of mass savings during the war; "it is obvious that the economic expansion that has occurred in Finland after the War has been made possible largely by such savings". In his summary of the costs of the war to the American people, J. M. Clark wrote the best of the analyses in the whole series of the meaning of war cost, but he did not reckon into it a devastation more permanent than that which afflicted Poland or Northern France—the ruin of vast areas of prairie which were ploughed for war wheat and subsequently ruined by the dust storms.

It is not in its conceptual structure that the weight and coherence of the series are established. Wieser's editorial circular of instruction had indeed anticipated this result, for he declared that each author must express his own views. But, he went on, "facts proper must be presented in accordance with the truth, and as there is but one truth, there must be agreement on the facts presented". And strangely enough, it appears that there is agreement on the facts presented and that it is possible to follow a thread from one volume to another, picking one's way from country to country and from problem to problem, with constant enrichment.

Thus Hines's volume on American railroads leads to Salter's on Allied shipping control, which meets Clémentel's on interallied economic co-operation. The problem of unloading the ships that were loaded from the American railways appears again in the history of Bordeaux, in Canguel on the French merchant marine, and in Pinot on French food supply.

On the other side of the line there is Mitrany on the Rumanian peasant and Jonescu-Sisesti on Rumanian agriculture during the war, the Austrian and German volumes on food supply, and Antipa on the enemy occupation of Rumania.

It is an encyclopedia, but not an encyclopedia of destruction. That which comes to mind in going through volume after volume is not the destructiveness of war, not the conflict of nations with each other, but the conflict within each nation between the ideal of a free capitalist economy and the need for organized production, transport, and distribution. War-time socialization, it is only too evident, was put into effect by men who were not prepared for it and did not believe in it. We know now that they paved the way for men who did believe in it as an article of faith and for whom it provided the preparation. Socially and economically, we are in the midst of a second world war. The Shotwell series was completed in time to be contemporary.

Western Reserve University.

ROBERT C. BINKLEY.

Iraq: A Study in Political Development. By PHILIP WILLARD IRELAND, Department of Government, Harvard University. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 510. \$3.75.)

OF all the Arabic-speaking provinces of the defunct Ottoman Empire, Iraq, which stood far behind Syria and Lebanon culturally, socially, and economically, was the first to achieve nationhood and full sovereignty. In this unprecedented and unparalleled achievement accomplished between 1914 and 1932, when Iraq was admitted to the League of Nations, the country underwent a period of direct British control, first under military administration apparently determined to make Iraq an Indian province and then under civil administration which was followed by a period of tutelage from 1920 to 1932 as mandated territory. Most of the progress was made after 1921, when the energetic Faisal, a descendant of the Prophet Muhammad, was proclaimed king in Bagdad, once the capital of Harun al-Rashid. In the following year the constituent assembly ratified the Anglo-Iraqi treaty, and the nationalist movement toward complete independence was in full swing. This progress is the more remarkable when the three-century-old vital British interests in the Persian Gulf and bordering lands are considered. These interests involved the control of the land and air route to India, of which Iraq was considered as an outpost, the maintenance of peace in this strategic center of the Middle East, the continued expansion of British commerce, and the control of the oil-producing districts of Mesopotamia and Persia.

This remarkable story in modern political development is told in concise and accurate terms by Dr. Ireland. From beginning to end the author maintains a judicious and detached attitude, weaving his material

skillfully and patiently into a comprehensive whole from sources which include unpublished official telegrams and memoranda, published documents and reports, English and Arabic newspapers, and personal interviews with Iraqi and British officials. A list of these sources is appended before the index. A glance at the footnotes, however, would suffice to show that ample use was not made of the Arabic sources.

The reviewer's only criticism relates to the transcription, transliteration, and reproduction of the many Arabic names and words strewn all over the pages of the book. There is hardly a page in his copy which is not marked with corrections or improvements. Hybrid words, neither English nor Arabic, may be illustrated by "Mōsul", "Iraqīs", "Idrīs", "Assīr". The spelling of certain place names on the map does not tally with that of the text; compare Qal'a Salih (map, p. 62) with Qal'at Sālīh (p. 80, l. 12). It is a pity that the author, who taught at the American University of Beirut for three years and sojourned for some time in Iraq, did not submit his manuscript to some Arab scholar before publication.

Princeton University.

PHILIP K. HITT.

The Dictionary of National Biography. Founded in 1882 by George Smith. 1922-1930. Edited by J. R. H. WEAVER. With an Index covering the years 1901-1930 in one alphabetical series. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1937. Pp. xiv, 962. \$10.50.)

THE authorities who decided that the volumes of the *Dictionary of National Biography* should be continued at the close of every decade were right. The biographies are becoming better and better. This volume seems to me better than the volume covering the years 1912 to 1921. That the volumes dealing with those recently dead should have more vivid and more discriminating character sketches than the earlier volumes dealing with those long since dead is to be expected. But that is not the whole story. The art of biographical delineation is perhaps improving. Not but what Thomas Fuller and Clarendon could do well by their characters. But the best modern character sketches have more psychological insight.

There are a good many biographies in this book that deserve special mention: that of Balfour by Algernon Cecil, that of Thomas Hardy by Lascelles Abercrombie, that of Milner by Basil Williams, that of W. H. Hudson by E. L. Woodward, that of Asquith by J. A. Spender, and especially that of Curzon by Harold Nicolson. The account of Houston Stewart Chamberlain by W. H. Dawson, of Lord Chaplin by E. I. Carlyle, and of Lord Cave by Lord Macmillan will interest students of modern English history. Lord Birkenhead's life by Sir Claud Schuster is written with judgment. Lord Lansdowne's life of the late Lord Lansdowne is a carefully phrased statement about a man who deserved such phrases, though a son and one restrained by the inhibitions of family dignity cannot be

expected to give the whole picture. E. T. Charteris's account of Lord Rosebery is skillful in revealing character and particular qualities by a record of chronological action and by quotation from speeches and writings. But Charteris left much unsaid.

There are a good many historians in this volume. The readers of the *American Historical Review* will be interested in Galbraith's account of Tout and in Tait's of Kingsford. Sir George Prothero, Vinogradoff, A. L. Smith, and J. P. Gilson, all of whom will be remembered by many Americans, are here, as well as Sir James Ramsay, A. W. Ward, and W. H. Stevenson.

It is always possible to criticize a collection of biographies, and such criticism represents little more than the tastes and prejudices of the reviewer. To this reviewer the life of Morley by F. W. Hirst, that of Haldane by Elizabeth Haldane, and that of Bonar Law by Thomas Jones seem to err on the side of eulogy. The account of Lewis (later Viscount) Harcourt fails to mention the significant aspect of his character, his devotion to the political interests and fame of his father. The narrative of the career of Walter (later Viscount) Long seems to me conventional. The biographer of Sir Harry Johnston is apparently uninterested in the novels of that administrator in Africa, novels which are important to the historian. The biographer of Gertrude Bell hardly does that great lady justice and certainly does not make us realize her special personality.

As one reads over the lives in this book one is inclined to the rash generalization that engineers, businessmen, and physicians make the drabest stories and that literary people and artists, perhaps because they have the luck to be assigned to literary biographers, make the most readable and satisfying.

Yale University.

WALLACE NOTESTEIN.

Gustav Stresemann: His Diaries, Letters, and Papers. Edited and translated by ERIC SUTTON. Volume II. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1937. Pp. xix, 549. \$6.50.)

THIS translation of the second volume of Stresemann's *Vermächtnis* is a record of the great German statesman's activities from the close of the 1924 crisis to the entry of Germany into the League of Nations on September 10, 1926. Mr. Eric Sutton has again made an excellent selection from the papers, letters, and diaries and has written an able foreword on Stresemann's foreign policy, which envisaged a radical but genuine European appeasement. The sources in this volume cover the major relations of Germany with the great powers of Europe on the basis of bilateral agreements, the Locarno Pact, the League of Nations, and the evacuation of the Rhineland by the Allied powers.

Part I is concerned with Stresemann's initiative in Europe during the

Locarno period, the election of Hindenburg following Ebert's death, the Locarno negotiations, the Locarno diary, narrative, undiplomatic pronouncements, and letters, and the subsequent disarmament and evacuation of German occupied zones. Part II reveals Stresemann the scholar and the fighter and indicates the growing lack of internal unity in Germany against which he fought manfully. In addition the internal developments from the second Luther Cabinet to Marx are clearly indicated. Part III presents German foreign policy after Locarno and details relations between Germany and Italy, Russia, Poland, and the secondary states. This policy was to be a steady but cautious movement from the "enslavement of Versailles" to the freedom of "a partner with equal rights in the struggle for position in Europe".

In the extensive materials concerning the security negotiations may be noted the memorandum transmitted to Herriot by the German ambassador in Paris on February 9, 1925, and Stresemann's speech before a plenary session of the reichstag on May 18, 1925. These indicate the principal objectives of German policy: maintenance of peace in the west with a reconsideration of the problems of Eupen-Malmédy, the Saar, and South Tyrol; the breaking of the chains of Versailles; the alteration of the Polish corridor; the reorganization of Danzig, Memel, and Lithuania; and the rejection of Benes's two proposals covering the Czech frontiers. Stresemann's principal defense of the western pact was that he could not safeguard the Rhineland by force and therefore must do so by treaties.

In spite of violent internal opposition, Stresemann's fundamental objectives were always the long-range, not the immediate, interests of Germany. As early as 1922 he reached the conclusion that "if Europe is ever to find rest and recuperation, the only way is an understanding between Germany and France". Locarno was the cornerstone of the diplomatic structure which would establish a permanent reconciliation.

"The Epilogue" on the final conflict over Locarno raises the great question of the future of the German frontiers in the east and, in the opinion of the present writer, foreshadows the policy of the Third Reich toward these "second class frontiers". Said Stresemann, "Germans abroad, moreover, must look towards their motherland". On the colonial question he reported that Austen Chamberlain's wholly negative attitude was very unpleasant and painful.

At the time of Germany's entrance into the League, Stresemann sent to the former German crown prince brief indications of the remaining tasks which confronted German foreign policy in the immediate future. These were: the solution of the reparations question in a sense tolerable for Germany; "protection" of twelve million Germans living under the foreign yokes of Poland, Czechoslovakia, Yugoslavia, Rumania, and other foreign lands; readjustment of Germany's eastern frontiers at Danzig, "the corridor",

and upper Silesia; and union with German Austria. Stresemann never regarded the frontiers on the east as permanent and definitely planned to annex all contiguous Germanic lands and to "protect" the great Germanic enclaves in Southeastern Europe.

Stanford University.

RALPH HASWELL LUTZ.

The Dominions as Sovereign States: Their Constitutions and Governments.

By ARTHUR BERRIEDALE KEITH. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xlv, 769. \$6.25.)

The Statute of Westminster and Dominion Status. By K. C. WHEARE. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 328. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Keith, in his long continued study of government in the British Commonwealth, has encountered in an aggravated form the difficulty that confronts all writers who attempt to describe living political systems in constant change. His subject has been in a state of such rapid flux that he has had to resort to prefaces to put his books abreast of the movement of events and to footnotes to his prefaces to do the same for the prefaces. He begins the preface to the latest of a series of volumes which have followed one another in swift succession with a hopeful intimation that quieter times are ahead, that no events are likely to occur in the near future which will disturb the essential principles affecting the place of the Dominions in the Commonwealth. Doubts are aroused, however, by his reference to imperial problems that remain unsolved. He has Ireland, and also South Africa, in mind when he writes: "If no place can be found in a British Commonwealth for republics, then the enduring character of the Commonwealth may well be doubted". Of the immensely complex problem of India no solution, he tells us, is even in sight.

The present volume follows in the main the plan of the author's *Constitutional Law of the British Dominions* (1933), from which much material has been taken without change, and is really a generous revision and amplification of the latter in the light of developments since it was written. The breadth and depth of Professor Keith's knowledge are notorious. He has to deal with complex and controversial legal issues, especially in the field of intra-Commonwealth relations, and on some of them final judgment cannot be passed. Defying precedent, the Commonwealth does not lend itself to accurate description in the familiar terms of political science, and if questions framed in those terms are asked, the facts as a rule do not justify unqualified answers. Consider, for example, the doctrine of the indivisible crown, to which it appears that Professor Keith on the whole adheres, in opposition to General Hertzog and others who assert that the crown is divided. Events relating to the abdication of Edward VIII would seem to support this latter contention. Under South African law

there was a brief period—from Edward VIII's signature of the instrument of abdication on December 10, 1936, till the giving of his assent to His Majesty's Declaration of Abdication Act on December 11—when George VI was king in the Union of South Africa, though Edward VIII was still reigning everywhere else in the Empire; and by the law of the Irish Free State Edward VIII did not cease to be king there till December 12! Two kings reigning simultaneously within the Commonwealth put a severe strain, to say the least, on the doctrine of the indivisible crown. But on the other hand the legislative supremacy of the parliament of the United Kingdom, despite constitutional limitations in its relation to the Dominions, is inconsistent with the principle of a divided crown.

Are the Dominions sovereign states in the eyes of international law? After considering this question from the points of view of diplomatic intercourse with foreign states, treaty making, recognition of foreign governments, the right to declare war, and the right to remain neutral in a British war, the author concludes that "in a large sense the Dominions are really and unquestionably States of international law. . . . That they possess the full plenitude of international status enjoyed, for instance, by France or Germany need not be asserted, nor is it necessary for practical purposes that they should seek to claim it" (pp. 54-55).

Professor Keith naturally has much to say about the Statute of Westminster, on which Mr. Wheare has written a full and valuable commentary. The latter, adhering to the familiar distinction between law and convention, undertakes to show the significance of the statute in the collection of rules which define Dominion status and its relations to conventional rules, the most important of which were declared at the imperial conferences of 1926 and 1930. Our authors agree in the main as to the legal effects of the Statute of Westminster. Mr. Wheare, however, is not quite so positive as Professor Keith that it cannot be amended by a Dominion parliament (*cf.* Wheare, p. 245; Keith, pp. 75, 122). He would probably have been better advised to recognize that the celebrated declaration of equality of status made by the Imperial Conference of 1926, which seemingly owed its formulation to that metaphysical politician, Lord Balfour, was untrue. Professor Keith says as much, though in more courteous diction, when he remarks that it was "proleptic". Mr. Wheare talks about the "convention" of equality, but a convention is a rule that is observed, though not legally enforced, and the equality of the Dominions and the United Kingdom was by no means fully observed, as Mr. Wheare is very well aware, in 1926. His book is an outgrowth of his earlier study, *The Statute of Westminster, 1931*, published in 1933.

Columbia University.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

The House that Hitler Built. By STEPHEN H. ROBERTS, Challis Professor of Modern History, University of Sydney. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1938. Pp. xii, 380. \$3.00.)

WHEN Professor Roberts's volume was first published about a year ago it was given a very generous reception by the press and the public on both sides of the Atlantic. This acclaim was largely justified by the author's intimate knowledge of modern Germany, the objectivity of his approach, the breadth of the discussion, and the attractive and informal manner in which he deals with even the most intricate and complex problems. Professor Roberts states modestly that his book was written "primarily for the man-in-the-street". The volume indeed contains no startling revelations about National Socialist Germany, but it fulfills admirably its purpose as a reliable general guide through "The House that Hitler Built". It is not necessary to agree with every one of Professor Roberts's interpretations in order to enjoy his volume and profit from it.

As a historian, the author seems to be particularly interested in the social and cultural developments under the National Socialist regime, and his chapters devoted to the growth of the Hitler movement, especially those dealing with the organization of the party, will be read with particular interest. The author has used the felicitous device of frequently enlivening his narrative with illuminating characterizations of the men who played an important part in the fortunes of National Socialism. This method not only makes the volume eminently readable but also sheds no little light on the inner process of the formation of National Socialist policies.

The manner in which Professor Roberts deals with economic problems is somewhat less satisfactory, for it is impossible to present German economics adequately without reference to the international economic trends of the depression and postdepression era. The pertinent chapters, moreover, contain a number of general statements that would seem to be contradicted by well-known facts. The author states, for instance, that "all pre-existing associations of employers were abolished" (p. 222), while as a matter of fact they were merely "co-ordinated" and reorganized, first by the Law of February 27, 1934, and then by the Decree of November 27, 1934, establishing the *Reichswirtschaftskammer*, an extremely important organization of business which, surprisingly enough, Professor Roberts does not even mention. It is also incorrect to say that the *Arbeitsfront* as it exists today "was constituted by the *Law for the organization of National Labor* dated January 20, 1934" (p. 218). This law had nothing to do with the constitution of the *Arbeitsfront*, although it concerned itself, as Professor Roberts points out, with the relations between employers and workers. The author is again in error when he writes that no figures as to the number of trials before the "courts of honor" are available (p. 221). Such data were published in the *Jahrbuch für nationalsozialistische Wirtschaft*,

edited by Dr. Otto Mönckmeier, while summaries of cases appear regularly in *Arbeitsrechts-Sammlung*.

The closing section of Professor Roberts's volume is devoted to "Hitlerism and the World". He reaches the gloomy conclusion that "Hitlerism cannot achieve its aims without war". This alarming forecast should not, perhaps, be taken too literally, for several of the author's categorical assertions about the future have already been belied by the events of recent months, for instance, his contentions that "Russia, France, and Czecho-Slovakia are closer friends than ever" (p. 306) and that "if Germany persists in wanting to absorb the Sudeten Deutsche, it means war" (p. 331). The past is the historian's legitimate field. Why should he mar a useful volume by questionable prophecies, especially if he believes, as Professor Roberts does, that "speculation in futures in eastern Europe is a singularly fruitless occupation" (p. 340), a dictum whose wisdom is not limited to eastern Europe?

Columbia University.

MICHAEL T. FLORINSKY.

FAR EASTERN HISTORY

China's First Unifier: A Study of the Ch'in Dynasty as seen in the Life of Li Ssu, 280?-208 B. C. By DERK BODDE. [Sinica Leidensia, editio Institutum Sinologicum Lugduno-Batavum.] (Leiden: E. J. Brill. 1938. Pp. viii, 270. 10 gld.)

IN the year 221 B. C. what is now China was unified for the first time under a single ruler, who took the unprecedented title, Ch'in Shih Huang-ti, literally, First Sovereign Emperor of the Ch'in Dynasty. Throughout his reign, Li Ssu, the subject of this monograph, held important posts, finally rising to be the chief minister. The unification of previously disunited and hostile states, brought about by Li Ssu, endured for four centuries. Even the seven years of rebellion just after the first emperor's death failed to shake this unity, and ever since, China has usually remained a single state. Li Ssu may thus well claim to be one of the world's great statesmen. The plan of administration which he substituted for the previous feudal system has been fundamentally that employed in China ever since. Those dynasties that attempted to reintroduce feudalism either fell or so modified their feudalism that it became a variety of the more centralized system introduced by him. He invented most of the machinery involved in this system and made it universal—in itself a magnificent achievement.

Yet Li Ssu has been among the most cordially hated of China's statesmen. Unification was achieved only by intrigue and ruthless warfare, and he himself concocted many of the plots that led to the Ch'in conquest, although he did no fighting. The Han dynasty, which succeeded to power and under which the definitive histories were written, magnified the

Ch'in errors. Li Ssu, moreover, made a capital mistake: in unifying the country, he not only established uniform measures and weights, a uniform coinage, uniform laws, and a standard system of writing; he also attempted an intellectual unification, burning all private copies of the country's most prized literary works and executing those who taught them privately, because these books were quoted as authorities in criticism of the Ch'in reforms. Li Ssu was not opposed to literature or learning. He himself was a highly educated man and a forceful writer; he maintained seventy learned men at court as official advisers, with a library containing the books prohibited to the public. The Han dynasty, however, so vilified Li Ssu and the first emperor that the "burning of the books" came to be regarded as the most terrible crime in history.

Dr. Bodde's work falls naturally into two parts. In the first four chapters he translates, in a thoroughly capable fashion, all the extant primary source material for Li Ssu's life. Then he distinguishes, by approved grammatical and stylistic methods, the third century documents embedded in this material, separating them from later additions. This is itself an important contribution. The remaining chapters are devoted to Li Ssu and his achievements. In addition to what I have mentioned there are interesting side discussions—a study of the first emperor's character, the previous history of his title, the previous development of Li Ssu's administrative system, and a very good discussion of the philosophical background out of which he arose.

This monograph is an excellent piece of scholarship. I wish to protest, however, against Dr. Bodde's undue acceptance of the usual Confucian condemnation of Li Ssu. No great conqueror or his minister has been an example of virtue. Talleyrand was hardly a moral paragon, yet he deserves high praise. To say that Li Ssu was "lacking in moral principles" is too severe. The very characteristics of his rule—force, system, and efficiency—are far from being immoral. Even his worst deeds, the murder of the philosopher Han Fei and the illegal change in the succession, may have their defense. Every strong ruler has found himself forced to do things he would rather not do. In Chinese history, when two persons are mentioned as responsible for a deed, the lesser person is frequently the one who has taken the lead and the greater one the person who has lent his support but may have taken no active part. I suspect that Han Fei's death was due almost entirely to the machinations of Yao Chia. Concerning the change in the succession Dr. Bodde has himself shown that we know nothing of Li Ssu's part in it, for the material incriminating him is a later forgery. Li Ssu deserves to be rescued from the cloud of obloquy that has enveloped him.

Duke University.

HOMER H. DUBS.

The History of the Former Han Dynasty. By PAN KU. Volume I, First Division, *The Imperial Annals, Chapters I-V.* A Critical Translation with Annotations by HOMER H. DUBS, Acting Professor of Philosophy in Duke University, with the collaboration of JEN T'AI and P'AN LO-CHI. [The American Council of Learned Societies.] (Baltimore: Waverly Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 339. \$3.00.)

CHINA, with an authentic history of almost thirty-five hundred years, can boast of the longest continuous civilization in the world today, and her historical records are undoubtedly more voluminous and detailed than those of any other civilization of comparable standing. Of these records the twenty-four dynastic histories are easily the most important, so that this translation of the first five chapters of the second of these histories, that of the Former Han dynasty (206 B.C.-A.D. 23), is an outstanding event not only for American sinology but also for American historiography.

The Han was one of the greatest Chinese dynasties, both politically and culturally, and noted as that in which Confucianism, the examination system, and other characteristic features of Chinese civilization first became firmly established. In the present volume (narrating events from 209 to 141 B.C.) the reader will find a wealth of fascinating material, whether he be interested in social institutions, political intrigue, folklore, or literature.

Two succeeding volumes will complete the translation of the remaining seven chapters of the imperial annals, comprising the first section of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*; a fourth volume will give the life of its author, Pan Ku (A.D. 32-92), together with a critical account of the text and its chief commentators; and a fifth will be a combined index and glossary of all names occurring in the text. It is to be hoped that this colossal work of translation will not stop with the imperial annals but will continue through the remaining three sections of the *History of the Former Han Dynasty*, consisting of chronological tables, essays on economics, literature, etc., and biographies of men prominent during that dynasty.

Among the outstanding features of the present volume are: (1) inclusion of the original Chinese text with the English translation, making comparison easy for the specialist; (2) introductory chapters by Professor Dubs preceding each chapter of translation, giving admirable summaries of the events described therein together with much collateral material drawn from other parts of the history; (3) numerous scholarly and valuable appendixes; (4) detailed footnotes, which are often direct translations of the remarks of the Chinese commentators, with additional comments by Professor Dubs; (5) an excellent map of China during the early Han dynasty. As for the translation itself, it is accurate and exceedingly close to the text. Indeed, the English rendering might at times have gained in smoothness and ease if more freedom from the original had been allowed, but many scholars will

probably feel that the accuracy thus gained justifies such literalness. Occasionally, as in almost any translation of a Chinese text, objections may be raised to certain renderings, but these are neither numerous nor important.

The book as a whole reflects great credit on its financial sponsors, the American Council of Learned Societies and the Carnegie Corporation of New York, and on its Chinese collaborators, Messrs. Jen T'ai and P'an Lo-chi. On the part of Professor Dubs himself it shows great scholarship and perseverance, and together with his earlier works, *Hsüntze, the Moulder of Ancient Confucianism* and *The Works of Hsüntze*, places him in the front rank of Western sinologists. We shall look forward with interest to the appearance of the remaining four volumes.

University of Pennsylvania.

DERK BODDE.

Nadir Shah: A Critical Study based mainly upon Contemporary Sources.

By L. LOCKHART. With a Foreword by Sir E. Denison Ross. (London: Luzac and Company. 1938. Pp. xv, 344. 21s.)

ONE of the significant trends of recent historical research is the application of Western scientific methods to the study of Asiatic countries. European historians are increasingly acknowledging the place occupied by Asia, as complementing Europe, and are endeavoring to gain a broader and more balanced view of history. Under these circumstances it seems singular that one of the most important characters of Asiatic history, Nadir Shah, should have been almost neglected until Dr. Lockhart filled this gap by his scholarly, well-documented study.

Son of a shepherd, Nadir became the mightiest monarch of Asia and reforged the greatness of Persia. Persia, indeed, after a period of splendor and power under Abbas the Great, had fallen into a state of chaos at the turn of the eighteenth century. Overrun by Afghans and Turks, defeated by Russia, with revolt and insubordination rife, the country under the later Safavi dynasty appeared to be disintegrating. Shah Sultan Husayn, the last monarch of this line who reigned undisturbed, was meek, gentle, religious, uxorious, and incapable. Mahmud and Tahmasp, his successors, remained the pawns of warring generals. Under these conditions a man with a Napoleonic temperament and a well-drilled force under his command was bound to reach supreme power, and such a man was Nadir. The story of his rise, a story set against a background of incredible anarchy, is told with painstaking accuracy by Mr. Lockhart, who attempts to unravel the threads of rebellion, treachery, and intrigue.

Once in power Nadir defeated the Turks in a brilliant campaign, thereby preventing a Turkish attack on Russia during the War of the Polish Succession. But Nadir's main undertaking was his invasion of India. He defeated the emperor of the decaying Mogul Empire at Karnal in 1739 and

occupied Delhi. The author fails to bring out the bearing of this blow on the Anglo-French struggle for India.

In his later years Nadir Shah's character deteriorated, taxation became crushing, and in 1747 he met his death at the hands of his own officers. The author is naturally tempted into a comparison of Nadir's military and administrative abilities with those of Tamerlane, Napoleon, and Frederick the Great. By the very nature of its subject, the book tends to become essentially a narrative of campaigns. More stress on the peaceful activities of Nadir would have been desirable.

Originally a University of London Ph.D. thesis, this study has been expanded into a thorough and comprehensive piece of work, critical in scholarship, rich in detail, and interpretative in presentation. Its value, both as a completed study and as a pioneer trail blazer for other scholars, is greatly enhanced by its illustrations, excellent maps, explanatory notes on chronology and transliteration, and appendixes (on the British in Persia, 1729-47, on Nadir Shah's genealogy, and on the nature of the special bibliographical materials). Not only is there an extensive select critical bibliography, but there are also an index of sources and an index to the volume. The complicated transliteration of Persian and Arabic names is somewhat misleading.

University of California at Los Angeles.

A. LOBANOV-ROSTOVSKY.

The Invasion of China by the Western World. By E. R. HUGHES, Reader in Chinese Religion and Philosophy in the University of Oxford. [The Pioneer Histories.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 323. \$3.50.)

DURING the greater part of the last one hundred and fifty years the prevailing attitude of the Chinese towards Westerners has been one of suspicion. The humiliating experiences arising from two wars with the Western powers convinced the Chinese that the power of the West was based on its technical knowledge and skill. These could be acquired, many believed, by a sort of trick, without disturbing the essential basis of Chinese civilization. Only a few rather lonely scholars realized that the accomplishments of the West were solidly based upon an experimental science in the service of a vigorous and expanding industrial economy. Following the advent of the Republic, Westernization became a fad zealously pursued by the young literati and the students trained in the West. The purely Chinese was despised because it was Chinese. This unthinking attitude has now given way to the sober realization that China must slowly create out of her own peculiar civilization a synthesis with Western culture.

It is this evolution of the Chinese attitude towards the Westernization of their civilization, rather than a factual and chronological story of the

penetration of Western science and technology into China, which Professor Hughes has traced. His method has been to take the major channels through which this cultural invasion has flowed and to analyze the cumulative effects it has had upon the Chinese. His work pioneers in the fascinating but exceedingly difficult field of cultural change in modern China, and, because of this, we should be much more concerned with its evident virtues than with its defects and unduly large number of careless factual errors. Many chapters have passages of incisive and illuminating characterizations of the men and forces which have been caught in the clash of the two civilizations.

The reviewer differs from the author regarding certain events in China's intellectual development. For instance, it does not seem probable that the Jesuits purposely gave Ricci his excellent scientific training in order that his approach to the mandarin state would be facilitated. Ricci found after many years of bitter experience in the South that the orthodox missionary approach did not work, whereas the exhibition of his learning did. Neither does it seem adequate to attribute the downfall of the Manchus to the notion that the Chinese, in the face of threat of partition by the powers, "turned with an open mind to anything and everything from the West" and in consequence swept out the Manchus as a sort of house cleaning in preparation for Westernization. It would seem better to have entitled the final chapter "Shanghai To-day" rather than "China To-day", because it certainly is the frivolous and sycophantic Westernized young Chinese middle class of that very un-Chinese city which is described.

Finally, this work, valuable as its pioneer nature makes it, is still not a book for which the historian will find much use. It leaves unsatisfied the need for a chronological and factual account of the intellectual penetration of Western ideas into China. In it we do have, however, our first well-developed picture of the changing temper of the Chinese mind towards the omnipresent and ever-pressing intellectual invasion of the West, which undoubtedly has been a most potent force in producing the phenomena of modern China.

Duke University.

THOMAS E. LA FARGUE.

AMERICAN HISTORY

The Founding of American Civilization: The Middle Colonies. By THOMAS JEFFERSON WERTENBAKER, Edwards Professor of American History, Princeton University. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. xiii, 367. \$3.00.)

WITH this book begins a new and important series on colonial history. It is a striking evidence of the originality of the author's thought and of the vitality of American historiography in general that a period already

covered by several excellent multiple volume histories can receive a further extensive treatment so fresh and so illuminating. Professor Wertenbaker does not concern himself with the detailed narrative of colonial settlement, with political or economic institutions as such, or with the British system of colonial control. His purpose is rather to analyze and describe the transit of European culture to the English colonies of North America. In this volume, which covers New Netherland (and the later New York), New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, he writes about the English and Continental sources of the culture brought here, about the influence of the American environment, about "the mingling of racial, religious, and regional groups, the so-called melting-pot", and, to a lesser degree, about the continued intercourse of America and Europe. He deals chiefly with such topics as architecture, religion, language, agricultural economy, and arts and crafts. Later volumes on New England and the South will make this the first extensive work dealing systematically with the cultural beginnings of the American people.

Unlike some social historians, Mr. Wertenbaker has largely avoided the danger of a purely static, cross-sectional treatment. He is interested in the effect of a new environment upon the habits and practices of a people and in the influence of one culture upon another when the two are brought in contact. Consequently the story is one of evolution, and the whole treatment is essentially dynamic. Thus he tells of the long but slowly losing fight of the Dutch to preserve their language after the English conquest of New Netherland. He traces the effect of climate and the influence of English neighbors upon the rural architecture brought by the Germans from the Rhineland to Pennsylvania. And one is always kept aware that something new and essentially American was gradually forming here from the blended streams of European culture.

Three hundred and fifty pages are far too few for the adequate handling of all the subjects that might properly be included in such a treatment of the middle colonies. Rather than touch lightly on everything of importance, the book concentrates upon those few things which seem best to illustrate the major theme. Not everyone, of course, will agree with the author's selections or with his emphasis. He expresses his regret that "chapters on the religious history of the Pennsylvania Germans, the artistic crafts of Philadelphia, the Swedes on the lower Delaware, on education, superstitions and other phases of colonial life" were crowded out. Strangely, except in an excellent chapter on the conflict between the New England brand of Calvinism in East New Jersey and the Scottish Calvinism of Pennsylvania, he also omits all detailed consideration of the Scotch-Irish. Perhaps this extremely important component of the American people will be treated in a later volume. Nearly a third of the pages and almost all the many illustrations are devoted to architecture, an emphasis which seems disproportionate in a book on American civilization in general. Its justification perhaps is,

first, that of all topics architecture best illustrates the effect of environment and cultural contacts upon European origins, and, second, that in his discussion of Dutch, Flemish, and German houses and barns the author makes many new and significant contributions to American architectural history.

The middle colonies undoubtedly offer the best opportunity of any area for the sort of colonial history which Mr. Wertenbaker is now writing. When we have been given so much of value it is perhaps ungracious to ask for more. Yet a second volume on the same region dealing with topics here omitted would be most welcome, especially as in the past these colonies have received far less attention from competent social historians than have New England and Virginia. But whether or not such a volume is forthcoming, it is clear from what has already been published that this new series is a contribution to colonial history of first-rate importance.

Yale University.

LEONARD W. LABAREE.

The Roots of American Civilization: A History of American Colonial Life.

By CURTIS P. NETTELS, University of Wisconsin. [Crofts American History Series, Dixon Ryan Fox, General Editor.] (New York: F. S. Crofts and Company. 1938. Pp. xx, 748. \$4.00.)

In this volume Professor Nettels has with ample justification added another text on colonial history to the existing half-dozen which cover the field. His purposes are to synthesize the results of modern scholarship into a coherent account; to discuss the economic development of the colonies as a phase of the expanding capitalism of England and the rising capitalism of America; and to interpret colonial history as an integral part of the central theme of American history, the struggle between large property owners and lesser folk for the control of political and economic institutions in the interest of class advantage. Hence great stress is laid upon the emergence of social classes, their conflicts over land, currency, debts, taxes, commerce, and the repercussions these conflicts created in the political, social, and religious aspects of colonial life and in imperial affairs.

The origin of these conflicts Professor Nettels finds in one of his revisionist interpretations of colonial history—the importance of surplus capital and its need for markets (colonies), investments (land speculation and loans to planters and colonial merchants), and control of commerce (insuring freights, commissions, insurance, and interest on loans). Therefore colonies were founded, trade and navigation laws were enacted, statutes restricting some and stimulating other types of colonial industrial activity and regulating colonial currency were passed, and the French were driven from North America. But in this paradise of a planned economy discord in the form of chronic colonial indebtedness and rival capitalists in the northern colonies precipitated a conflict between metropolis and dependencies which, when after 1760 the English government decided to reserve to British

capitalists the opportunities for markets, investments, and commercial dominance, led directly to the disruption of the empire.

In America social conflicts exhibited "one major issue: who should control the land and the products it yielded to the labor of the settlers?" (p. 329). The agrarian program was both political and economic, for "democracy and inflation were kindred spirits in colonial times: let the people have money as well as votes" (p. 535). Political democracy would make possible a more equitable distribution of land; paper money would revolutionize the price and credit structure in favor of farmers. No wonder merchants and planters, whatever may have been their attitude towards British capitalism, believed in and endeavored to maintain a conservative social order at home.

Although Professor Nettels has interpreted the past primarily in terms of economic determinism, he has indicated other forces which have affected the evolution of American nationality. Among these two deserve mention: the flexibility of colonial society as its distinguishing characteristic; and the spirit of optimism and sense of achievement which permeated all social classes.

Inevitably the question arises as to the validity of Professor Nettels's interpretation. Let it be answered by stating that one's philosophy of history, and particularly the relative importance placed on economic motives, will largely determine the answer. For its comprehensive analysis and description of colonial economic development and for focusing attention on the fundamental problem of agrarian capitalistic conflict in colonial times, this book is an excellent introduction to American history before 1783.

Smithshire, Illinois.

CHARLES FREDERICK STRONG.

New Sweden on the Delaware. By CHRISTOPHER WARD. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 160. \$1.50.)

A History of Swedish Colonial Expansion. By CHARLES DE LANNOY. Translated from the French. (Newark: University of Delaware. 1938. Pp. v, 46. 50 cents.)

Martin Luther's Little Catechism translated into Algonquian Indian. By JOHANNES CAMPANIUS. Facsimile of the printed edition, Stockholm, 1696. With Some Notes by ISAK COLLIJN and an English Version by DANIEL NYSTROM and E. W. OLSON. (New York: Swedish American Tercenary Association. 1938. Pp. 160, 21; translation, 52. \$3.00 for bound volume; 25 cents for translation alone.)

New Sweden, 1638-1938: Being a Catalogue of Rare Books and Manuscripts relating to the Swedish Colonization on the Delaware River. (Philadelphia: Gilpin Library of the Historical Society of Pennsylvania. 1938. Pp. ix, 51.)

Delaware: A Guide to the First State. Compiled and written by the

Federal Writers' Project of the W. P. A. [American Guide Series.] (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. xxv, 549. \$2.50.)

Swedes in America, 1638-1938. Edited by ADOLPH B. BENSON and NABOTH HEDIN. [Swedish American Tercentenary Association.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 614. \$3.00.)

THE celebration in June, 1938, of the tercentenary of the establishment of the first permanent white settlements in the Delaware Valley by Swedes and Finns was signalized by a considerable number of anniversary publications. That they range from tomes of scholarly pretensions to works of no particular significance is natural, for local and group enthusiasm created by strenuous commemorative effort perhaps inevitably sires progeny of uneven excellence.

Ward's *New Sweden on the Delaware* represents in the main the material on the New Sweden colony which was included in his *The Dutch and Swedes on the Delaware, 1609-1664*, published in 1930. The present volume is a readable account in which words occasionally take the place of fact, and unfamiliarity with history is not allowed to restrain breezy exposition. It contains a number of errors: for instance, the statement (p. 2) that Sweden in 1600-50 included among other things "all of modern Sweden"; the estimate of the urban population as one eighth of the total population; and the reference to the Finns (pp. 43-45), which shows no familiarity with the subject. The treatment of the general background of New Sweden gives no adequate idea of Sweden-Finland during the middle decades of the seventeenth century. The main part of the book follows the story told nearly thirty years ago by Dr. Amandus Johnson.

De Lannoy's contribution is mentioned in the translator's note as the third "volume" of his *Histoire de l'expansion coloniale des peuples européens*, the first two volumes of which appeared in 1907 and 1911. The pamphlet devotes some thirty-five pages to New Sweden and its antecedents and about eight pages to later efforts to acquire overseas possessions. The bibliography of twenty-nine items mentions no work published after 1911. The scholarly Belgian's reputation would not have suffered if this superficial "volume" had never been translated.

The facsimile of the Campanius *Catechism* is an interesting echo of the labors of a cleric who worked among the Swedes and Finns on the Delaware. In charge of the spiritual concerns and life of the colonists during the years 1642-48, Johannes Campanius adapted the Little Catechism of Luther for use in the conversion of the Algonquin Indians. The book was used for more than a generation in manuscript and was printed in Stockholm in 1696. An essay at the end of this volume, written by Dr. Collijn, gives an interesting account of the Catechism and the period in which it appears to have been an important aid in the religious endeavors of Campanius and his successors.

The Gilpin Library catalogue, ably prepared by Dr. Julian P. Boyd, contains ninety-five items dealing with New Sweden. Seven items relate to William Usselinx, the prime mover in the founding of the commercial company that led to the establishment of the colony. Perhaps under the influence of the tercentenary celebration, one of the sections of the catalogue is headed "Swedish Royalty"; of its twenty-two items, only two appear to have any connection with New Sweden. The publication of the useful *Delaware Guide* coincides with the tercentenary of the first permanent settlement of the "First State".

The volume edited by Professor Benson and Dr. Hedin is intended "to recall by summaries and representative examples the roles played by Swedes as American pioneers and citizens". Its contents present impressive achievement. Farmers, engineers, sailors, inventors, scientists, architects, men of business, scholars, educators, artists, and others fill its pages. The dimensions of the story here told are truly challenging. The editors deserve commendation for their skill in welding together material that must have offered robust resistance to the effort to turn it into a meaningful book. Yet the scene portrayed seems too crowded, and in part with actors who do not belong in the play. For instance, Arrhenius, Berzelius, Linné, and Swedenborg—intellectual giants all—were not "American pioneers and citizens". Of the four, only one, Arrhenius, ever set foot on American soil, and his contact with the United States was limited to two brief visits after he had become a scholar of international repute. More fundamental, in a sense, is the question of how to define a "Swede". Colonel Charles A. Lindbergh may be mentioned as an illustration. The son of a father born in Sweden "and of a mother of American stock of English, Irish and French derivation", he comes no less close to being what is ordinarily called American in antecedents than Swedish. Instances of this kind are numerous and tempt one to suggest that perhaps the book should have been divided into two parts, one on Swedes in America and the other on Swedish names in America. Also, many of the persons here chronicled were products of those peculiarly American conditions which long since made the United States the land of opportunity and have transformed its population into an American citizenry. The part played by America in the making of the individuals described in this volume is left to the surmise of the reader.

Columbia University.

JOHN H. WUORINEN.

The Constitution Reconsidered. Edited for the American Historical Association by CONYERS READ. (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xviii, 424. \$3.75.)

It was an excellent idea to gather together in a single volume these papers on the American Constitution. Some of them, no doubt, are of largely ephemeral value. But the larger part consists of essays of high

interest, and there are a few, notably those of Professors Salvemini, Hamilton, Lerner, and Commager, which are of outstanding value. The third part of the book is the most disappointing. It seems intended to display the influence of the American Constitution on foreign experiments and ideas. But a careful survey of its conclusions leads one to the inference that, Australia apart, the direct influence has been too small to warrant a discussion that occupies almost a fourth of the volume. What it seems mostly to show is that the American Constitution, in its effective substance, is not an article for export.

The first two parts of the book consist of a discussion of the formative ideas which went into the work of 1787 and an account of the influence of that work upon later ideas. Professor McIlwain rewrites, with characteristic charm and learning, his well-known argument about fundamental law. The contribution of the Puritan outlook, of eighteenth century concepts of liberty and democracy, of mercantilism, of the idea of law as reason, are all assessed with the training and insight we should expect from the writers. The contemporary scene is envisaged in terms of the main deposit left by the argument of a century and a half. This section ends with a remarkable essay by Professor Gabriel, who, very notably, emphasizes the insight of Herman Melville in casting doubt, as early as 1849, upon the triumphant progress of democracy.

The essayists raise a score of questions comment upon which would be out of place, even if it were possible, in a brief review. But it is perhaps worth while to note the problem that is raised by the essay of Professor McIlwain. He is, rightly, dismayed by the threat to constitutional government all over the world and, not less rightly, anxious to find the means of its preservation. His remedy, as I understand him, consists in holding fast to the idea of fundamental law. "We must preserve and strengthen", he writes (p. 14), "those bounds beyond which no free government ought ever to go, and make them limits beyond which no government whatever can ever legally go. We must make *ultra vires* all exorbitant acts of government." I wish that Professor McIlwain had given us a bill of particulars to accompany this resounding generalization. What are these bounds? What are the conditions which justify their definition at any given time? To whom is the definition to be entrusted? How do we know what an "exorbitant" act of government is? If these high phrases are read in the context of the essays by Professors Hamilton, Commager, and Lerner, they begin to assume somewhat dubious proportions. Mr. Justice Holmes and Mr. Justice Field would, I suspect, both have claimed that they were doing exactly what Professor McIlwain has in mind; but it would be difficult indeed to discover any common principles in their approach to the issue. I suspect, in a word, that outside certain procedural aspects of issues connected with liberty of the person, making *ultra vires* "exorbitant acts" of

government boils down to protecting certain property relations from reform by the will of a legislative assembly; and a pretty case could be made out for the argument that those who have, like Mr. Justice Field, constituted themselves on the Supreme Court the guardians of fundamental law in the context of property have rarely been equally able to see its fundamentality where liberty of the person is concerned: Mr. Justice Holmes's famous dissents in the Frank and Abrams cases made but a small impact on the majority of his colleagues. Yet I think Professor McIlwain would agree that in each of those noble opinions Holmes was endeavoring to safeguard the people of the United States against "exorbitant" acts of its government.

The truth surely is that the postulates which underlie such a conception of the Constitution as Professor McIlwain outlines are, as indeed several of the other essayists show, defective in two respects. In the first place, they are too static in character; a fundamental law with unchanging content is impossible in a dynamic world. In the second place, they separate the idea of constitutionality from the living and total reality of which it is, in fact, an inseparable part. The postulates of a working conception of "fundamental" law must be what Mr. Justice Holmes called the "can't helps" of a given period; and these will be determined not by political forms but by the economic and social factors which give life to those forms. This is brought out clearly in the essays by Professors Commager and Lerner in the present volume. Until Professor McIlwain's approach is illuminated by that understanding, it remains a dubious abstraction which does not really help us to lay down canons of constitutional action.

London School of Economics and Political Science. HAROLD J. LASKI.

Tench Coxe: A Study in American Economic Development. By HAROLD HUTCHESON, Connecticut College. [Johns Hopkins University Studies.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. ix, 227. \$2.25.)

THERE is a singular and significant omission in the excellent bibliography which Dr. Hutcheson has used so intelligently and so exhaustively in this study. Coxe's own manuscripts, comprising many thousands of items, have not been available to the author, although he made every effort to obtain access to them. This fact is mentioned here only because it seems incredible that the descendants of Coxe, the present custodians of his manuscripts, should have refused their co-operation in an undertaking so flattering to their ancestor. What their motives were is not revealed, and one can only regret that they did not help to make this first full-length study of Tench Coxe also the final and definitive account which it should have been. As it is, Dr. Hutcheson has done all that could be done in setting forth Coxe's place in the development of American economic ideas. For this purpose he was fortunately able to use all of Coxe's known published writings, covering the years between 1786 and 1823, as well as many of his letters and reports.

Had the Coxe manuscripts been available, it is safe to say that the sketch of Coxe's life presented in the first chapter might have been more revealing and more conclusive. One would like to know more of the personal life and business career of this scion of a famous and prosperous Philadelphia family. What manner of man was this merchant who was lukewarm if not a Loyalist during the Revolution, who later became a Federalist and served as Hamilton's assistant in the Treasury, and who finally turned Jeffersonian yet never rose high in public service, although it was not for want of trying? Why did this champion of an American industrial revolution swing from Hamilton to Jefferson, who did not favor a manufacturing system?

Dr. Hutcheson is, however, less concerned with questions of this sort than with Coxe's contribution, in thought and in deed, to the establishment of American manufactures. Coxe was a tireless writer and agitator, and Hutcheson devotes four chapters to the exposition of this major theme, with its variations. Coxe rang his first changes upon it at the time of the Constitutional Convention (ch. II), and the crisis created by the Napoleonic wars provided him with an appropriate sounding board for his persistent plea that domestic manufactures were essential to American peace and independence (ch. IV). Coxe's broader conception of manufactures as a vital part of a "balanced national economy" is skillfully summarized in chapter III, while chapter V reviews Coxe's special interest and efforts in support of "The American Cotton Culture and Manufacture". In a final chapter Dr. Hutcheson presents conclusions and modest claims in behalf of Coxe as a precursor of the American nationalist school.

Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute.

SAMUEL REZNECK.

The Territorial Papers of the United States. Compiled and edited by CLARENCE EDWIN CARTER. Volumes V and VI, *The Territory of Mississippi, 1798-1817*. (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1937; 1938. Pp. ix, 815; v, 893. \$1.50 each.)

THESE two thick volumes of documents on the Mississippi Territory are a valuable addition to the printed sources of Southern history. They enrich considerably the meager collection of materials for the study of the early development of Mississippi and Alabama. Their editor has followed the general principles used in the previous volumes of this series and has included only certain important papers pertaining to administration and related subjects. Considerable attention has been given to the troublesome matter of land titles. Few documents on Indian, military, or diplomatic affairs have been included. Acts of the territorial legislature and journals of the executive proceedings of the governors have been omitted. Intelligent care and excellent historical judgment have been used in the selection of the documents which have been printed.

The papers for these two volumes have been drawn largely from the files of the Division of Manuscripts of the Library of Congress, the Senate and House of Representatives, and the executive departments. Historians will be interested to note that many of the files searched by Mr. Carter, particularly those of the Senate and the Department of State, are now deposited in the National Archives and are readily available to accredited researchers. Few depositories outside of Washington have made contributions. The collections of the Mississippi Department of Archives and History should undoubtedly have been used.

These papers present a composite and many-sided picture of the Mississippi territorial period from 1798 through 1817 and throw many interesting side lights on national affairs. The correspondence between the Federal and territorial officials discloses a maze of vexing administrative problems relating to the application of the land laws, the extension of postal facilities, and the organization of local governments. The complications of Indian affairs were not lessened by the demands of the land-hungry immigrants and the activities of the neighboring Spanish regions. The Aaron Burr episode and the machinations of General James Wilkinson have their places in the turbulent life of the territory. Through the entire period ran the characteristically vigorous and heated factional disputes of the frontier politicians who were continually trying to trouble their enemies by making accusations and carrying tales to their friends in Washington.

Practically no papers in these two volumes have been published before, but very little has been printed on the Mississippi Territory. Dunbar Rowland attempted to make a contribution in that field but never proceeded further than his *Mississippi Territorial Archives, 1798-1803*, issued in 1905, and his six-volume set of *Official Letter Books of W. C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816*, issued in 1917. This reviewer hopes that among other things a complete set of the acts of the Mississippi territorial legislature will eventually be published.

These papers have been edited with exacting scholarship. The footnotes are extremely helpful without detracting from the main objective of presenting the documents. Cross references to valuable related materials, both of primary and secondary nature, and biographical sketches of writers and persons mentioned in the documents are particularly notable.

A few of the younger students of Mississippi history have seen many of the papers published in these two volumes, but no one has seen all of them. New avenues in the development of the Mississippi Territory have been opened; others will have to be surveyed again and adjusted to facts brought to light by Mr. Carter's efforts. The only regret of the reviewer is that the two volumes could not have grown into twenty.

Jackson, Mississippi.

WILLIAM D. MCCAIN.

A Gentleman of the Old Natchez Region, Benjamin L. C. Wailes. By CHARLES S. SYDNOR, Duke University. (Durham: Duke University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 337. \$3.00.)

THIS volume is more than the biography of a dynamic ante-bellum Mississippian; it is also a history of the evolving civilization in the Natchez region from its frontier days in 1800 to the beginning of the Civil War. Professor Sydnor has skillfully integrated his bifurcated problem. He has pictured the rise and fall of a well-defined regional culture, and at the same time he has shown how a leading citizen contributed to the development of that cultural pattern. In brief, the career of Wailes is effectively mirrored against a background of social, political, and scientific factors. With a cross section of the Natchez region in 1800 as a point of departure, the author introduces members of the Wailes family and their kin as they followed the westward moving frontier to the Southwest; shows how Wailes and his region matured; analyzes intellectual trends and the movement for agricultural improvement; presents Wailes as an educator, historian, naturalist, planter, and traveler; evaluates the contributions of Jefferson College and the Mississippi Historical Society; and closes with a discussion of the passing of the man and his civilization.

Wailes was a versatile pioneer who "spent much of his life in traveling roads that have since fallen into disuse" (p. vii). He promoted a local athenaeum and a lyceum; he served as trustee of Jefferson College for nearly forty years; he helped to organize an "Agricultural, Horticultural and Botanical Society"; and he was the moving force behind the establishment of the Mississippi Historical Society. Perhaps his greatest achievement was as a naturalist. He became an authority upon the fossils, rocks, and soils of his region and also upon its plant and animal life. As assistant professor of agricultural and geological sciences at the University of Mississippi, Wailes made a survey of the state and published his findings in a *Report on the Agriculture and Geology of Mississippi* (1854), the historical portion of which "far surpassed all . . . earlier histories of Mississippi" (p. 236). His private collection of specimens was extensive, and he made notable contributions to those at Jefferson College, the University of Mississippi, the state capitol, and the Smithsonian Institution. As a public servant, Wailes was assistant to the Choctaw Indian agent, registrar of the Washington (Mississippi) land office, and twice a member of the legislature.

The voluminous Wailes papers, including a regularly kept diary, 1852-62, proved to be a storehouse of information. Footnotes and bibliography indicate that Professor Sydnor meticulously searched both printed and manuscript sources for pertinent data. Errors in fact and typography are too few to warrant emphasis. The narrative is never dull; at times it sparkles with humor. Maps, illustrations, and an adequate index enhance the utility of the volume. In only one respect does the study seem inadequate: the agricultural

and horticultural development of the Natchez region receive only meager attention, and Wailes as a Southern planter does not stand out in bold relief.

Louisiana State University.

WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON.

I am a Man—The Indian Black Hawk. By CYRENUS COLE. (Iowa City: State Historical Society of Iowa. 1938. Pp. 312. \$3.00.)

The Apache Indians. By FRANK C. LOCKWOOD. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 348. \$3.50.)

IN his preface Mr. Cole states his purpose in writing the biography of Black Hawk as follows: "I have sought to find some of his trails; to resurrect somewhat his scheme of things and something of his spirit, and to recreate the environment in which he lived his stormy life. I have tried also to strip him of some of the extravagant adjectives, whether of praise or censure, with which many historians have encumbered him and his memory". He has succeeded better in portraying the man himself than in re-creating the environment in which he lived. The background is often shadowy and confused. Of the social and political life of the Sauks and Foxes, among whom Black Hawk was reared and whose leader he became, there is almost nothing.

One hundred and twenty-four pages of this biography are devoted to the early life of the hero, 113 to the Black Hawk War, and 42 to his later life. His story is told in a series of episodes. It is based upon very considerable research—mostly in published sources. There is no bibliography, but eleven pages at the end of the volume are devoted to citations from the books and documents consulted.

Black Hawk was one of the great figures of our Indian history. Probably no other Indian chief ever crossed the trails of so many prominent Americans. In the story of his life appear the names of Zebulon M. Pike, William Henry Harrison, Andrew Jackson, Zachary Taylor, Winfield Scott, Ninian Edwards, Lewis Cass, Albert Sidney Johnston, Jefferson Davis, and Abraham Lincoln.

The Apache Indians is a history of the Apache tribes from the earliest times to the present day. It breaks new ground. We have many volumes dealing with this or that phase of Apache culture or with this or that campaign against the Apaches, but this is the first attempt that has been made to depict the people and their environment and to tell the whole story of their centuries of conflict with other tribes and with the Spaniards, the Mexicans, and the Americans. It is a valuable contribution to Indian history and to the history of the Southwest.

The book was originally projected by Charles Morgan Wood, who died before he could achieve his purpose. It was written by his friend Dr. Lockwood of the faculty of the University of Arizona, who did not live to see it published. It is the result of years of preparation—meticulous collection

of published works and unpublished manuscripts, interviews with survivors of the events narrated in the latter chapters, and a careful study of much of the terrain on which those events took place. Its value is enhanced by the many carefully chosen illustrations.

The book is difficult reading. The sequence of events is not clear. It is disconcerting to read a dramatic account of the death and burial of Cochise and then to find him in action again thirty pages later on. The careful reader will be constantly turning forward or back to orient himself. The bibliographies, unfortunately, are scattered at the conclusions of the several chapters, which makes them difficult to consult and results in unnecessary repetition.

These two books have one serious deficiency in common. Neither contains an adequate map. This deficiency is particularly unfortunate as the movements of troops described are often entirely unintelligible and therefore completely uninteresting without a knowledge of the location of boundaries which have been altered since the events narrated took place and of forts or villages which have disappeared or which have survived under new names.

Washington, D. C.

JOSEPH C. GREEN.

Square-Riggers on Schedule: The New York Sailing Packets to England, France, and the Cotton Ports. By ROBERT GREENHALGH ALBION, Princeton University. (Princeton: Princeton University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 371. \$3.50.)

HERE for the first time is a proper history of an important phase of American transportation—the New York sailing packets. All studies of these famous liners hitherto have been little more than expansions of a grossly inaccurate article that appeared in *Harper's Magazine* in 1884. Professor Albion breaks new ground on every page; he has combed the New York newspapers over a period of forty years, studied the voluminous records of the New York Custom House, and extracted human interest and mirth from personal narratives of travelers. I do not see how the book could have been done better, nor can I foresee the time when it will be superseded.

By 1824 New York had four regular sailings a month to Liverpool, two to Le Havre, and one to London. Blow high, blow low, these ships sailed on schedule. Although the Western Ocean winds permitted no definite arrival date (eastbound and westbound passages averaged 24 and 36 days respectively but ranged between 16 and 83 days), both the speed and the regularity of the packets were such an improvement over those of the "constant traders" that they skimmed the cream of transatlantic freight and passenger traffic. Nor did they succumb to steam until the early eighteen-eighties. At the same time numerous lines of sailing coastal packets distributed the liners' cargoes along the Atlantic coast and brought cotton

and other goods to New York for transshipment abroad. Thus the packets became an important factor, rivaling even the Erie Canal, in crushing New York's northern rivals and securing for her a stranglehold on Southern trade. By 1840, probably, every United States port from Maine to Louisiana paid toll to New York on the bulk of its commerce with Great Britain and Northern France.

Professor Albion has struck an even balance between history and description. The financing, construction, operation, and ownership of the ships are analyzed; cabin arrangements and life on shipboard, mutinies and shipwrecks, are described, without the exaggeration of Samuels's famous *Reminiscences*. Particularly valuable for the historian are the chapters "Enslaving the Cotton Ports", "Counting House Control", and "Canvas versus Steam", which describes the losing fight of these gallant wind-driven ships against the superior efficiency of mechanical power.

There are several appendixes of statistics, a biographical dictionary of packet shipmasters, and an excellent critical bibliography. Deplorable is the absence of footnotes. There is no excuse for excluding these from a work published by a subsidized university press; and their absence will not only embarrass future investigators but subject the author to a constant stream of inquiring letters for at least the next twenty years. Let us hope that he receives some "fan mail", too, and that he is encouraged to continue his valuable studies of New York's seaborne commerce.

Harvard University.

S. E. MORISON.

Southern Negroes, 1861-1865. By BELL IRVIN WILEY, State Teachers College, Hattiesburg, Mississippi. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 366. \$3.00.)

THIS volume describes the activities and interprets the attitudes of Southern Negroes in the states which were in rebellion and in the sections which were under the control of the Union armies. Part I treats the Negroes in the Confederacy under such titles as "The Coming of the 'Yankees'", "Labor", "The Slave Trade", "Military Laborers", "Body Servants", "A Dying Institution". Part II treats the Negroes under Federal control through such titles as "The Beginning of Federal Guardianship", "Working for Wages", and "Fighting for Freedom".

Answers are sought throughout these chapters to the problem of the loyalty of the slaves during the war, to their apparent indifference to freedom, and to their conduct during the absence of their masters. Sifting evidence from diaries, newspapers, and reminiscences, the author concludes that such loyalty as was shown by the slaves was based upon personal attachment and close association, good treatment prior to the war, punishment or rumors of it, and the Negro's nonviolent nature. The author cites numerous instances of loyalty and active interest by Negroes in the safety of individuals and

families. This study shows, however, that in the regions which were not entered by the Union armies the Negroes only feigned contentment while chafing under the chains of bondage. The evidence presented leads to the conclusion that unfaithfulness to their masters' cause was far more common than postwar commentators have stated.

In the chapter, "Privations and Privileges", the view is accepted, which recent investigation is substantiating, that the Confederacy was generally in better shape in the matter of food than has been generally supposed and that the Negroes were at the base of these operations. The author definitely believes that there was in the interior regions "more than a sufficiency of the necessities of life for everyone in the Confederacy". The conflicts between the Confederate and state authorities over impressments are noted, but the influence of these experiences and their publicized reactions upon the collapse of Confederate resistance is ignored. In this respect the author could have carried his interpretation to an equally valid conclusion.

There can be no justification for the continuous use of the word "darky" throughout the volume. Such phrases as "barefoot pickaninnies", "sable brothers", and "dusky urchins" are also found, without quotation marks, whereas the word "Yankees" is always used in quotations. Many readers will find such phrases distasteful. It is clear that such terms as "cracker", "red-neck", and "hill-billy", also commonly used in the South, were studiously avoided. The author's purpose was probably to make use of familiar, homely phrases which belong to the vernacular with which he is familiar.

The author endeavors to present an objective interpretation of published and unpublished data in a comprehensive treatment. Much of the material and the conclusions, however, have appeared in several previously published monographs. The book, with its bibliographical note and its fairly complete index, has considerable merit and can be placed in the front rank of the studies which are presenting the neglected aspects of the history of the Negro in American life according to accepted historical methods.

Howard University.

CHARLES H. WESLEY.

The Collapse of the Confederacy. By CHARLES H. WESLEY, Howard University. (Washington: Associated Publishers. 1937. Pp. xiii, 225. \$2.15.)

THERE was a time when historians believed that superior numbers organized by Lincoln and led by Grant, Sherman, Sheridan, and Thomas had something to do with causing the collapse of the Confederacy. Mr. Wesley, however, belongs to the camp which seems to maintain that the South not only could have won but should have won. According to this argument the Confederacy had within its boundaries all the resources that were necessary to gain independence. What it lacked was the will to fight, the spirit of complete sacrifice, the unselfishness of forgetting domestic rivalries, the determination to focus all endeavor on one objective.

The merit of Mr. Wesley's book is in the evidence he produces. This evidence clearly pictures the internal situation of the Confederacy insofar as it was a story of ineffectual organization, political and individual feuds, class divisions, weakening morale, social evils, and defeatism. A serious demerit is the naïveté with which Mr. Wesley approaches so evasive a problem as causation in a society in war time. He is dogmatic in assertion, but he is not clear in demonstrating that the loss of the will to fight was a cause rather than a result of defeat. It apparently has not occurred to him that a picture of the political divisions and weakened public morale in the North in the summer before the military victories of September, 1864, would have been as dismally defeatist as that in the South at that time—if not more so. Mr. Wesley writes on page 168: "Leaving aside military defeats, the collapse of the South was due in part to a lack of resources, but more directly to the absence of a wholehearted and sustained resistance, the complete renunciation of self, the popular support of its government's measures, the devoted and continued loyalty to its declared principles—without which no revolution has been successful." The "leaving aside" is what disturbs one familiar with the action and interaction of forces in society. The military defeats are only one of the too many variables Mr. Wesley has omitted from his equation of causation. Among other factors the historian of the Confederacy must make room for a good-sized number of unpredictable accidents.

The book is weakened by Mr. Wesley's amateurish insistence that he has discovered something of which other scholars were ignorant or which they were inclined to suppress. One might overlook this as unimportant except that it apparently has resulted in Mr. Wesley's failure properly to integrate with his own researches the many excellent books and articles which have been published in the past two decades. Passages in his book on such topics as King Cotton diplomacy, desertion, and the states rights controversy seem rather weak in comparison to the best scholarship that has appeared on each subject.

Harvard University.

PAUL H. BUCK.

The Story of Reconstruction. By ROBERT SELPH HENRY. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. Pp. 633. \$5.00.)

THIS story of the South during "that long-drawn-out tragedy of misunderstanding, Reconstruction" (p. 5), is not the history of the nation, nor is it the complete history of the South during Reconstruction. It is essentially a political narrative. In it one finds no discussion of important national questions—the tariff, foreign policies, and economic development—which confronted the nation during the critical decade and a half. The panic of 1873 is dismissed in a paragraph or so, the scandals of the Grant administration are not recounted in the usual horrifying detail, and the Tweed Ring

is barely mentioned. Mr. Henry does not rush in to tread the ground so lately broken by the social historians. Not that he regards it as sacred but as merely outside the limits set by himself. The picture of the South he would have us see is thereby less complete than one would wish. Such topics as education, religion, social relations, the development of racial consciousness, and their implications, while not ignored, are not well rounded. The discussion of economic changes, particularly in transportation, is more adequate.

In spite of these omissions it stands as the best one-volume work on the subject for the general reader. The style is good; there is no straining after effect. If one misses the striking pen portraits of Bowers, one is not confused by Marxian concepts as amplified by DuBois. Although there are no footnotes and only a brief bibliography, the book is uncommonly accurate. Less than a half-dozen errors of fact, all unimportant, were noted. It is clear that the secondary authorities have been used with care. A political revolution followed by a social revolution is apt to be disturbing in any society, and it is difficult to tell the story without confusion. With considerable success Mr. Henry has faced the task of combining the topical and chronological methods in describing the process of Reconstruction in eleven states (all the while keeping an eye on Washington) in no two of which was the process identical. The tone is judicious, and if there is a bias, one should remember that, Reconstruction being what it was, it is harder to forget the lingering consequences of the Age of Hate than it is for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of Heaven. Mr. Henry strives for moderation; he seeks to describe rather than to incite. His discussions of the Black Codes, the Klan, and the Reconstruction governments seem fair to both races. He condemns the "atrocities" stories invented by the Northern press prior to the campaign of 1868 yet is able to say that "of actual outbreaks in the South . . . there was a shocking plenty" (pp. 338-39).

By and large the author follows the traditional story. If he propounds a thesis, it is this: "New voters could be created; new leaders could not. Because of the lack of such leaders the whole scheme . . . was to collapse when the support of Federal bayonets was withdrawn" (p. 141). The economic alliance of the North and West, as seen by Beale in the congressional campaign of 1866 and as a prelude to congressional Reconstruction, receives only passing reference. The author does not see the success of the Joint Committee of Fifteen as the result of a capitalist-abolitionist conspiracy (with the capitalist leading the duped abolitionist) to break the South economically and politically. He attributes it to several political factors, chief of which was "the conviction . . . that the President's policy could not win, and that those who went down with him to defeat would find themselves outcasts in the political wilderness" (p. 136). Nor does he see in the results of 1876 a reconciliation of the Northern capitalist and the

Southern planter, making certain the overthrow of the "dictatorship" of the black "proletariat". An examination of these questions would have enhanced the value of the book.

Duke University.

R. H. WOODY.

Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel. By C. VANN WOODWARD, University of Florida. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 518. \$3.75.)

To trace the career of Tom Watson through all its paradoxical vicissitudes and maintain throughout an attitude of detached understanding was a task for a scholar of broad social vision and human insight. This is what Professor Woodward has done, and done exceedingly well. His major postulate is that Watson's public life was divided into two disparate and in some ways antithetical parts, rather widely separated in time and circumstance, and that no fair or true judgment of the man is possible without full consideration of both parts and their interrelations. As to the first of these the author maintains: "About Watson's seriousness, his conviction, and his consecration to his task there can be no doubt" (p. 171). Indeed it would probably not be too much to say that of the agrarian leaders who became Populists in the nineties, Watson combined to the greatest degree sincerity of conviction and steadfastness of purpose. He alone, of all the Southern Democrats elected to Congress in 1890 pledged to the Farmers' Alliance program, refused to be bound by the conservative Democratic caucus and strove consistently for the attainment of Alliance objectives. On the other hand, "in some phases of his later life, [he] became the embodiment of much that was detestable" (p. vii). How his once courageous fight for the oppressed—regardless of class, religion, or race—was "thwarted at every turn" and finally brought to tragic frustration by notorious political trickery, prejudice, and hate; how in later years he gradually changed his tactics, reversing some of his most laudable principles, becoming in time a violent rouser of race and religious prejudice and even mobism; how he came to wield the balance of power in Georgia politics for almost two decades and beat his old adversaries at their own game—all this is told in authentic and interesting detail.

Professor Woodward is the first trained historian to have attempted a biography of Watson. He is the first to have had full access to the Watson Papers, recently deposited in the library of the University of North Carolina (available only by permission of the family), and also to certain intimate papers in possession of Miss Georgia D. Watson of Thomson, Georgia. He has had more complete access than has hitherto been granted to the Papers of Governor W. J. Northen, Farmers' Alliance-Democratic leader in Georgia during the nineties, and to several important but more or less fragmentary collections. Of all these he has made thorough and discerning use, as he has of such miscellaneous sources as are available. In

his admirable treatment of political, economic, and social backgrounds he has employed with the same good judgment former studies bearing on his general field.

One is hesitant to say that a biography of so recent and controversial a subject is definitive, but at least it seems unlikely that important revisions or reinterpretations may be expected in the generation of the relatively youthful author.

*The Woman's College of the
University of North Carolina.*

ALEX MATHEWS ARNETT.

"Eagle Forgotten": The Life of John Peter Altgeld. By HARRY BARNARD. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. Pp. 496. \$4.00.)

IN 1924 Altgeld's first biographer, Waldo R. Browne, presented a sympathetic account of the meteoric Illinois governor who pardoned the surviving Haymarket prisoners, fought President Cleveland over Federal military intervention in the Pullman Strike, wrote the famous Democratic platform of 1896, and introduced a reform regime suggestive of the New Deal. Harry Barnard has expanded the story materially in a far more vivid presentation than his predecessor's, utilizing several fresh sources of importance. He has filled in admirably many of the numerous lacunae in the previous accounts of Altgeld's early life. Among his interesting contributions he shows that Altgeld's popularity did not seriously wane after the Haymarket pardon; that Lyman Trumbull was invited by the governor to initiate the pardon proceedings but refused; and that Altgeld was offered a huge bribe unsuccessfully not only during consideration of the Yerkes Traction Bill but also for the passage of the Gas Trust bills.

It is to be regretted, however, that the biography, despite the industry and skill of the author, has remained largely a popular work rather than a definitive study. Failure to consult directly such fundamental sources as the governor's letter books, the governor's executive files, and the Henry D. Lloyd Papers is reflected in the rather sketchy treatment of significant administrative problems. The famous women's eight-hour case, *Ritchie v. III.* (1895), which created an unfortunate precedent against social legislation of its type in American constitutional history, is suggested only by inference despite Altgeld's role in combatting the manufacturers' lobby. In the Pullman Strike episode Mr. Barnard does not explain satisfactorily why Altgeld called state militia to Chicago immediately after his famous protest against Federal military intervention as unnecessary. A confidential telegram in the state archives, however, reveals that the militia were sent to aid Mayor Hopkins's administration politically by robbing the anticipated Federal reinforcements of credit. Mr. Barnard has overlooked the interesting congressional debate, following the Pullman Strike, over the Altgeld-Cleveland controversy, which showed an important party split indicative of the cleavage

of 1896. He does not note the significant coincidence that the Illinois Democratic platform of June, 1896, written by Altgeld, is identical upon national issues with the subsequent Democratic national platform, nor that Altgeld's silver convention of June, 1895, gave the cue to McKinley's advisers that the currency question, not the tariff, would be the central issue of 1896.

The author attempts to maintain a praiseworthy impartiality throughout but occasionally leans backward. He accepts uncritically the canard of the *Chicago Tribune*, issued the day before polling in 1892, that Altgeld was hypocritical in attacking the Edwards School Law as a Know-Nothing product since he "had probably helped draft it" (p. 160). The author's charge of Democratic "spoils" politics, although made with important modifications, does not take into consideration the fact that Altgeld appointed many able Republicans to administrative posts; that he selected a number of women to leading offices, a move with little patronage value in the days before the Nineteenth Amendment; and that he was a pioneer spirit in behalf of state civil service reform—facts which suggest another conclusion.

De Paul University.

HARVEY WISH.

Woodrow Wilson: Life and Letters. By RAY STANNARD BAKER. Volume VI, *Facing War, 1915-1917.* (Garden City: Doubleday, Doran and Company. 1937. Pp. xiii, 543. \$5.00.)

THOSE who may have been looking forward to this volume in anticipation of a flood of new light upon American policy in connection with the entry of the United States into the World War will be disappointed. With very few exceptions Mr. Baker has not discovered in the Wilson Papers evidence that would add materially to what we already know on this subject. On the other hand, students of American politics will be gratified by the contributions here made. Besides utilizing the President's papers Mr. Baker has been diligent in securing the co-operation of many of the former's friends and relatives, who have made available letters in their possession and contributed their personal recollections of incidents and events. The author continues to show himself most thoroughly at home in the domestic scene. The electoral campaign of 1916 is subjected to a keen and searching analysis. There is a warm appreciation of the role of the second Mrs. Wilson and some excellent pen portraits of both prominent and little-known persons.

The bulk of the volume is of course concerned with a discussion of our foreign relations. Only one chapter is devoted to "Complications in Latin America", and to those interested in this aspect of American policy the treatment may appear sketchy and insufficiently grounded on a close acquaintance with the immediate subject. Six of the twelve chapters deal with our situation in regard to the war in Europe. In view of the frequent attacks made in recent years on the Wilson policies, Mr. Baker has accomplished much in avoiding a vehemently defensive position. He achieves

this by making little or no reference to the arguments of the President's detractors and telling the story simply as he sees it. It is not to be implied that he is unaware of the frequent and at times serious mistakes in the conduct of American policy. But his admiration for his hero is such that his recognition of these shortcomings usually results in severe treatment of the President's advisers, who are made to bear the brunt of the responsibility.

As in his earlier volumes, Mr. Baker is not entirely successful in reconciling the relationship of Wilson with some of his friends and associates with the portrait he has drawn. The most frequent sufferer is once more Colonel House. "It was Wilson's lifelong error to suppose that men whom he accepted as his friends . . . not only loved him, but understood completely his swift and clear-running mind and agreed with him in all things." (Were these, then, the *sine qua non* of friendship with him?) The practice of House was "to approve everything, or almost everything, the President said: and Wilson assumed that House completely understood his mind". In this manner Baker explains the President's acceptance of House's letter to Grey of October 17, 1915, as "altogether right", though the author himself recognizes it as a scarcely disguised plan to engineer the entry of the United States into the war on the Allied side (p. 129).

The fact is that with all his statesmanlike qualities Wilson was too much of an amateur in diplomacy to appreciate his friend's shortcomings. It is perhaps not so "strange" as Mr. Baker likes to think that he could "listen with patience to such utter nonsense" as some of the colonel's proposals contained (p. 180). We need only recall his own startling appeal to Grey that Britain make an early move toward peace so as to forestall the entry of the United States on her side (p. 182). However much we may agree that the President would have been wiser to trust his Department of State (p. 139) and that House was in every sense a naïve and irresponsible envoy (p. 147), there remains the mystery of how Wilson managed to remain unaware of that fact.

In the judgment of the reviewer Mr. Baker fails to appreciate adequately the fatal weakness in the President's thinking which was later to prove so ruinous at Paris. Averse to concessions on principle and imbued with a truly Calvinistic assurance of right once his mind was made up, he was vulnerable to proposals that could be given the appearance of harmonizing with his point of view. House and others understood the utility of speaking in "Wilsonian" terms. The President was far too intelligent to be consistently duped by such tactics, but more than once when the interests of the country were vitally concerned he failed to recognize the fundamental divergence between the terminology employed and the course that was urged upon him. This was notably the case when his sympathies or prejudices were involved. Like the majority of the American people he was swayed in the final analysis by his fundamental sympathy for the Allied cause. This

explains the numberless occasions when he yielded to the persuasions of House and Lansing to tone down protests intended for London and increase the vigor of others destined for Berlin. Thus, too, his final conversion to a war policy was the consequence not of a gradually hardening conviction but of an emotional response to the Zimmermann note. Unconsciously he welcomed it as a release from doubts and hesitations which had brought his cabinet to the verge of revolt. At last he could believe, as he had long wished to believe, that the German leaders, to quote Mr. Baker, desired to "dominate the world" (p. 474) and that their "aggression and intrigue had started the war" (p. 497).

Throughout the volume Mr. Baker maintains that the broad objectives of the President's policy never changed and that he never really committed himself to House's "military interventionist" schemes (p. 147). Unfortunately his peace efforts were compromised by House's secret assurances to the Allies, which "encouraged their relentless prosecution of the war" and drove the Germans to desperate countermeasures (p. 153). The "glorious" victory of the President on the McLemore Resolution also had its fateful aspects, for it further committed him to a policy of holding Germany to the observance of rules in submarine warfare which he himself admitted to be "hardly fair" (p. 174). The strict "legal" neutrality was really "unneutral in its results" (p. 304). Though Mr. Baker recoils from the conclusion, Wilson himself was thus largely to blame for a situation which he bitterly described to Daniels: "Any little German lieutenant can put this country into the war at any time by some calculated outrage" (p. 258).

The University of Minnesota.

HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Papers relating to the Foreign Relations of the United States, 1921. Two volumes. 1922. Two volumes. [Department of State.] (Washington: Government Printing Office. 1936; 1938. Pp. cxx, 986; xcv, 973; cxv, 1075; cix, 1042. \$2.00; \$2.00; \$1.75; \$1.75.)

THESE volumes appear only fifteen and sixteen years respectively after the events they describe. This is a long time to wait for official papers, but it is a relatively short time in view of the comparative completeness of the dispatches and documents now made available. Had the volumes appeared earlier, it is doubtful if so much could have been published without objection from other powers whose consent and co-operation are indispensable. In any case, it now appears to be the policy of the Department of State to establish fifteen years as the period which must normally transpire between events and the public recording of them in this series.

The years 1921 and 1922 were rich in materials for historical scholarship. Coming to office as Secretary of State in March, 1921, Mr. Hughes began a vigorous defense of American business interests abroad, as is already

fairly well known. But the complete record of his first year in office gives cumulative evidence of a vigorous economic policy which made the efforts of Philander C. Knox appear modest and retiring. This is especially notable as regards the diplomacy of oil. The story of the Turkish Petroleum Company, now told in full, has been publicized heretofore. But in addition there is in these pages an enormous amount of material concerning the rights, privileges, and prospects of American petroleum companies in regions as widely separated as Mexico, the Dutch East Indies, Northern Persia, Siam, Venezuela, Turkey, and Palestine. Notable also is the correspondence with France and Great Britain concerning American rights—economic, juridical, religious, and cultural—in the mandated territories in the Near East. The so-called Chester Concession, ultimately a fiasco, seems likewise to have exhausted a good deal of departmental energy and patience.

It should not be understood, however, that the distinguished career of Mr. Hughes as Secretary of State was concerned exclusively or even primarily with American economic interests abroad. In the volumes for 1922, for example, are to be found almost four hundred pages of indispensable materials dealing with the Washington Conference on the Limitation of Armaments. Closely connected with the treaties signed at Washington is an exchange of notes with Japan canceling the Lansing-Ishii agreement. It is now revealed that the agreement of 1917 contained a secret clause pledging both governments not to "take advantage of the present [wartime] conditions to seek special rights or privileges in China which would abridge the rights of the subjects or citizens of other friendly states". Pages 557-58 of Volume I for 1922 contain the much discussed and much criticized statement of the Department of State, March 3, 1922, concerning the flotation of foreign loans, which concluded: "The Department believes that in view of the possible national interests involved, it should have the opportunity of saying to the underwriters concerned, should it appear advisable to do so, that there is or is not objection to any particular issue."

One cannot comment adequately on this publication without praising the general typographical excellence of the volumes, which are a credit both to the Department of State and to the Government Printing Office. This is the more notable as the price in each instance is low enough to make the volumes available to any American scholar.

The Institute for Advanced Study.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

Financial Development of the United States. By WILLIAM J. SHULTZ, College of the City of New York, and M. R. CAINE. (New York: Prentice-Hall. 1937. Pp. xxviii, 757. \$5.00.)

To integrate the history of Federal and state finances with the development of taxation, banking, and currency is a difficult task. To make it intelligible to the general reader and college student and at the same time

interesting requires not only wide knowledge of the special fields but a thorough acquaintance with the social, economic, and political background if the book is to make sense. Twenty-six years ago Davis R. Dewey pioneered with the first edition of his exceedingly competent *Financial History of the United States*. Until the present book appeared no one had attempted the same sort of task. With the wide interest developed by the currency and banking legislation of the New Deal, it was inevitable and desirable that other efforts should be made.

Placing the "widest possible interpretation" upon the term "financial history", the authors of the present volume have essayed again this difficult task. Of the book's 719 pages, 270 deal with the period before the Civil War and about 200 with the years 1917 to 1936, a division which should be generally acceptable to teachers in this field. The style is clear and simple enough for the average college student to understand, and the book is illustrated with numerous graphs, charts, and illustrations. The latter are almost entirely newspaper cartoons and add a lighter note much needed in a book of this type. Chapter development is chronological, with the chapters generally broken down into the subtopics of Federal finance, state finance, national banking, state banking, and currency, with an additional topic, capital finance, added to the latter chapters. Such a development is at times necessarily artificial. The continuity of the story is broken, and there is much repetition, irritating to the mature reader but not unsound pedagogically if used with skill.

Although the handling of taxation and finance seems better than that of banking and currency, the volume as a whole is competently done. There are minor errors, but they are few. The bibliography collected at the end of the book is reasonably adequate. Furthermore, the authors have maintained an objective treatment despite the fact that the opportunity exists on almost every page to make a judgment or present a point of view. To the reviewer, however, this volume illustrates a weakness fundamental to most financial writing: it lacks realism in that it is too far removed from close contact with the life of the people. Somehow it does not seem to integrate sufficiently with the warp and woof of political, social, and economic history. Some attempt to do this is made, to be sure, but it is not enough. In banking, currency, and taxation the authors are dealing with tools used by human beings in an effort to make an economic system function; like all history it is a story of people as well as institutions. Financial history by itself is dry and not very significant. Until it takes on that depth and color which stirs the imagination and leads to understanding it is a sterile subject. Toward a book of this type the authors have moved perceptibly, but the ultimate achievement is as yet a long way off.

Smith College.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

Labor Czars: A History of Labor Racketeering. By HAROLD SEIDMAN. (New York: Liveright Publishing Corporation. 1938. Pp. x, 317. \$2.50.)

The Labor Movement in America. By MARJORIE R. CLARK and S. FANNY SIMON. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1938. Pp. 208. \$2.00.)

Labor in Canadian-American Relations. Edited by H. A. INNIS. *The History of Labor Interaction*, by NORMAN J. WARE; *Labor Costs and Labor Standards*, by H. A. LOGAN. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. xxxviii, 212. \$3.75.)

THE contemporary effort to "smear" all trade unions by emphasizing the racketeering policies of some unions meets an effective obstacle in Mr. Seidman's study of labor racketeering. *Labor Czars* is the most complete, interesting, and impartial presentation of the subject yet to appear. Earlier efforts in the same field have either been monographs or legislative committee reports on limited areas of the subject, or they have been antiunion propaganda published by interested persons. Mr. Seidman has the advantage of access to this material plus that provided by the Dewey prosecutions in New York and by his own experience as a newspaper reporter. He has molded this with a popular style into a document of value.

He finds the cause of labor racketeering to lie in: (1) the political policies of the A. F. of L. which result, especially in the building trades, in linking the local union agents with corrupt political machines; (2) the vested interests of all too numerous A. F. of L. leaders imbued with a short-run "business" point of view by their service to craft interests; (3) the support and encouragement of employers and trade associations to whom collusion with racketeer-ridden unions means heavy profits. As partial solutions Mr. Seidman emphasizes the necessity for independent political action by organized labor and the furtherance of philosophically militant industrial unionism.

It might be added that racketeering of all varieties is deeply imbedded in a social order which promises opportunity and rewards to the ambitious but actually denies this reward to all but a favored few. Until this conflict is removed, the ambitious will continue to drive toward the top by extra-legal methods.

The Misses Clark and Simon have turned out a highly readable and useful book on *The Labor Movement in America*. It avoids the arid stretches of condensed history, which frequently appear in books of this type, by combining historical accounts with running descriptions of the structure, policies, and philosophy of developing unionism. It covers the recent material available on the subject of employers' antiunion policies as well as recent labor legislation, labor and the courts, and the rise of the C.I.O. in an

interesting and objective manner. This book should be very useful in workers' education classes as well as valuable to the general public.

Professor Ware brings to his section of *Labor in Canadian American Relations* his usual mastery of prose and what amounts to a seventy-page condensation of the trade union history of the United States and Canada. It is a brilliant summary but suffers from the vices of all summaries. Although Professor Ware shows that the Canadian labor movement has greater diversity than ours because of Canadian sectionalism, the influence of the Catholic Church, the French heritage, and continued British connections, he concludes that the "boundary between the United States and Canada has not interfered to any significant extent with the natural and peaceful cross fertilization of the two cultures". Professor Ware concludes with an interesting account of the 1937 Oshawa automobile workers' strike, and Mr. H. A. Logan completes the book with a valuable comparison of wages and living costs in the two countries.

Williams College.

ROBERT R. R. BROOKS.

Canada and her Great Neighbor: Sociological Surveys of Opinions and Attitudes in Canada concerning the United States. Edited by H. F. ANGUS, University of British Columbia. With Introduction by R. M. MacIver, Columbia University. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, Director.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 451. \$3.75.)

THIS volume comprises a record of the most ambitious effort ever made to ascertain the opinions and attitudes of the people of one country with reference to those of another. The book is divided into three sections of which the first, containing as it does the substance of the whole, is the most valuable. In these twenty-three pages the editor outlines the purpose of the study and reviews the evidence. The second section is devoted to an examination of those influences (educational, economic, political, recreational) that have contributed to the formation of Canadian opinion regarding the United States. In the final section the editor and his contributors describe and appraise the current constituents of that opinion.

The technique employed by Professor Angus and his assistants is in accordance with the best contemporary practice. Geographically Canada was divided into six divisions, and an investigator was assigned to each. In addition an outstanding journalist prepared an analysis of the views expressed in newspapers and periodical literature, while a prominent educationist directed a study of the attitudes of school children. For purposes of sampling, moreover, the population was divided into categories based on geography, occupation, environment, age, nationality, and so forth. The technical apparatus and the quality of those engaged in the work is most

impressive. Whether the end justifies the means, however, is perhaps open to question.

The fact is that any intelligent political scientist with a reasonable knowledge of the two nations (Professor Angus himself, for example) could have sat down in the seclusion of his study and, by the application of his knowledge of human nature, politics, geography, history, economics, and the characteristics of those three agencies—the cinema, the radio, and popular magazines—through which the United States is most frequently and most vividly presented to Canadians, have produced a book in which all the main conclusions to be derived from the volume under review would have been present. *Canada and her Great Neighbor* comes perilously near to being an example of the stressing of the inevitable if not of the obvious.

On the other hand, it may be argued that Professor Angus and his collaborators have done a real service in presenting this detailed study of a healthy international relationship at a time when so much attention is being paid to morbid conditions in that field. After all, a knowledge of normal psychology is essential for the successful treatment of insanity.

As a result of this investigation it is apparent that Canadians *in general* tend to think of Americans *as a people* as materialistic, grasping, boastful, lawless, and politically corrupt. On the other hand, however, most Canadians also think of Americans as generous, friendly, practical, idealistic, resourceful, democratic, and progressive. That certain of these views conflict does not apparently lessen the tenacity with which they are held. It is perhaps as a rationalization of this apparent conflict that many Canadians expressed a liking for individual Americans but a dislike of the United States—what might be described as a reflection of a conflict between experience and prejudice.

The ultimate objective of all the studies of Canadian-American relations which are being presented under the auspices of the Carnegie Endowment is, presumably, to increase understanding and friendship between the two peoples by increasing mutual knowledge. It was Montaigne who said that to know all is to forgive all; but it has yet to be proved that this is as true of nations as it is of individuals. Apparently a recognition of this doubt on the part of the director of the series led to certain modifications in the standards to which Professor Angus would have preferred to adhere. In his foreword the latter writes:

Something must be said of the changes which have been made in the book itself during the last two years. These have not been extensive but some of the more extreme and irresponsible criticisms of the United States have been omitted altogether and some other criticisms have been softened by editorial comment. The book has thus, with the skilful assistance of the editor-in-chief of the series, been subjected to a sort of sandpapering process designed to remove asperities while leaving the general outline intact. . . .

The changes, such as they are, have been gladly effected, for while soothing comments, however sincerely made, do constitute a departure from a severe canon of objectivity just as much as provocative comments would, it is a departure that is well justified if it can help to prevent a book in a series designed to promote the cause of international goodwill from itself being a source of irritation.

The conflict thus described would appear to be almost inevitable in a series that has at base a propagandist purpose.

Canada and her Great Neighbor will be of considerable interest to the political scientist, to the psychologist, and to the historian. In a less daunting format it might enjoy a small popular success—particularly in Canada—for it contains much that is entertaining, and it deals with a subject that is of interest to all Canadians. There is no index.

Ottawa.

H. L. KEENLEYSIDE.

Bolívar and the Political Thought of the Spanish American Revolution. By VÍCTOR ANDRÉS BELAUNDE. [The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History, 1930, The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. xxiv, 451. \$3.50.)

IN this work the political thought of Bolívar is singled out for special treatment against the background of a general survey of the political ideas and constitutional experiments of Spanish America from the late eighteenth century to 1830. After introductory description of the colonial institutional heritage, imported liberal ideas, and the aims of the early reformers, the author sketches the constitutional history of the different sections. With conciseness and clarity he keeps Argentina, Chile, Mexico, Peru, Venezuela, and Colombia abreast chronologically, giving major attention to the part played by Bolívar. The Liberator's projects thus stand out in the general struggle of parties and principles as prescriptions for the stability of peoples desolated by the anarchy of newly won freedom. The analysis of this "rich heritage" covers Bolívar's chief pronouncements and proposals: the Cartagena manifesto of 1812, the Jamaica letter of 1815, the Angostura constitutional proposal of 1819, and the ambitious projects of 1825 and 1826. The Panama Congress, the brief dream of "regulating" all Spanish America, the Bolivian constitution, the British protectorate, and the Andean federation represent the climax of his career and of his search for sure foundations for authority and order. Nearly half of the book is devoted to these shifting plans and their failure and to the sequel in undisguised dictatorship. Here Señor Belaunde helps us most to understand the mind of his hero, giving personality to the abstraction of political theories and structures. Further analysis would make the interest and value of these chapters still greater. The doctrine of intervention, for instance, which appeared as early as 1821 with the purpose of insuring domestic tranquillity and was nourished by

Bolívar's growing fear of social conflict, would justify more than passing reference to his anxiety over the danger to white rule from Indian peasants and Negro freedmen. The author recognizes in part but does not enlarge upon the social, cultural, and economic issues lying behind the conflict of ideologies with which he is primarily concerned.

Belaunde warns us of the injustice of evaluating the unique case of Bolívar by normal historical judgment; but, despite occasional romantic and apologetic passages, he presents a balanced estimate of the Liberator's policy. He suggests grounds for doubting Bolívar's disinterestedness by recognizing the latter's identification of his own glory with the peace of America and by leaving his sincerity in some dubious moves an open question. More positive is the condemnation of the Bolivian constitution and the Andean federation. The Angostura plan mirrors for our author the true Bolívar. By 1826 sane realism had been clouded by the flattery of events and of counselors in Peru, and the results were the democratic Caesarism of the life-presidency and the grandiose vision of a supnation. There is much truth in this judgment, but it is questionable whether the constitutional aims of 1819 and of 1826 were of so different a pattern. The powerful executive was vital to Bolívar's earlier, as to his later, designs.

Belaunde's interpretation of the Angostura project makes the senate rather than the president the foundation of the conservative republic. Although he disapproves of the senate's hereditary character, he finds in its "technical capacity and independence of election interests" the salutary principle of the representation of professional corporations. This leaning towards the corporative state is the corollary of his dislike of Jacobin democratism, characterized by the "vice of popular elections", an exaggerated freedom of the press, and the delusion of saving society by constitutions. Equally vigorous and frank is his detestation of provincial localism or what the Spanish Americans call federalism. The ideal of "unity, concentration, solidity and energy" provides the common ground for Belaunde and Bolívar and, like Bolívar's personality, a means of integrating the multi-form elements in the political thought and practice of the Spanish-American revolution. For the examination of such a period the principle has peculiar pertinence, and as the instrument of a scholar it has resulted in a work which is useful and challenging. Yet this ideal is too simple and one-sided as a test either for democracy or for Bolívar and the revolution. In its relevance to contemporary criticism of democratic institutions it affords a suggestive but nonetheless limited vantage point for surveying the past—or for judging the present.

Reed College.

R. F. ARRAGON.

Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812-1830: Select Documents from the Foreign Office Archives. Edited by C. K. WEBSTER, University of London. Two volumes. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xx, 560; xv, 573. \$15.00.)

THESE two volumes furnish a collection of documents which will be of great use to students of international relations as well as to students of Latin-American history. Some of the important documents here presented, such as cabinet memoranda of Castlereagh, have already been published, but by far the major part of the papers in this collection have never before been printed. Here and there unessential portions of long documents have been summarized or omitted. All of the documents have been taken from the files of foreign office papers preserved in the Public Record Office.

The first volume is concerned mainly with Latin America. It contains communications between the English government, on the one hand, and Argentina, Brazil, Colombia, Central America, Chile, Mexico, and Peru, on the other hand. The second volume is composed of correspondence which passed between Great Britain, on the one side, and European states and the United States, on the other side. These documents constitute only a fraction of the enormous mass of material concerning Latin-American independence which is lodged in the Public Record Office. In general, the work of selection has been well done. The texts have been printed with but slight alterations in matters of capitalization and punctuation. Though the translations of state papers in Spanish and Portuguese in the Record Office are generally better done than those lodged in the National Archives at Washington, it would have been still more useful to investigators to have printed these texts in the original languages. As the compiler himself acknowledges, papers from other divisions of the Record Office than the foreign office would doubtless have illustrated other phases of the Latin-American struggle for independence than those illuminated in these volumes.

As it is, the documents in Webster's collection throw light on many important phases of the Great Revolution in Latin America. Among these are: the attitude of Spain toward her revolted colonies, the policy of world powers toward the protracted struggle, the reception of the original Monroe Doctrine, the formulation of the Polignac Memorandum, the role of England in the adjustment of differences between Brazil and Portugal, and the negotiation of commercial treaties between England and the Latin-American countries.

Not the least useful part of this book is the introduction. Here Professor Webster not only furnishes an admirable survey of the policies of Castlereagh and Canning toward the Latin nations of the New World, preceded

by an account of the causes and the character of the struggle for Latin-American independence, but also touches interestingly upon various aspects of the policy of other nations toward the Great Revolution.

University of Illinois.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

Boundaries, Possessions, and Conflicts in South America. By GORDON IRELAND, Sometime Assistant Professor of Latin-American Law, Harvard Law School, Lately Professor of Civil and Latin-American Law, Louisiana State University Law School. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. x, 345. \$4.50.)

Mr. Ireland explains that his book is "an attempt to present in a single volume the factual story of the boundary disputes" of the South American republics. Impartial critics will probably agree that his effort was reasonably successful. Several pertinent events have occurred since he wrote, which he would of course have been glad to include; and others are pending. Any author who deals with current matters must expect his publication to be out of date almost as soon as it is off the press, if not before. The writer's conjectures regarding the relative finality of attempted settlements are probably as intelligent and dependable as humanly possible. Students of such international matters will doubtless wish that he had also included the rest of the Latin-American republics.

His facts, he says, have been gleaned from "hundreds of books", from "reports of a dozen arbitrations", and from records of public officials, especially the foreign ministers of most of the countries. Copious references are given, not only to show authority for the statements made but also to assist others who may desire further light on the subjects treated. Students of South American boundary disputes, especially members of international commissions appointed to deal with them, owe Mr. Ireland a deep debt of gratitude for his pioneer work. He does not claim to have covered everything that might have been included or to have excluded relatively minor matters; but he expresses a hope "that for five or ten who would have left out something that has been put in, there may be but one or two who know of anything omitted that should properly have been included".

The volume consists of three parts called chapters. The first and by far the most important, occupying nearly three fourths of the whole, is entitled "Disputes and Adjustments". It is divided into twenty-six subdivisions, each having its own topic indicating between what two countries each disputed boundary existed and in most cases the section of the common boundary affected. Merely a glance at the topical headings shows that most of the South American countries have had boundary disputes with one or more of their neighbors; and perusal of the treatises under the topics shows the laudable efforts made by the interested governments to adjust the disputes

by friendly negotiations between the disputants or, when negotiations proved unsuccessful, by arbitrations. In addition to his treatise on each disputed boundary the author has supplied a very carefully drawn, helpful map. His texts and maps are not, however, as well co-ordinated as they might have been. Many places are mentioned in the texts which do not appear on the illustrative maps, and some places given on the maps are not mentioned in the corresponding texts. Furthermore, the texts seldom make mention of the respective illustrative maps, except in the topical headings. If the maps contained all places mentioned in the treatises and no others, and if there had been frequent references in the treatises to the accompanying maps, the compilation would have better realized the ideal which the author says he had in mind of producing a book "easy to read and useful to consult".

The second chapter, entitled "Island Possessions", presents, under nineteen topics, much interesting information concerning out-of-the-way island possessions of various countries; but it is questionable whether it is essential to the main purpose of the publication or adds much of value. The third chapter, entitled "Existing Treaty Relations", contains a very painstaking compilation of pertinent treaties. Four appendixes and an index complete the volume.

Washington, D. C.

WILLIAM R. MANNING.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

The Mind of Man: The Story of Man's Conquest of Mental Illness. By WALTER BROMBERG. (New York, Harper, 1937, pp. xiv, 323, \$3.50.) The long history of mental disease and of attempts at mental healing is an unusually intriguing and at the same time a most significant theme. One has to be something of an anthropologist, a theologian, and a historian, as well as a psychiatrist, in order to interpret it at all adequately. Dr. Bromberg measures up to these obligations remarkably well and has in consequence provided a historical study which is critical, comprehensive, and well executed. There is none of the encyclopedic or biographical emphasis which has naturally been common among scientists who write history, but rather a smooth continuity and a due regard for general trends. This is especially true of the detailed analysis provided of early faith healing, witchcraft, demoniacal possession, and the various healing cults. It is not clear to what extent original research was involved here, but in any case there was wide reading and intelligent synthesis. I am inclined to question only one portion of the narrative, namely, the presentation of psychoanalysis. Here the psychiatrist is more in evidence than the historian, in that several chapters are devoted to the present nature and prospects—as well as the origins—of this aspect of psychiatry. As explanation and defense this section seems quite adequate, but it hardly maintains the critical historical perspective characteristic of the rest of the study. There is little or no discussion of the dangers or limitations of the technique involved nor any recognition of the essential methodological weakness of a system which has lacked either statistical or experimental verification.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

La Perse. By RAYMOND FURON. (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 238, 36 fr.) Not the only merit of this volume is its insistence on the continuity of Persian culture regardless of countless waves of invasion. Easily the most significant section treats of the achievements of the present shah (concerning whose rise to power Furon is perhaps most understandably reticent), and here the weaknesses of the regime are carefully pointed out, e.g., the incompetence of natives who become factory superintendents after a totally inadequate training abroad ("ils ont des diplomes et cela suffit"). The student of modern Iran will be interested in a brief résumé of the exploitation of the Iranian oil fields and the tables of imports and exports. There is in this volume, however, little for the serious historian, although the historical sections comprise its greater bulk. The sources employed are almost entirely secondary, and although the author is full of enthusiasm and brings to his subject a meritorious freshness of approach, the history related is exceedingly sketchy and, at times, inaccurate. While it is flattering to the reviewer to have his delineation of Elamite history followed so closely, he could nevertheless wish that a more critical attitude on historical problems had been displayed. Thus Autran's view that the Tamils of India spread the Mithra cult, that they reached the Mediterranean and were the Phoenicians, is mentioned without criticism. Further, says the author, "We know absolutely nothing" of the Medes. Assuredly we know more than the oft-told tale of Herodotus, which is retold in this volume. The statement, "Achaemenid art appears to have produced nothing

new", is contrary to the facts, and, though the author could not be aware of their importance, the seal impressions on Elamite tablets from Persepolis now being studied in the Oriental Institute will revolutionize our ideas of that art.

GEORGE G. CAMERON.

Conrad Jacob Hildebrandt's dreifache schwedische Gesandtschaftsreise nach Siebenbürgen, der Ukraine, und Constantinopel, 1656-1658. Edited by FRANZ BABINGER. (Leiden, Brill, 1937, pp. xxx, 259, 6 gld.) Dr. Babinger has edited for general use a memoir which throws light at many points on the seventeenth century life of Poles, Hungarians, Ukrainians, Rumanians, and Turks. He has assembled in his introduction and notes a vast amount of helpful supplementary material and has provided a useful index. Hildebrandt was a young theological student, who accompanied Gotthard Welling, ambassador of King Charles X of Sweden, on journeys which lasted from May, 1656, to July, 1658. The object was to obtain alliances for the king's great war against Poland. Hildebrandt leaves it for the most part to his principals to record the political aspects and purposes of the journeys. His interest is revealed in describing the important towns which were visited and the customs, costumes, buildings, and religious interests of the peoples. Incidents of travel and original poems of no especial merit adorn the narrative. Information is given about the products of the regions traversed and about the difficulties of money and exchange. The author made use of diaries written on the journeys and at times in preparing his final manuscript took information from other works (a list is given on page xv).

ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

The Conflict of European and Eastern Algonkian Cultures, 1504-1700: A Study in Canadian Civilization. By ALFRED GOLDSWORTHY BAILEY. (Saint John, New Brunswick Museum, 1937, pp. 206.) Dr. Bailey has made a painstaking search in the earliest records of the French and English territories of the north for materials which might give a clue to the reciprocal effects of one culture (white) upon another (Indian). As would be expected, he finds that the material and social effects of white upon Indian culture were so destructive as to be practically eradicating. Naturally he has more references to material culture than to social, but even here the knowledge we gain is vague and unsatisfactory. It is of course still more so when he comes to social and spiritual matters. It was the duty of the pioneers to report converts, and report they did. They were astonished, for example, at the place of maple sugar in the economy of the Indians, and they reported their astonishment but very little of the unique "maple sugar complex" itself. Similar and even more naïve are the messages to church and state on social, psychological, religious, philosophical, and ethical matters. It is as if, at the present time, we who have the opportunity to study natives at first hand were to accept our results from the reports of the Department of Indian Affairs. Try as conscientiously as he would, Dr. Bailey has exerted his efforts on sterile soil. The book is useful, however, in gathering together selective material from the *Jesuit Relations*. The author's point of view is largely apologetic, although he does not consistently take sides. The bibliography is a long reading list rather than a selected bibliography of titles pertaining to the subject.

GLADYS A. REICHARD.

The Life of J. H. W. Stuckenberg, Theologian, Philosopher, Sociologist. By JOHN O. EVJEN. (Minneapolis, Lutheran Free Church Publishing Company, 1938, pp. 535, \$3.00.) Except in the early part of his career, when he was a chaplain in the Civil War, a pastor for brief periods of one or two Lutheran churches,

and a professor (1873-80) in Wittenberg College, Stuckenberg had little formal connection with American institutions or activities. He was "absorbed in the rich *Geistesleben* of two continents" and was most at home in Germany, where he spent some seventeen years of his life, during fourteen of which he was pastor of the American Church in Berlin. He interpreted German thought in articles published regularly in the United States and was the author of substantial works on philosophy and sociology, now superseded but considered important in their time. His biographer, having been entrusted with an embarrassing amount of material upon which to draw, has presented in copious detail the facts of his subject's life and has compared his views with those of other scholars in the same fields. It is unfortunate that he did not provide an index, for the book records much that might be suggestive to other writers. HARRIS E. STARR.

Background for Chamberlain: A Turn-of-the-Century Plan for European Peace.

By Count SERGAY IULIEVICH VITTE. Translated with an Introduction and Notes by THOMAS C. WILSON. (Philadelphia, 3908 Baltimore Avenue, 1938, pp. 29.) "It seems to the Translator of interest to present here, in the terms used many years ago by Count Vitte [1897; 1905], his own account of his own effort at establishing the peace of Europe in times that were as critical perhaps as the times through which the world is now charting its course. These excerpts . . . taken from his Memoirs . . . are translated fully and accurately here for the first time."

Le Kemalisme. By TEKIN ALP. Preface by Édouard Herriot. (Paris, Alcan, 1937, pp. viii, 298, 30 fr.) Tekin Alp is the Turkish name of Albert Cohen, a Macedonian of Jewish descent, who for some thirty years has been associated with the controlling group of the new Turkey. His book on *The Turkish and Pan-Turkish Ideal* (German text, 1915; English translation, 1917) foreshadowed the present more complete and profound study. The three parts of the book deal with the genesis of Kemalism, the path of Kemalism, and the Kemalist doctrine and ideology. This phraseology credits the leader, Mustafa Kemal Atatürk, with forming finally the entire inner structure of the New Turkey. "The Turkish nation shines when it has a hero at its head." The second part recites vigorously the steps of progress in Turkey from 1922 on, such as the separation of religion and state, the reform of hours and the calendar, the change of alphabet, the "Turkizing" of the language, the emancipation of women, the reconstruction of Turkish history, aid to farmers and workers, and humanitarian and artistic developments. The Kemalist ideology is treated according to the six symbolic "arrows": republicanism, nationalism, democracy, statism, laicism, and revolutionism. While most of these ideas are defined substantially as usual, the last takes the form of thorough approval of the revolution conducted by Atatürk, with condemnation of any attempt at a further revolution; and statism is embodied in a plan which combines individual and state capitalism. At the close the author admits that Kemalism is an ideal difficult of attainment in an old country which has long been noted for administrative weakness and corruption. He believes, however, that the "miraculous" progress of the last fifteen years will continue. ALBERT HOWE LYBYER.

Pope Pius the Eleventh. By PHILIP HUGHES. (New York, Sheed and Ward, 1937, pp. x, 318, \$3.00.) This is a carefully written study and one which carries an official imprimatur. The material on the Lateran Treaties and the statements in regard to the Abyssinian War and the situations in Germany and Spain are especially interesting.

Survey of International Affairs, 1936. By ARNOLD J. TOYNBEE, assisted by V. M. BOULTER. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 1006, \$14.00.) This volume maintains the high level of scholarship and readability that has characterized the earlier annual surveys issued under the auspices of the Royal Institute of International Affairs. Among the main themes of this survey are the resurgence of German power, the formation of the Rome-Berlin Axis, the acceleration of rearmament in democratic as well as in totalitarian countries, and the aggravated feeling of insecurity in the lesser European states. There are important sections on world economic affairs by H. V. Hodson, on the Montreux Convention regarding the regime of the Black Sea Straits by D. A. Routh, on the administration of the British Mandate for Palestine by H. Beeley, on the American Continent by Katharine Duff, and on the Far East by G. E. Hubbard. As Professor Toynbee puts it, the most conspicuous and widespread movement in the year 1936 was the retreat "of the forces that, since the peace settlement of A.D. 1920-I, had been supporting a collective system of international relations".

The Politics of Modern Spain. By FRANK E. MANUEL. Foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xiii, 194, \$1.50.)

Burgos Justice: A Year's Experience of Nationalist Spain. By RUIZ VILAPLANA. With a Foreword by Elliot Paul. (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. 241, \$2.00.) In the first of these books the Stalinite Communists, of all the contending groups on both sides in Spain, alone escape the lash of criticism. In the second Ruiz Vilaplana, a commissioner of justice in Burgos, who had been caught in Nationalist territory by the outbreak of the civil war and was out of sympathy with the cause of the rebel government from the outset, relates in detail his experiences with the White terror.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

L'enseignement de l'histoire contemporaine et les manuels scolaires allemands, à propos d'une tentative d'accord franco-allemand. [Société de l'Histoire de la Guerre.] (Paris, Alfred Costes, 1938, pp. 104, 8 fr.) This brochure, which is reprinted from the *Revue d'histoire de la guerre mondiale*, may be considered the aftermath of the agreement between certain French and German historians published in the spring of 1937 and translated in the issue of this journal for January, 1938, under the title, "War Guilt in France and Germany". M. Jules Isaac, one of the French participants in the discussion, gives the French side of the negotiations between the two groups; the French evidently feel that they have been badly "let down", not by their German collaborators but by the German authorities, who first sponsored and then practically repudiated the enterprise. This statement is followed by reports in which Professors Isaac, Georges Pagès, Pierre Renouvin, Paul Mantoux, and Étienne Weil-Raynal examine nineteen textbooks in history used in German schools, most of which have been written or revised since 1933. It may be said that French views of what constitutes "tendentious" writing will not always be accepted by American students, but in general the case against the German books is a strong one. What is the use of Hitler's proclaiming that Germany has ended her quarrel with France when German young people are allowed to absorb the perversions of history recorded in these textbooks? In conclusion there is a short statement of the efforts made in France since 1919 to eliminate hatred and tendentious writing from current textbooks.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

Official Map Publications: A Historical Sketch, and a Bibliographical Handbook of Current Maps and Mapping Services in the United States, Canada, Latin America, France, Great Britain, Germany, and Certain Other Countries. By

WALTER THIELE. Under the direction of A. F. Kuhlman. (Chicago, American Library Association, 1938, pp. xvi, 356, \$4.75, planographed.) "The primary purpose of this handbook is to serve as a guide to the map publications which are currently made available by national government mapping services." This purpose has been accomplished most fully in the chapters covering the official maps of the United States and Canada, in which the classified lists of maps are accompanied by explanatory and descriptive comment—an essential for the lay reader who may become a user or purchaser of maps of this type. There are also classified lists of the official maps of Great Britain and Germany, but the British maps covering the colonies and other regions overseas are not listed. Austria, Hungary, Norway, and the Netherlands are dealt with in eight pages, but all the remaining countries of Europe are omitted entirely. The continents of Asia and Africa are likewise omitted. The appendixes survey the maps issued by state governments and by various public planning organizations in the United States, as well as suggested outlines for the classification and cataloguing of maps. The first nine chapters, comprising over a third of the text, present a historical outline of the development of cartography. T. H. THOMAS.

Toponymie de la France. By AUGUSTE VINCENT. (Brussels, Librairie Générale, 1937, pp. 418, 100 fr.) This is an important study of the derivations of place names for the regions included in the France of today. It will be an indispensable tool for philologists, students of French literature, and historians. There is an extended, useful bibliography in the *Ouvrages cités*. G. C. BOYCE.

Index of Research Projects. Volume I. (Washington, Works Progress Administration, 1938, pp. vi, 291.) This is the first volume of a digest and index of the subject matter of relief research projects operated under the auspices of the Civil Works Administration, the several state emergency relief administrations, and the Works Progress Administration. The individual entries are either (1) summaries of final reports prepared on the basis of completed research projects, or (2) descriptions of projects for which summaries were not available at the time of publication. In most cases microfilm reproductions of these reports can be obtained at nominal cost. While the investigations cover the whole range of knowledge, 207 historical projects are listed in addition to overlapping social science investigations. Included are compilations of local and state historical materials and special studies of phases of American military history. Responsibility for research standards is shared by project sponsors.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

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ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

A Political History of Parthia. By NEILSON C. DEBEVOISE. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xliii, 303, \$3.00.) The particular strength of this book lies in the fact that the author has given a straightforward account of the Parthian state from its early beginnings to its downfall—an account that has long been needed, for no extensive study of Parthia has appeared since Rawlinson's *Sixth Great Oriental Monarchy* in 1873. He has limited himself to a political outline, but nevertheless, as the archaeological material mounts—from Dura-Europos, Seleucia on the Tigris, and other sites—this book will serve as a valuable framework, for Debevoise has read widely and has marshaled the evidence so that we have a good, consecutive story. The simultaneous appearance, however, of Tarn's *The Greeks in Bactria and India* makes much of the earlier part of Debevoise's book already out of date. The chapter on the Indo-Iranian frontier, for example, must now be thoroughly revised. The whole sweep of Bactrian history is misunderstood, for no one before Tarn has had a clear idea of its meaning. Similarly, Debevoise has missed the real significance of Antiochus IV. This is unfortunate, for Parthia did not exist *in vacuo*, and much depends on a correct understanding of her neighbors. It is encouraging to note, however, that the ancient East is steadily assuming its form, and congratulations are due to Debevoise for his share in the task.

C. A. ROBINSON, JR.

Geschichte des Altertums. By EDUARD MEYER. Band III, *Der Ausgang der alt-orientalischen Geschichte und der Aufstieg des Abendlandes bis zu den Perserkriegen*. Revised edition, edited by Hans Erich Stier. (Stuttgart, J. G. Cotta, 1937, pp. xix, 787, 28 M.) Of the 787 pages of this "third volume" only 96 pages are new. These cover the general history from Tiglath Pileser III to the beginning of the reign of Ashur-bani-apal. For the specialist there are interesting suggestions which he will duly weigh, but for the general reader the material is antiquated. It is no dull event by event narrative; Meyer was never capable of that. There are brilliant bits of synthesis, but the wider synthesis of Assyrian

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

culture Meyer could have given us was never written. Internal evidence suggests that the draft was written some time ago (for example, the reviewer's *Sargon* is cited but not his *History of Assyria*) and was later expanded somewhat but not thoroughly. The editor, in his preface, has mentioned a few of the many newly discovered documents which have revolutionized our whole conception of this period of history, but strangely enough neither Meyer nor his editor has mentioned the letters of the royal archives, nearly fifteen hundred contemporary documents, although long before Meyer wrote his draft they were available in the cuneiform and many studies had been made of individual letters. There is the same failure to use the Assyrian business documents. The remainder of the volume consists of reprints. Something might be said for the inclusion of the sketch of Zoroaster and Zoroastrianism, for the account in the first edition was hopelessly inadequate, and many might have missed the more adequate presentation in Meyer's *Christentums*. So much, however, has been learned since, notably the actual quotation of the Gathas in Darius's tomb inscription deciphered by Herzfeld, that this too is out of date.

A. T. OLMSTEAD.

Vassal-Queens and Some Contemporary Women in the Roman Empire. By GRACE HARRIET MACURDY. [The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology.] (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1937, pp. xi, 148, \$3.00.) This is a book about the "sinister and almost magnificent Herod" and "his baleful sister Salome, a wicked bird of prey", about Augustus's daughter Julia, "brilliant in her lewdness", about Boudicca of Britain, Zenobia of Palmyra, and a number of virtually unknown royal women of the first century A.D. Since we know next to nothing about these women, and since that little comes either from coins, from dedicatory inscriptions, or from odd sentences by various sycophantic writers of the Roman Empire, Professor Macurdy achieves a work of 148 pages by the simple technique of introducing details about the lives of fathers, sons, and brothers. All of which makes a long list of births, deaths, wars, and adulteries but nothing more. The handful of general remarks about the nature of the Roman Empire and its culture are most dogmatic and hardly helpful. Neither the liberal use of adjectives (illustrated by the opening sentence of this notice) nor the naïve approach to comparative sex mores adds to the scientific value of the book. Professor Macurdy's racialism—these vassal-queens lacked "the potent drop that ran in the conquering blood of the Macedonians and produced a Cleopatra"—is particularly unfortunate at the present moment.

M. I. FINKELSTEIN.

A History of Roman Religion. By FRANZ ALTHEIM. Translated by Harold Mattingly. (New York, Dutton, 1938, pp. xi, 548, \$5.00.)

Les cultes de mystères: L'ancienne rédemption païenne et le christianisme. By A. HOLLARD. (Paris, Berger-Levrault, 1938, pp. 106, 12 fr.) Professor Altheim is the head of a group of scholars, commonly known as the Frankfurt School, who have in the last ten years developed a point of view about the religion of the Roman Republic which is in many ways novel and which is of great value even when we are not disposed to accept all that it involves. His present volume is much more than a mere translation of the three slim books which appeared earlier under the same title in German. Professor Altheim has incorporated the results of a number of his subsequent inquiries, and the book will be indispensable even to those students who possess the original. Mr. Mattingly's translation has the merit of not reading like a translation, and I can heartily commend the result to all students of ancient history and of the history of religion. My forthcoming review in the *American Journal of Philology* gives a more detailed criticism than space will here permit. M. Hollard shows an enthusiastic interest

in his subject, and the suggestion (p. 55) that, when the initiate Lucius "trod Proserpina's threshold", he was in fact led by the chief priest before paintings, bas reliefs, sculptures "ou même tableaux vivants", representing the world of the dead, deserves consideration. Nevertheless, I cannot honestly recommend the work as a whole either to specialists or to the general public.

ARTHUR DARBY NOCK.

De Ara Victoriae in Curia Romana Quomodo Certatum Sit. By LEOCADIA MAŁU-
NOWICZ. (Wilna, Towarzystwa Przyjaciół Nauk w Wilnie, Skład Główny w
Księgarni Św. Wojciecha, 1937, pp. 122.) This dissertation, dedicated to the
famous fight between the Roman senate, under the leadership of Symmachus,
and the church, represented by Ambrosius, is the first comprehensive mono-
graph on the problem in the past fifty years. Paradoxically enough, the main
result of the author's critical investigation is that the title of her book is wrong
because, as her whole discussion shows and as her general conclusions emphasize,
the real issue was not the removal of the altar of Victory from the senate house
but the abolition of the material privileges of the Roman priests and temples by
the edict of Gratian. To have established definitely this fact and therewith
destroyed the widespread belief that the debate about the removal and restora-
tion of the Ara Victoriae was a kind of test case in which the pagan and Chris-
tian forces of the late fourth century were lined up to measure their strength
is the merit of this book. The careful analysis of the edict of Gratian and the
following discussion does not contribute, of itself, any new facts or viewpoints,
but the result of this systematic survey is new and important enough. Although
the author may underrate the genuine religious interest of both Symmachus and
Ambrosius, she is certainly right in stating that the romantic traditionalism of
the former as well as the dialectic skill of the latter were used for a purpose
largely screened by the oratorical discussion. Another fact resulting from this
survey is the use of the image as an abstract symbol, which remained in place
during the periods of the removal of the altar. As the author rightly points out,
this is in harmony with the use of figures of pagan gods on coins of Christian
emperors. It is important in the process of transformation from pagan to Chris-
tian art.

KARL LEHMANN-HARTLEBEN.

Coinage and Currency in Roman Britain. By C. H. V. SUTHERLAND. (New York,
Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xii, 184, plates xiv, \$3.50.) In this volume an
able numismatist has produced a survey of Roman currency in Britain, based on
a study of coin hoards and site-finds. Despite the limitations placed on the inter-
pretations of early hoards owing to laxity of publication, Mr. Sutherland has
been successful in giving a clear picture of the currency he treats from all angles
of approach. Maximum use has been made of the coin material as historical evi-
dence, thus making the study useful to every student of the Roman period. For
in the coinage there are reflected the activities of the central government, mili-
tary operations of Roman legions on the island itself, British reactions to eco-
nomic and monetary policies of the empire, and a possible alliance of Britain
with the short-lived Gallic empire of Postumus and the Tetrici. The author
makes full use of evidence supplied by the semi-official copies which existed
alongside the regular coins throughout the Roman period in Britain. These
pieces were manufactured, most likely, to supplement an insufficient amount of
currency. Important to numismatists are two appendixes devoted to problems
of dating and classification of the latest of these imitations, the so-called "radiate"
copies. Fourteen excellent plates reproduce local copies of Roman coin types and
serve mainly to illustrate the material discussed in these appendixes. A third

appendix lists with bibliographies the hoards on which the discussions of the main text are based. Because such a mass of material has been compressed into the 114 pages of discussion, the volume will not be found easy to read. Unfortunate also is the index, which, designed as it is for the numismatist, will prove useless to the historian in locating the material of greatest interest to him.

SAWYER MCA. MOSSER.

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

Seven Centuries of the Problem of Church and State. By FRANK GAVIN. [The Spencer Trask Lectures.] (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. 132, \$2.00.) The late author of these four lectures has managed to secure some unity through his introductory remarks to which he recurs from time to time in later chapters. Starting in the first lecture with the fundamental problem of adjustment between theory and practice, Dr. Gavin moves almost at once to a detailed discussion of Justinian and his contributions to canon as well as civil law. The second lecture, centered in Charlemagne and Gregory VII, is based largely on Mirbt, *Die Publizistik zur Zeitalter Gregors VII.* The short third lecture evidences the first "modernity" with its discussion of John of Salisbury and St. Bernard. The last begins with a critique of Thomas Aquinas and concludes with a discussion of the fundamental problem stated in the first. The text is amply supported by notes, which contain references to more than one hundred and fifty primary and secondary sources, exclusive of repetitions. It is unfortunate that the proofreaders overlooked so many irregularities in footnote form. Happily the text is not marred by similar imperfections, and one can follow with ease and pleasure the author's sane, unbiased analysis. The nature of the material dealt with precludes great originality of treatment. Dr. Gavin does not attempt to settle all problems, but, after examining the evidence, he leaves the reader with a set of stimulating questions in his mind. LESTER K. BORN.

Versuche zur Wiedererrichtung der lateinischen Herrschaft in Konstantinopel im Rahmen der abendländischen Politik, 1261 bis etwa 1310. By ERWIN DADE. (Jena, Walter Biedermann, 1938, pp. xvii, 158, 4.80 M.) This book deals with the interesting question of the attempts to re-establish the Latin power in Constantinople from 1261 to about 1310 in connection with the general West European policy of that time. It consists of two parts: the first is devoted to plans for a crusade against Constantinople formulated by Charles of Anjou (pp. 5-71); the second part deals with the attempts to organize a crusade by Charles of Valois, brother of Philip IV of France, and the Catalan companies, which at that time were active in the East (pp. 72-157). The year 1310 as that in which the book ends is explained by the fact that in that year the Catalans took possession of the Duchy of Athens and ceased to have any connection with crusading projects. The book is based upon a wide knowledge of numerous and

various original sources, both Byzantine and West European, and of secondary works. It deals especially with political events and diplomatic combinations of the epoch and touches upon social and economic conditions only casually. The author shows the extreme importance of Charles of Anjou's movement against Byzantium, when for a time the very existence of the Eastern Empire was threatened by the powerful king of the two Sicilies, whose successful advance was stopped, and stopped forever, by the Sicilian Vespers in 1282. Dade shows that the next period, that of Charles of Valois and the Catalans, was much less important. It never progressed beyond negotiations and plans, so that it held no real danger for the politically impotent empire of the Palaeologi. The book contains a good list of sources and literary works, but unfortunately it has no index.

A. VASILIEV.

Episcopal Appointments and Patronage in the Reign of Edward II: A Study in the Relations of Church and State. By WALDO E. L. SMITH. (Chicago, American Society of Church History, 1938, pp. xv, 144, \$2.25.) Episcopal appointments are treated in the first two chapters and patronage in the last four. Each subject is introduced by a brief sketch of its earlier history. The appointments to English sees during the reign of Edward II are followed chronologically. It is convenient to have the details of each appointment, though they do not lead to significant new conclusions. The study of patronage is not designed to be comprehensive. It is confined primarily to disputed cases, the attempt of Edward II to fill vacant benefices in episcopal patronage when the temporalities were in his hands without vacancies in the sees, the royal exercise of the rights of advowson possessed by the confiscated alien priories, and the effect of *Execrabilis* upon royal patronage. In large measure it supplements Miss Deeley's article on "Papal Provision and Royal Rights of Patronage in the Early Fourteenth Century" (*Eng. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 497-527), supplying additional evidence and some divergent conclusions. The book concludes with an appendix of documents drawn almost entirely from manuscripts. The treatment of these topics is not exhaustive. The author, for example, has not used the registers of Clement V published *in extenso* by the Benedictines but has contented himself with the summaries of Bliss, which are not always trustworthy. In addition to the printed episcopal registers he has consulted some of the most important available only in manuscript, but further exploration of the diocesan archives would yield some additional material. On the other hand, he has searched some of the manuscripts in the Public Record Office to great advantage. Particularly valuable is the information which he has derived from the plea rolls concerning disputes between king and pope over patronage.

W. E. LUNT.

Bo Jonsson. I. Till 1375. By STEN ENGSTRÖM. (Uppsala, Wretmans Boktryckeri A.-B., 1935, pp. xxxi, 331.) This is the story of the most remarkable man in Swedish medieval annals. From 1354 to his death in 1386 he was the most active, the most powerful, and the most feared man in Sweden. By dubious transactions he reached high position in the Folkung dynasty under King Magnus and the highest position in the realm in the Mecklenburg dynasty under King Albert. Before his death, nevertheless, he struck a blow at royal, particularly German, usurpation of power in Sweden and in favor of the aristocracy. His Shylock methods garnered for him larger holdings than any man in Sweden as well as the disfavor of his contemporaries. Munch, Styffe, Tunberg, and especially Holger Rossman have written on the life of this unique and neglected character. Engström differs from Rossman in emphasizing the political activities of Bo, which were more or less subordinated in Rossman's work, and

this makes his study particularly significant for the critical epoch in which Swedish nationalism made its appearance under the leadership of the aristocracy as against royalist intervention. Engström's book is more than a biography; it is a detailed study of the important period in which Swedish national sentiment was born. Unfortunately, only the first part has been finished, and the author expresses doubt whether he will ever find time to complete the study. He relies to a great extent on printed and manuscript sources and corrects misreadings of original texts by editors of printed collections of sources as well as misinterpretations of such materials by former writers. The footnotes abound in new and valuable information. The language of the text is clear and forceful, at times even elegant.

DAVID K. BJORK.

Records of some Sessions of the Peace in Lincolnshire, 1360-1375. Edited by ROSAMOND SILLEM. (Hereford, Lincoln Record Society, 1937, pp. xcii, 325, 25s.) Once relegated to the limbo of antiquarian inquiry, English local court minutes have lately come into their own as historical sources fully as important as the more impressive records of the central courts. In these pages Miss Sillem has resurrected rolls of the sessions held by Lincoln justices of peace in the parts of Holland, Kesteven, and Lindsey in 1360, 1361, and 1373, and to supplement the meager data found in the minutes she has transcribed king's bench and gaol delivery rolls containing references to the cases initiated at sessions. The social and economic historian will find here a picture of labor and business conditions and much information on governmental regulation of prices and wages. For the genealogist the editor's faithful transcription will supply a wealth of material on family and place names. The legal historian may be disappointed because these records fail to furnish any indication that felonies were tried at sessions, although the editor points out that justices of peace were given authority by their commissions in 1373 to hear and determine felonies. Furthermore, there is no clear evidence of trials for trespass at sessions since these, the only extant sessions minutes, were for the most part a record merely of cases prepared for delivery into king's bench or gaol delivery, and the clerk of the upper court, in line with later practice, may simply have endorsed king's bench or gaol delivery findings on the sessions record.

THOMAS R. NAUGHTON.

Year Books of Richard II: 11 Richard II, 1387-1388. Edited by ISOBEL D. THORNLEY, with a Commentary upon the Cases by THEODORE F. T. PLUCKNETT. (Cambridge, Ames Foundation, Harvard Law School, 1937, pp. lxii, 351.) This volume is the third of a series covering consecutively the middle years of Richard II. In spite of a political upheaval which at the time caused several of the justices to be impeached and condemned, no disturbance appears in the even tenor of the courts. As to the practice of reporting and the construction of the year books little is added to what has already been well said (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 652), but in the compilation of the court rolls Miss Thornley points to the evidence of certain marginal notes on the membranes, which were sometimes concealed in the binding and sometimes cut off in the trimming. It is believed that these were the rough memoranda from which the clerk made up the final record, depending for the rest upon his discretion and a fallible memory. Taken in connection with the abridgments of Fitzherbert and others, these notes, so far as they survive, are useful in framing abstracts of the cases. In at least one instance a misunderstanding of Fitzherbert is corrected. Among the various actions at law perhaps the greatest novelty appears in what is known as trespass on the case, which was based on neither tort nor contract, as when a physician failed to effect a cure or when a horsetrader sold a diseased animal.

The action of account was being extended from its original purpose to cover the liability of a carrier on the road. A case of uses in the common pleas is a reminder of the possibility that such interests might have remained under the common law, while other examples, as when deeds were withheld by fraud and force, make evident the need of courts of equity. In the elucidation of such problems the editorial chapters are most valuable.

J. F. BALDWIN.

Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry IV. Volume V, Index Volume, 1399-1413. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. viii, 948, \$12.80.) A separate index volume for the calendars of a reign, instead of an index for each volume, is of doubtful convenience; but the extensive use of such topical headings as "proclamations", "taxation", "ships and shipping" is most helpful.

Calendar of the Close Rolls preserved in the Public Record Office. Henry VI. Volumes III and IV, 1435-47. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, The British Library of Information, 1937, pp. vii, 721; vii, 678, \$10.50; \$9.25.) The text of these two volumes was prepared by the late W. H. B. Bird, and the second of them was indexed and seen through the press by the late J. R. Crompton, to whom many visitors of the Public Record Office owe a debt of gratitude. They contain little on the broader aspects of English history which is not in print elsewhere, but in details of administration, family relationships, and local topography they are rich. Recognizances, quitclaims, gifts, grants of annuities, instructions to local officials fill the pages. Yet from these *trivialia* emerges some information of moment. Most revealing perhaps of the quitclaims is that of Humphrey, duke of Gloucester, in favor of the king's new college at Eton. Evidence of the council functioning as a court, a function affirmed by parliament in 1454 and 1487 (*pro camera stellata*), is not infrequent. Disturbers of the peace, especially in the North, were summoned before it. We may now read the regulation of March 3, 1439, repeating and enforcing one of 1430, which ordered men having £40 a year in lands and rents to take upon themselves the order of knighthood. Some of the results of scarcity and plague in 1438 are indicated.

H. L. GRAY.

Isaac Abravanel: Six Lectures. With an Introductory Essay by H. Loewe. Edited by J. B. TREND and H. LOEWE. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xxvii, 157, \$2.50.) Most impressive among the numerous celebrations of the Abravanel quingentenary was that held at Cambridge University in the autumn of 1937. The six lectures delivered on that occasion, and now permanently recorded, cover a wide range, from Professor Llubera's general survey of Spain in the age of Abravanel to A. R. Milburn's brief summary of the life and philosophy of Leone Ebreo, Don Isaac's son. The greater part of the book is devoted to an examination of the elder Abravanel's literary and exegetical work by Doctors Gaster and Rabinowitz, and of his philosophic and political teachings by Dr. Leo Strauss. Don Isaac's political views are well summed up in Dr. Strauss's brilliant essay as the restatement of "the aristocratic and anti-monarchist view of Josephus in terms of the Christian distinction between the authority spiritual and the authority temporal" (p. 127). Abravanel's life is much more briefly treated in the first lecture by Paul Goodman and, with some amplification in detail, in H. Loewe's introductory essay. Because of the great latitude left to the individual authors and the editors' self-imposed restraint there is an enormous amount of repetition. Even more regrettable is the almost exclusive emphasis upon Abravanel's literary achievements,

which—like those of many of his Christian contemporaries writing for the highly appreciative Renaissance audience—found immediate and widespread acclaim far beyond their intrinsic merits. One looks here in vain for a detailed examination of Abravanel's practical attainments as the fiscal adviser of two monarchies and one republic and as the recognized leader of his coreligionists during the great crisis of their exile from Spain in 1492. SALO W. BARON.

The Two Earliest Masonic MSS.: The Regius MS. (B. M. Bibl. Reg. 17 A1), the Cooke MS. (B. M. Add. MS. 23198). Transcribed and edited by DOUGLAS KNOOP, G. P. JONES, and DOUGLAS HAMER. (Manchester, Manchester University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 215, 12s. 6d.) The editors here add another significant study to those they have already published on the history of masonry. Students of the history of building, medieval social customs, and language will find much of interest in these poems and in the excellent introductory essay.

Franciscan History and Legend in English Mediaeval Art. Edited by A. G. LITTLE. [British Society of Franciscan Studies.] (Manchester, University Press, 1937, pp. xix, 118, 21s.) Essays on wall painting, screen painting, glass, embroideries, illuminated manuscripts, sculpture, and seals make up this volume. There are excellent illustrations, of the high quality to be expected from Emery Walker Ltd., although the material has iconographical rather than aesthetic interest. There is, unfortunately, no attempt to relate the subject matter of the essays and the illustrations to medieval English art as a whole.

ELEANOR PATTERSON SPENCER.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

- Strafford. By the Earl of Birkenhead. (London, Hutchinson, 1938, pp. 351, 21s.) It is probably significant that three full-length biographies of the Earl of Strafford have been published during the last seven years, but if so, it concerns the present. Those interested in the seventeenth century can be grateful

that the Earl of Birkenhead has been given access to the Wentworth Woodhouse archives, a privilege of which he has made excellent use. He has also searched the archives of the Duke of Rutland at Belvoir, of Lord Saye and Sele, and of Mr. Jervoise of Herriard. From the last he prints an extract from an unpublished parliamentary diary of 1626. Although his study contains no bibliography and but a scanty index, text and notes show a careful use of published works. Manuscript materials appear to be excellently chosen and transcribed. He writes easily and vividly. The picture of Strafford, one of the greatest administrators England has ever produced, seldom differs from that drawn by earlier biographers but is the clearest and best that has appeared. Unlike his predecessors, the Earl of Birkenhead believes that Strafford (then Sir Thomas Wentworth) retained his leadership of the parliament of 1628 to the close of the session and agrees with Miss Wedgwood in attributing to him the new energy of the privy council in the early thirties. Admiration for his subject's honesty, efficiency, and unquenchable loyalty, together with the spectacle of a trial during which Strafford, an invalid wracked by exhaustion and physical pain, dauntlessly defended himself against his merciless enemies, perhaps leads the author to minimize Black Tom's haughty pride and domineering, irascible temper. Strafford's own age, as well as later ones, recognized that the execution was based upon "a terrified disregard of humanity, honour, and the sanctity of law", but few have hitherto coupled it with democracy's "surging into triumph through murder, war, and desolation".

G. W. GRAY.

The Domesday of Crown Lands: A Study of the Legislation, Surveys, and Sales of Royal Estates under the Commonwealth. By SIDNEY J. MADGE. [London School of Economics and Political Science.] (London, Routledge, 1938, pp. xvii, 499, 25s.) "Critical examination of evidence is the dulllest kind of historical research", the author of the present volume quotes a previous writer as saying, "and the analysis of surveys is the dulllest kind of critical work." Nonetheless, with a spirit of patient industry which is as admirable as it is rare, Mr. Madge has plunged into one of the most difficult, obscure, and complicated studies imaginable and has produced a work which—allowing for all the criticism it is sure to evoke—is a marvel of minute and meticulous investigation. After an introductory section on the crown lands before the Stuart period, he begins his study with the transfers of those possessions during the Commonwealth, their surveys and sales, and concludes with the restoration of them at the accession of Charles II, with some observations on their later history—actually, in his last paragraph, noting their revenue in 1936 and Lord Hugh Cecil's observation in the *Times* of May, 1937, to the effect that the profits of the crown lands, which are now administered by parliamentary commissioners, "more than defray the cost of maintaining the dignity of the Crown", so that the king would be richer if, as once, he "lived of his own". The mass of materials is so vast, the references and miscellaneous information, supplemented by an enormous bibliography and appendixes which in turn supplement the bibliography, are so extensive, that one wonders how one lifetime—or several—sufficed to produce this weighty and impressive contribution. It is, and it must be, only an introduction to its subject, a guide to its materials, at once a promise and a threat to the investigator of social history. It would be easy to find fault with little problems of statement, but in spite of all the criticisms which may be leveled against it, this must remain an enduring monument to the industry of the author and an invaluable guide to all searchers in this field.

W. C. ABBOTT.

History of the Bombay Army. By Sir PATRICK CADELL. (New York, Longmans, 1938, pp. xv, 362, \$7.00.) The Bombay Army began its career as an English regiment sent to garrison the colony that came to Charles II as part of Katherine of Braganza's dowry. It soon became necessary to recruit the regiment locally, and some of the most interesting sections of this book describe the native races who enlisted. Marathas always provided the bulk of the army; and in the World War some of its best fighters were the Mahsuds, who at the same time were very troublesome in India. The importance of European officers repeatedly appears; they might be "base-born adventurers" who "could not live without flesh and strong drink", but without them the sepoy would not give of his best. The army's operations expanded with the growth of the British Empire in India but were not confined to India. Bombay troops were sent against the French in Egypt in 1801; they provided most of the forces employed in the Persian War of 1856 and the Abyssinian War of 1867; they were brought to Malta to impress Russia in the war scare of 1878; and in the World War Bombay troops did well on the western front as well as in Mesopotamia and East Africa. In this long story defeats are remarkably few, though Maiwand gave Bombay regiments an undeserved bad name. The author has used Indian sources as well as English, and his narrative is clear and readable; but the general reader may wish that he had given more of the political background of the wars he describes.

RICHARD GLOVER.

Calendar of State Papers, Domestic Series. October 1, 1683-April 30, 1684. May 1, 1684-February 5, 1685. Edited by F. H. BLACKBURNE DANIELL and FRANCIS BICKLEY. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, The British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xx, 511; xxxi, 462, \$7.75 each.) These two volumes are of great value for the light which they shed on the main features of the then prevailing "Tory Reaction". Officialdom is engaged in a sustained and often successful effort to ferret out and punish all persons connected with subversive plots. The Duke of York is again at the king's side and once more flies the flag of the admiral of England. Rumors of an impending parliament are occasionally current but are dispelled by official pronouncement. The Stationers Company and Sir Roger L'Estrange are actively endeavoring to suppress seditious publications. Moreover, materials here made available accent the importance of the equally strenuous effort of the day to regulate municipal corporations and the liveried companies of London. Surrenders and petitions, references and warrants, orders for court action and pertinent correspondence, all afford evidence of intense activity in this regard. It is regrettable, however, that more discriminating treatment has not been accorded the warrants and accompanying "papers of heads" for the new charters which were the ultimate result of such regulations. Since significant details, recognized as such by the editors in some entries and in their prefaces, are so often omitted, it is not possible to form effective generalizations on the basis of the printed evidence. Included in the volumes are interesting references to interlopers in the East India and Guinea trade, to the fortunes of the Bermuda Company, and to the practice of transporting malefactors. A notable series of newsletters appears in the volume for 1684-85, while the calendared documents of 1683-84 present convincing evidence of the importance of the office of secretary of state when Sir Lionel Jenkins was its incumbent.

R. H. GEORGE.

Isaac Newton, 1642-1727. By J. W. N. SULLIVAN. With a Memoir of the Author by Charles Singer. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xx, 275, \$2.50.) This volume

makes little contribution to an understanding of Newton's import. It adds nothing of vital moment to Professor More's study, nor does it supply a fresh and stimulating synthesis. Although it lacks the conventional trappings of scholarship, it is clear that Mr. Sullivan relies upon the standard sources and authorities. His purpose, indeed, is neither to add to the source material nor, presumably, to interpret the sociological significance of Newtonian science. As in his earlier volumes, Mr. Sullivan essays to tint the pale abstractions of learning with the color of life and to translate the language of genius into the vernacular of meaning. Despite Mr. Singer's noble Memoir, Newton remains palely angelic. Glimpses of throbbing personality occasionally emerge in the correspondence with Hooke and Leibnitz, but the well-known facts—that Newton was exhausted by his scientific labors, that he regarded other matters as of more importance than scientific research, that he completed his major scientific work at an early age—support no novel correlations. Few will question that the hypotheses of science and the creators of scientific hypotheses require prolonged historical analysis, but few will find that this book makes Newton less remote or Newtonian implications socially meaningful. As Mr. Sullivan's view of certain aspects of Newton's life it has value, but it is hard to share Mr. Singer's feeling that this book can be ranked with Sullivan's best.

BERT JAMES LOEWENBERG.

Admiral Arthur Phillip: Founder of New South Wales, 1738-1814. By GEORGE MACKANESS. (Sydney, Angus and Robertson, 1937, pp. xvi, 536, 12s. 6d.) Dr. Mackaness, who has already written substantial biographies of Admiral Bligh and Sir Joseph Banks, gives us in the present volume a detailed study of Admiral Phillip. He has made a painstaking examination of documents bearing on Phillip's life before his appointment to New South Wales. Little or nothing is revealed that would help to explain Phillip's career at Sydney, and without this significance this part of the story remains rather pointless and dull. Fortunately it is also short. The final section of the book, which deals with Phillip's life after his return from Australia, suffers from the same defect as the first. It is neither significant in itself, nor does it throw any essential light back on the Australian period. When Phillip sails away from Sydney the reader will wish rather to remain behind to see what happened after Phillip's hand had been withdrawn. Despite the biographical form, Dr. Mackaness's story is centered on Sydney, not on Phillip. Even in the Australian period it is Phillip the administrator rather than Phillip the man who stands revealed. With this limitation the picture drawn is consistent and vivid. It was a small world Phillip was called upon to rule. It did not require great administrative ability. What it did require was morale, and this little man had that steadfastness which was essential. The author refuses to be drawn beyond his records. While this has set bounds to his biographical interpretation, it has enabled him to present us with a fresh, detailed, and thoroughly scholarly account of this critical period in the history of New South Wales, with many details of the development of the dependency of Norfolk Island thrown in for good measure. There is an elaborate bibliography and a useful index. The addition of a map to show the relation of Sydney to the area surrounding it which was explored by Phillip would have been useful.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

William Cowper, Humanitarian. By LODWICK C. HARTLEY. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. ix, 277, \$2.50.) In this study Dr. Hartley has made an important contribution toward filling the twilight zone between English literature and English history. He has not merely availed himself of the Cowper materials but has also drawn upon his wide knowledge of

eighteenth century poets, minor as well as major, novelists, pamphleteers, and other fugitive writers, hitherto not analyzed and synthesized for this purpose. He has digested these masses of materials, organized them with clarity and skill, and made the book good reading besides. The notes alone are invaluable, if not indispensable, for a study of the later eighteenth century decades of humanitarian movements. They happily contain a select critical bibliography with specific references and might well have been covered in the index to the volume. It is commendable, moreover, that the author has reversed the order of many modern biographers: instead of reveling in a great man's physical or mental peculiarities, he has devoted himself to the more difficult task of explaining the power and the significance of the leading poet of evangelicalism and humanitarianism. William Cowper used his abilities as a writer in part to further the crusades of his time: education, pacifism, kindness to animals, legal reforms, missionary activity, fair play for India, and abolition of the slave trade. His part in each of these movements, in the days before the emergence of the modern state, Dr. Hartley traces with great clarity. This study is indispensable to all students of eighteenth century humanitarianism. FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Harp that Once—A Chronicle of the Life of Thomas Moore. By HOWARD MUMFORD JONES. (New York, Holt, 1937, pp. xvi, 365, \$3.50.) Moore's own age thought highly of him. He was paid £3000 for *Lalla Rookh*, £3500 for the *Life of Byron*, and £3000 was paid for his own *Memoirs*. He wrote a novel, he wrote biography, he wrote history. The collected edition of his poems fills ten volumes, and Lord John Russell required eight volumes for his life of Moore. Somewhat annoyed by the now prevalent opinion that Moore was overrated and overpaid in his own lifetime, Professor Jones tries to show that he was not only a considerable poet but also a consistent idealist, satirist, and political thinker, who "killed himself in the service of Ireland". Perhaps the very difficulty of the task challenged the biographer. For, as he shows, the Irish patriot began as an admirer of the prince regent, shifted to personal satire of the regent, shifted to violent advocacy of reform, and then shifted to attacking reform, each shift being followed by better pay, better prospects, or more pension. But his biographer, following him through all the complexities of charge and counter-charge, concludes that Moore's integrity as a patriot remains. Nor will Professor Jones let Moore's poetical fame rest on the three or four songs known to everyone. He cites many unfamiliar passages, of which he asserts flatly: "The brief quotations given offer to the trained ear a wealth of prosodic invention, a treasury of technical resource which neither Byron nor Wordsworth ever acquired". Probably the untrained ear will continue to prefer the work of the great romantic poets, but at least it has been given a chance to make comparisons. C. W. EVERETT.

England seit 1815: Politik, Volk, Wirtschaft. By CARL BRINKMANN. Revised edition. (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. 342, 7.50 M.) The original edition of Professor Brinkmann's *England seit 1815* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXX, 644) ended with the approach of the World War. In extending a second edition to include the war and the postwar era Professor Brinkmann has done more than append additional chapters; both in text and bibliography he has recast the original to give the whole a new unity of design. The new chapters—virtually a world history from 1914 to 1938—have been constricted, *mirabile dictu*, into forty-six pages, a feat in brevity beside which many an encyclopedia article might seem discursive. A less gifted writer would have reduced such a task to something like a catalogue, but with a skill wholly remarkable Professor Brinkmann

contrives to impart to this closely packed multitude of details a clear sense of direction and connectedness and to impose a judgment upon men and events revealing the sure touch of critical scholarship. The bibliography is confined to standard published books, the biographical kind predominating. It seems inexplicable that Edward VIII is nowhere mentioned by name, nor is reference made to the circumstances of his abdication. Oddly enough, also, Hitler and Mussolini are, perhaps respectfully, omitted, though lesser contemporary personages from the entire world overcrowd the picture. The author's preoccupation with the unitary character of the British Commonwealth of Nations may have induced him to let the Ottawa Conference and the Statute of Westminster edge out such matters as the completion of woman's suffrage, reconstruction in local government, and the recent impetus towards rearmament. The book is meant to portray for Germans the British model of a dignified, sane, and successful world imperialism. Nevertheless, English readers, used to an English flavor in British history, will find both challenge and stimulus from this concise, German presentation of a well-worn theme.

C. E. FRYER.

Gladstone. By ERICH EYCK. Translated by Bernard Miall. (London, Allen and Unwin, 1938, pp. 506, 15s.) The author, a non-Aryan German now living in London, was a prominent attorney in Berlin before the wave of national hysteria drove him into exile. Depressed and bewildered by the mad actions of the present generation, he has evidently sought escape by studying the past. In the political thought and work of Gladstone he has found evidence of the courage and the vision lacking in the men who now seemingly guide the destinies of Europe. The great English statesman has become his hero. The Gladstone portrayed by Dr. Eyck is the man of faith, the leader in the fight for liberty and justice, the denouncer of King Bomba and the unspeakable Turk. Few sources have been tapped, but Dr. Eyck has read widely on the life and work of Gladstone and his contemporaries. The biography is devoted almost exclusively to the public life of Gladstone. The author's legal training and experience are revealed in the logical arrangement of the material and in the way he presents his facts. The story is told more clearly and vividly than is usually the case with historical narratives, especially when the author is a German, and the translation is so excellent that the reader is not conscious of it. A few slips have been noted, but the book is in general very accurate.

PAUL KNAPLUND.

The Migration of British Capital to 1875. By LELAND HAMILTON JENKS, Professor of Social Institutions, Wellesley College (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. 442, \$4.00.) This standard treatise, originally published in 1927 and out of print for some time, has been reissued as of 1938, presumably in anticipation of Professor Jenks's further studies.

Public Service in Great Britain. By HIRAM MILLER STOUT. With an Introduction by W. Y. Elliott. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xx, 189, \$2.50.) As Professor Elliott points out in his cordial introduction to Dr. Stout's brief study, its reconsideration of the already much discussed British civil service is justified by the novelty of relating it continuously to public policy and to parliament's control of public policy. The product is an unpretentious but assured account for the general student which is kept both intimate and interesting by apt use of anecdotal illustration. Naturally it is somewhat more comprehensive and unhurried in description than in critical analysis, but the objects and tenor of adverse criticism and the defensive replies are fairly enough indicated to give the reader ground for his own conclusions. A good many com-

plexities have to be rather loosely generalized, notably the problem of the technical expert within the service and in relation to parliament, the vague legality and intricacy of the pension system, the role of establishment officers, and so on. Dr. Stout occasionally errs, as in a statement about Joseph Chamberlain at the colonial office (p. 160), where, misled by Charles Buller's quip about Mr. Mother Country, he completely overlooks Lord John Russell and Earl Grey. In general, however, he shows close acquaintance with the past two or three generations in Great Britain, he maintains a critical approach, and he is able to call convincingly upon French, German, and American comparisons to heighten the effectiveness of his treatise.

J. B. BREBNER.

The Crucial Problem of Imperial Development. With a Foreword by the Right Hon. MALCOLM MACDONALD. (New York, published for the Royal Empire Society by Longmans, 1938, pp. xiii, 201, \$2.40.) This book is a report of a conference on economic development within the British Empire, which was convened in 1937 by the Royal Empire Society. Its somewhat ambitious aim was to survey the possibilities of increasing production and consumption, and to this purpose it discusses such comprehensive and diverse topics as encouraging village industries, agricultural co-operation, raising of dietary standards, educating women, and increasing capital investment in different parts of the empire. Its proposals are vague, and its chief value lies in the accounts given of the attempts which have already been made to deal with the individual problems of each country. The index is inadequate.

R. MACG. DAWSON.

India Office Library Catalogue of Manuscripts in European Languages. Volume II, part II, section 1, *Minor Collections and Miscellaneous Manuscripts, Nos. 1-538.* By the late GEORGE RUSBY KAYE and EDWARD HAMILTON JOHNSTON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office for the India Office, 1937, pp. xix, 1167, 30s.) Two earlier parts of this catalogue appeared in 1916 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXIII, 704). The appearance of this section, as well as the announcement of other sections and parts, is very welcome.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

The House of Guise. By HENRY DWIGHT SEDGWICK. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938, pp. 324, \$5.00.) This is an attempt at a popular presentation of the subject rather than a work of scholarship. To the author the Guises appear as romantic heroes, and consequently their role during the so-called wars of religion is glorified. Concerning Henry, the third duke of Guise, he writes that it was through the efforts of this duke "more than by those of any other man, that France was kept a member of Latin Christendom" (p. 300). Considerable attention is devoted to the famous women of the period—Diane de Poitiers, Antoinette de Bourbon, Marguerite de Valois, Catherine de Médicis, and others. In addition to using some of the conventional histories of the sixteenth century, Mr. Sedgwick quotes rather extensively from the poets of the age, including Ronsard, Du Bellay, Baif, and Dorat, while the racy memoirs of Brantôme provide many an amusing anecdote. The book contains a number of attractive illustrations, a useful chronological table, and a serviceable index. The brief bibliography is unsatisfactory in form and in arrangement, and there are a number of significant omissions. Seemingly the author has not made use of such documentary collections of this period as those compiled by L. P. Gachard, L. Paris, and others. There are a few mistakes in dates. Although this book has little for the scholar, it may serve its purpose of entertaining the layman.

BERNARD C. WEBER.

Correspondance de la cour d'Espagne sur les affaires des Pays-Bas. Tome VI, *Supplément, 1598-1700*. By JOSEPH CUVELIER and JOSEPH LEFÈVRE. [Académie Royale de Belgique, Commission Royale d'Histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1937, pp. x, 919.) This is the final volume of a calendar of documents

dealing with the history of the Spanish Netherlands during the seventeenth century. The preparation of this calendar was undertaken by Henri Lonchay in 1906 and was continued after his death by Cuvelier and Lefèvre. This volume contains supplements to documents published in the first five volumes.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

Études sur l'histoire administrative et sociale de l'ancien régime. Published under the direction of GEORGES PAGÈS. [Société d'Histoire moderne.] (Paris, Félix Alcan, 1938, pp. 223, 40 fr.) These articles have all appeared in recent numbers of the *Revue d'histoire moderne*. Their subjects are closely related, however, and it is convenient to have them in this form. M. Pagès studies the beginnings of the separation of the *conseil du roi* into more or less separate divisions at the time of Louis XIII, when it was still predominantly a single council. M. Bouteron edits an extremely interesting memoir written by B.-F. Balzac, father of the novelist, which makes very clear the organization and working of the council in the reign of Louis XVI. Two useful studies on the *subdélégués* follow, one by M. Ricommard on their seventeenth century beginnings, the other a detailed analysis of the role of the *subdélégués généraux* in eighteenth century Brittany. From the two together one gets a clear notion of the *ad hoc* beginnings of the work done under the intendants and of the almost Anglo-Saxon planlessness under which the institutions of the later *ancien régime* grew up. Mlle. Suzanne Monriot contributes an essay in economic rather than in administrative history, an analysis of the role of the forests in F.-anche-Comté from 1774 to 1789 but with a good deal of useful detail on the attempt to control bureaucratically this phase of economic activity. Finally M. Heumann writes about Antoine Feydeau, head both of the *ferme des aides* and the *gabelles*, a financier and administrator who went hopelessly bankrupt in 1624. His essay is of especial value as showing that something like the interconnection between private speculation, government finance, and tax-collecting represented by the career of John Law was possible a century earlier.

CRANE BRINTON.

English Witnesses of the French Revolution. Edited by J. M. THOMPSON. (Oxford, Basil Blackwell, 1938, pp. xii, 267, 10s. 6d.) So comprehensive has been the search which Mr. Thompson has made for his witnesses and so sure his judgment in the selection of their testimony that he has produced a volume of rare interest, covering most phases of the Revolution up to the close of 1796. Naturally many familiar names appear—Arthur Young, Edward Rigby, Dr. John Moore, the two British ambassadors, Dorset and Gower, with their chargés or agents, Hailes, Fitzgerald, Lindsay, and Monro—but also many others whose testimony is commonly overlooked. One choice is doubtful, J. G. Millingen, several times quoted, for he was an old man when he undertook to recall what he had observed as a boy of eight or ten. On the whole the testimony of these Englishmen, and of a few English women, reads like a cool breeze blowing through the heated atmosphere of contemporary French revolutionary writing. It is interesting to find among the witnesses George Hammond, first British minister to the new American Republic, though not "at Washington", as the editor says. Possibly to avoid the appearance of pedantry, the editor's introductory notes are sometimes too scanty, in a few cases not giving even the title of the work from which the selection is made and never adding page references. The index leaves much to be desired.

H. E. BOURNE.

Robespierre vu par ses contemporains. By LOUIS JACOB. [Les classiques de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Armand Colin, 1938, pp. 225, 32 fr.) Among the studies

which the late Albert Mathiez lived only long enough to project was a garner of the testimony of Robespierre's contemporaries. It was his passionate desire to use that material as a preface and basis for a biography of the Incorruptible and by means of it "to sit in judgment on the [Thermidorian] legend and destroy it by confronting it with the truth". M. Jacob has executed this project in a small but exceedingly valuable source book of testimonials. The treatment is chronological, and within each unit the material is further subdivided into two sections—the contemporaneous judgments about the period or events concerned and those which were made after Thermidor. M. Jacob does not attempt to conceal his endorsement of M. Mathiez's conclusion concerning Robespierre's personality and public career, but his approach as editor is impartial enough to satisfy the staunchest opponent of his and Mathiez's revaluation. Intent where at all possible upon culling the most interesting opinions, especially from unpublished sources, he leaves the final verdict to his readers, confident that the collected judgments, critically appraised, will speak for themselves in corroboration of his own views. This they presumably will do so far as the conscious reasoning of the reader is concerned; that they will substantially affect or alter his unconscious preconceptions is a hope which the reviewer is unable to share.

LEO GERSHOY.

Napoleon in der englischen Geschichtsschreibung von den Zeitgenossen bis zur Gegenwart. By WOLFGANG MAILAHN. (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1937, pp. 156, 7 M.) It has long been recognized that the main currents in the history of France during the past century and a quarter can be traced in the works produced in that country upon the career of Napoleon. There has been less appreciation of the fact that the same can be asserted with practically equal validity of other lands. Almost everywhere the production of Napoleonic literature has been on so stupendous a scale that no major trend, of political thought at least, has failed to receive reflection in it. Of this the little book of Dr. Mailahn is a useful reminder. The treatment is necessarily chronological. No attempt is made to present a complete survey of the available literature, yet the author is not content with a consideration of the better-known works, as he is ever anxious to bring out each tendency and point of view. Though even the most recent publications give evidence of political and national bias, Dr. Mailahn traces a steady advance in the quality of historical criticism. Napoleon's English contemporaries usually permitted their prejudices to dominate their views, even going the length of refusing to credit him with military genius. In contrast to this the least friendly of his twentieth century critics are prepared to recognize his extraordinary talents. At times one could wish that the treatment had been related even more closely to English political currents. HAROLD C. DEUTSCH.

Journal de Marie-Amélie de Bourbon des Deux-Siciles, Duchesse d'Orléans. Volume II, 1814-1822. Publié par S. A. R. la Duchesse de Vendôme, Princesse HENRIETTE DE BELGIQUE. Préface de Georges Goyau. (Paris, Plon, 1938, pp. x, 348, 20 fr.) The present volume of the diary of the consort of Louis-Philippe carries us from Palermo to Paris in 1814, tells us much of the *beau monde* of the French capital in the early years of the reign of the restored Bourbons, shares with us the pains and joys of the birth of several of the future queen's children, and provides a veritable Baedeker of much of Paris and provincial France, minutely observed by the already patriotic princess. Her great-granddaughter, the Duchess of Vendôme, continues the pious—and courageous—task of mining in the massive twenty-four volume Italian diary of her ancestress and intersperses her findings with comments of her own and with copious excerpts from

the well-known writings of La Gorce, Trognon, Recouly, and others. The impression is one of a lady who led the life of a pious Catholic and devoted wife. The story is told with grace and charm, but those who are interested in the serious history of the period—and notably in the political activities of Louis-Philippe—will be disappointed: the diary adds very little indeed to our knowledge of the Restoration.

DONALD C. MCKAY.

Achille Murat en Belgique: Un citoyen américain au service de notre Révolution, 1831-1832. By MAURICE-A. ARNOULD. (Brussels, "L'Avenir", 1938, pp. 86.) Basing his account primarily upon Murat's letter book in the Bibliothèque nationale, Arnould recounts in detail an episode in the life of a man distinguished by little save a great name. This son of the Napoleonic king of Naples left his Florida home for England when he learned of the revolution of 1830 in France. Involved at first in a complicated Bonapartist intrigue, he quickly abandoned his schemes for operations in France, went to Belgium, and there became colonel of a foreign legion which never materialized. Due to French opposition he soon lost even this post and had to return in penury to America without having struck a blow in the cause nearest his heart, that of Italian independence.

PAUL D. EVANS.

Mon temps. By GABRIEL HANOTAUX. Volume II, *La Troisième République: Gambetta et Jules Ferry.* (Paris, Société de l'Histoire nationale, 1938, pp. 531, 40 fr.) After an interval of five years the second volume of these memoirs carries the recollections of the eminent French statesman and scholar as far as the overthrow of Jules Ferry. It has not quite the charm of the earlier volume, which dealt with a youth spent in Picardy during the last years of the Second Empire, but it records intimate impressions of Gambetta and Ferry. Hanotaux was assistant "chef de cabinet" during the ministry of each. He attempts no history of the period, limiting himself to personal reactions. He gives an account of the share he had, with Albert Sorel and others, in making the archives of the ministry of foreign affairs accessible to scholars. The last section, entitled "L'incrédulité et la religion", presents a curious sketch of the age-long conflict between Christianity and unbelief, reaching back to the epoch when Constantine "décida de l'ordre du monde en se prononçant pour Jésus-Crucifié". In the vicissitudes of this conflict the Masons are given an important role.

H. E. BOURNE.

Morocco as a French Economic Venture: A Study of Open Door Imperialism. By MELVIN M. KNIGHT. With a Preface by Charles A. Beard. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1937, pp. x, 244, \$2.25.) The national economic venture of the French in Morocco provides an excellent case study of imperialism in the age of boom and depression. In the period of the war and the postwar boom Morocco experienced an unplanned expansion which in time competed with French national enterprise. When this competition was felt, the government regulated Moroccan economy to make it "complementary" rather than competitive. To do this it was necessary to abrogate the open door and move from the associationist policy of Lyautey to the "old colonial system" of centralized empire. The advisory administration has extended state aid and regulation to such an extent that Professor Knight considers the Permanent Economic Defense Committee a prototype of fascist structure. He thinks the current opinion that "imperialism does not pay" cannot be established. No balance sheet, in strict definition, can be made of colonial profits and losses in view of the statistics, concepts, and prejudices involved. This experience of French imperialism in the postwar age and its analysis by Professor Knight point to the need for similar case studies of other

regions. Only then can concepts of modern imperialism be brought into line with the economic realities of the postwar world, and until then judgments of imperialism will be based on facts made obsolete by the depression.

FRANCIS WILLIAMSON.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY.

E. N. Anderson

Das Hochstift Basel im ausgehenden Mittelalter: Quellen und Forschungen. Edited by KONRAD W. HIERONIMUS. [Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft.] (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 1938, pp. 624, 25 Swiss fr.) This volume constitutes an invaluable prelude to the set described below in that it publishes in a critical edition the text in Latin and German of the *Ceremoniale Basiliensis Episcopatus*, a liturgical book of the Basel Cathedral composed by Hieronymus Brilinger in 1517, only a dozen years before the cessation of Catholic services through the introduction of the Reformation. The *Ceremoniale* is of interest not only for liturgy but also for pageantry in that the forms are given not merely for the Christian year but likewise for the proclamation of papal indulgences and for the reception of papal legates, kings, emperors, and empresses. The lengthy introduction gives much valuable information with regard to the aristocracy of Basel, which in the late Middle Ages made increasing use of the cathedral appointments as a device for providing younger sons with berths and all too frequently sinecures. There are rumblings of the usual quarrels between the bishop and the chapter as well as of the financial difficulties of the foundation, which was thoroughly impoverished by the time of the Reformation.

ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Aktensammlung zur Geschichte der Basler Reformation in den Jahren 1519 bis Anfang 1534. Edited by PAUL ROTH. Band III, 1528 bis Juni, 1529. [Historische und Antiquarische Gesellschaft.] (Basel, Universitätsbibliothek, 1937, pp. 680, 23 Swiss fr.) This magnificent collection of materials on the Reformation in Basel is at last complete. Volume I was brought out in 1921 by the late Emil Dürr, whose kindness to foreign students the reviewer gratefully remembers. Volume II appeared in 1933 (see *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 115-16) in collaboration with Paul Roth, who alone has completed the third volume. The materials here assembled do not alter the essential picture of the Reformation in Basel because the crucial documents were already available in print, and some of them had been utilized in manuscript by such historians as Ochs and Wackernagel. The present publication offers us a critical text, a collection of materials widely scattered, and a rich context for the major documents. For example, we have known hitherto the important edicts against the Anabaptists. Now we see how frequently particular Anabaptists were hailed before the authorities, and how liberal was the government in the light of its premises. The great interest in this volume lies in the tumultuous introduction of the Reform in 1529. Social and religious unrest coalesced. The town council temporized. The mob took things into its own hands and indulged in a riot of image breaking. Thereupon the council gave legal sanction to a *fait accompli*. The story is told here from many angles. An index of names and places is appended, but unfortunately it does

not include subjects. There is no easy way, in consequence, of tracing the Anabaptists straight through. The material is not hard to find, however, because the heading *Urfehde* gives a clue to all the criminal cases. ROLAND H. BAINTON.

Ulrich von Hutten and the German Reformation. By HAYO HOLBORN. Translated by Roland H. Bainton. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. viii, 214, \$3.00.) A prominent character in the history of the German Reformation emerges from the relative obscurity of undeserved neglect in this portrait of Hutten. To be sure, much remains obscure. But all the light which can legitimately be drawn from extant sources and recent critical studies has been utilized by the author with painstaking care. He has done more than that, however, for he has placed Hutten skillfully in the setting of the early Reformation years without distorting or oversimplifying his relations with conflicting parties. Hutten appears as a knight who did not entirely submerge himself in his class, as a humanist who went his own way despite his admiration for Erasmus, as a "Lutheran" who never completely identified himself with Luther, and as a religious traditionalist who broke sharply with Rome. Professor Holborn avoids the mistakes of earlier biographers, who have either magnified or slighted Hutten's role in the dawning Reformation movement. The result is a discriminating and balanced, if not always living, portrait of the knight "who could turn the molehills of his life into mountains and charge up and down them with foaming steed". The present work is more than a translation of the author's biography, which was published in German eight years earlier. It represents a fresh revision and an expansion. Some of the changes were introduced to answer the needs of English readers, and additional relevant works of American and English scholars are cited. A useful bibliographical note is appended.

THEODORE G. TAPPERT.

Wallenstein, Soldier under Saturn: A Biography. By FRANCIS WATSON. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. xii, 439, \$4.00.) This is easily the most competent study on Wallenstein that has yet been published in the English language. Far from being an imaginative character study such as that of Ricarda Huch, it is a critical biography that must be taken seriously, though it may have been written for a nonprofessional public. The historical specialist will criticize the excessive inflation of unassimilated detail in the earlier chapters and the unaccountable contraction of the narrative in the last years, culminating in Wallenstein's assassination, where full detail is indispensable to intelligibility; he will balk at the overdramatization of the undramatic and the lack of precision and clarity in sketching the larger historical environment in which the enigmatic career of Wallenstein unfolded itself. Once allowances for these obvious deficiencies have been made, however, the reader may entrust himself to Mr. Watson with confident assurance. The book is well written and makes fascinating reading. It is based on astonishingly wide study of the sources, displays complete familiarity with the older work of Hallwich and the more recent studies of Ernstberger, Srbik, and Pekar, and is grounded—so he assures us—on independent investigation in the Prague and Viennese archives. That Mr. Watson's reading of the career of Wallenstein should have resulted in a rehabilitation of the statesman and soldier is only in keeping with the trend of recent scholarship. The reader will be grateful for the excellent chapter, based on Ernstberger's work, on Wallenstein the economist and businessman and for the critical acumen, restraint, and sanity of judgment that pervade the discussion of the numerous controversial issues of Wallenstein's second commission as generalissimo of the imperial forces. With a deft hand the author gathers all the strains that lead to

the assassination, although in his haste to conclude he has oversimplified this final phase of Wallenstein's career.

WALTER L. DORN.

Aristocracy and the Middle-Classes in Germany: Social Types in German Literature, 1830-1900. By ERNST KOHN-BRAMSTEDT. With a Foreword by G. P. Gooch. (London, P. S. King, 1937, pp. xii, 362, 15s.) In this book the author endeavors, with the aid of the novel, family journal, and similar literary sources, to describe and analyze relations between the aristocracy and the middle classes of northern Germany during the period from 1830 to 1900. His second aim is to clarify the social position and function of individual authors and of whole groups of individual writers who were engaged as sympathizing spectators rather than as active participants in the struggle between the aristocracy and the bourgeoisie for prestige and power. Accordingly, throughout the book emphasis is put not on the intrinsic merits of the literary works under discussion but on their timely political and social content. It is a provocative study in the relatively new field of social literary history, which is concerned with the mutual illustration of the history of literature by social history and of social history by the history of literature. Dr. Kohn-Bramstedt realizes the advisability of employing as documentation only literary material which can be substantiated in nonfictional sources. Apart from its original approach and methodological significance the book proves to be a valuable contribution to our knowledge of nineteenth century German society and German literature.

HANS ROSENBERG.

Bevölkerungsgeschichte Deutschlands. By ERICH KEYSER. (Leipzig, S. Hirzel, 1938, pp. xi, 360, 10 M.) The author of this book attempts to open up and set the limits to "the most important subject of historical study for the near future", namely, "the history of the structure, number, nature and territorial expanse" of population groups. Choosing Germany as the geographic area of research, he investigates each national or racial group within the population. Cultural values and the influence of political events stand outside the range of his interest, as does the history of families and clans. The author, who has published many studies in this field, sums up adequately the known data on the subject and, deploring the absence of monographic literature, calls for further scientific research. He might have applied advantageously a little scientific method to his own National Socialistic postulates.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Svensk Handelsstatistik, 1637-1737: Samtida Bearbetningar [Swedish Statistics of Foreign Trade, 1637-1737: Contemporary Accounts]. With an Introductory Chapter in English by BERTIL BOËTHIUS and ELI F. HECKSCHER. (Stockholm, Aktiebolaget Thule, 1938, pp. xlviii, 803.) This volume makes available for scholars a valuable collection of statistical tables for Sweden, Finland, and the leading commercial ports and presents it in its original form. This material has been accessible hitherto only in the manuscript volumes preserved in the Swedish *Rikssarkiv*. The only statistical materials of importance for the economic history of Scandinavia in early modern times that have been published before this are: Nina Ellinger Bang and Knud Horst, *Tabeller over Skibsfart og Varetransport gennem Øresund, 1497-1660; 1661-1783* (4 vols., 1906-33); tables of Swedish imports and exports, 1637-1640 and 1645, in *Rikskansleren Axel Oxenstiernas skrifter och brevveksling*, 2d ser., XI (1905), 687-836; materials for the period before 1571, digested by the founder of Swedish economic history, Hans Forssell, in his *Sveriges Inre Historia från Gustav I* (Stockholm, 1875); and those specifically relating to Finland, in two competent monographs by T. S. Dillner

(1894 and 1897). The present volume not only provides important clues to the economic history of cities like Stockholm and Gothenburg but, through occasional *sammandrag* or summaries, gives a statistical picture for particular years of Sweden's and Finland's trade balances. The statistics are not complete. The missing volumes of manuscript were probably used for gun wadding by Swedish soldiers. The scholar may lament the gaps in the record, but he must be grateful to the editors for publishing the significant fragments that have survived.

WALDEMAR WESTERGAARD.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

- La soluzione unitaria del risorgimento, 1849-1871*. By ALDO FERRARI. [Biblioteca Storica del Risorgimento Italiano.] (Milan, Albrighi, Segati, 1938, pp. viii, 235, 10 l.) This little volume is the fourth of a series in which the author has pre-

sented a survey of the Italian national revolution from 1748 to 1871. It is a political history, clear, vigorous, concise, which follows continuously only the main line of political evolution, that traced by the action of Piedmont. But it is not merely a political narrative. Nonpolitical elements are introduced as crystallized in principles. The principles are liberty, equality, and nationality, whose evolution in Italian thought and politics the author has followed throughout his work. The result is a synthesis, rather than a summary of factual data, in terms of these ideals. In this volume the Risorgimento culminates as the victory of the legitimate interests of Italy "in a true and intrinsic victory of right". Italian historiography has not yet prepared the ground for a synthesis of the Risorgimento in any but political and intellectual terms, and it may be doubted if Professor Ferrari would wish to achieve one in any other terms. He brings to history the mind of a thinker with idealistic tendencies. His work makes a strong appeal to the reflective reader. The principles which sum up for him the tendencies of Italian life become neither mere abstractions nor autonomous forces. They operate through a play of circumstances on which he has a firm grasp and through the thought and action of leaders whom he has brought to life in sketches which are thumbnail masterpieces. Unfortunately the final chapter, "The Intellectual Movement", is not successfully integrated with the others.

KENT ROBERTS GREENFIELD.

Lettere dall'Esilio, 1853-1860. By FRANCESCO DE SANCTIS. Collected and edited by BENEDETTO CROCE. [Biblioteca di Cultura Moderna.] (Bari, Laterza, 1938, pp. 370, 25 l.) This volume contains a considerable number of letters written by Francesco De Sanctis, a distinguished liberal of the Risorgimento, author of a famous history of Italian literature and precursor of Benedetto Croce. They deal with a variety of subjects, personal, literary, intellectual, and political. Most of them were written from Zurich, where De Sanctis had found a post teaching Italian literature after his expulsion from Naples in 1853. It is always interesting, and at times moving, to follow the vicissitudes of his career from the beginning of his exile to the achievement of Italian unity. The letters in this volume will be integrated in a complete edition of De Sanctis's correspondence which is now being prepared. It may be noted here that we owe to Croce's indefatigable researches over a long period of years the abundant material now available on De Sanctis.

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CZECHOSLOVAKIA AND YUGOSLAVIA

Hans Kohn

V branách nového věku, 1450-1650. Edited by JOSEF ŠUSTA. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. xxxii, 731, Kc. 150.) This is a fifth volume of a new world history by leading Czech historians. It covers the period from the capture of Constantinople

to the Peace of Westphalia. The Slavonic peoples and the Near East receive more detailed treatment than is usually the case in similar works. Bohemia and Hungary are reviewed by O. Odložilík, Poland and Russia by J. Bidlo, and the Near East by J. Rypka. The volume contains many illustrations in the text and eighteen separate plates, and it maintains very high typographical standards.

Państwa Bałkańskie 1800-1923: Zarys historii dyplomatycznej i rozwoju terytorialnego. By HENRYK BATOWSKI. (Cracow, Prace Polskiego Towarzystwa dla badań Europy Wschodniej i Bliskiego Wschodu, No. XV, 1938, pp. 337.) Batowski offers a detailed and excellently documented political history of the Balkan countries, with special emphasis upon territorial changes and developments. He includes in his discussion the Bukovina, the Banat, and the Dalmatian islands, which, though not part of the Balkan peninsula, have played a role in the development of recent Balkan political geography.

Slovanská vzájemnost 1836-1936. Edited by Jiří HORÁK. (Prague, Orbis, 1938, pp. 428, Kc. 60.) This book is a symposium in commemoration of the hundredth anniversary of the famous writing of Jan Kollár, *Über die literarische Wechselseitigkeit zwischen den verschiedenen Stämmen und Mundarten der slavischen Nation*, the first great document of early Pan Slavism. Fr. Wollman discusses Kollár as the representative of Slavonic messianism, A. Štefánek analyzes Kollár's nationalism, and other authors show the echo which Kollár's program evoked among the Southern Slavs, the Russians, the Ukrainians, the Poles, and the Slovaks. There is a résumé of the articles in French.

Přemyslovci a Lucemburkové. Ikonomografická řada českých králů středověkých. By ANTONÍN FRIEDL. (Prague, Melantrich, 1938, pp. 61, 40 tables, Kc. 150.) This volume presents for the first time an iconographic study of the medieval Czech kings of the Přemysl and Luxemburg dynasties. The author used two manuscripts preserved in the archives of the city of Iglau which offer the only authentic pictures of the Czech kings dating from the Middle Ages. All the pictures are stylized and probably bear no portrait-like resemblance. The text contains a résumé in French.

Středověká kolonizace v zemích českých. By Y. V. ŠIMÁK. (Prague, Jan Laichter, 1938, pp. vii, 810, Kc. 115.) This forms the fifth part of the first section of the *České Dějiny* (Czech History) started by Václav Novotný. It contains a detailed history of colonization in Bohemia and to a lesser extent in Moravia during the later Middle Ages.

Briefe Johannis von Neumarkt vom Mittelalter zur Reformation. Edited by PAUL PRUK. (Berlin, Weidmann, 1938, pp. xlix, 554, 39 M.) This edition of the letters of the chancellor of Emperor Charles IV contains 360 letters, of which 140 were previously unpublished. All except five were originally written in Latin. In recent years the personality and the work of Johann von Neumarkt have attracted the attention of several scholars, among whom Conrad Burdach used the chancellor's letters to Petrarch, and Josef Klapper published the German writings in three volumes. The present publication is the first modern scholarly edition of the Latin letters.

Regesta fondu militare archivu ministerstva vnitra R Č S v Praze. Volume II, 1590-1617. Edited by VÁCLAV LÍVA. (Prague, Circle for the Study of Military History at the Military Institute, 1938, pp. xiii, 546.) This military material is published for the first time. The Turkish wars during the period of Rudolph II employed a large number of Bohemian forces.

Národnostný problém Trnavskej univerzity. By BRANISLAV VARSÍK. (Bratislava, Safarik Academy of Science, 1938, pp. vii, 259, Kc. 54.) The University of Trnava was founded about three hundred years ago by the Jesuits and was attended by Hungarian, Slovak, and other students. The author analyzes the national composition of the student body and emphasizes the part played in its history by Slovak students.

Počátky České společnosti nauk do konce XVIII. stol. Volume I, 1774-1789. By JAROSLAV PROKEŠ. (Prague, Royal Czech Society of Sciences, 1938, pp. x, 362, Kc. 80.) This study deals with the history of the first fifteen years of the Royal Czech Society of Sciences, which was founded in 1774, played a leading role in the awakening of Czech national consciousness under the influence of the Enlightenment, and still exists under its ancient name. It is based upon original research and presents an important contribution to a better understanding of late eighteenth century Bohemia, when the foundations of modern Bohemian life were laid by a small group of scholarly and patriotic aristocrats.

T. G. Masaryk: Soupis Tisků. By JAROMÍR DOLEŽAL. (Prague, Orbis, 1938, pp. 296, Kc. 30.) This is a most complete bibliography of Masaryk's writings and of the writings about him, containing more than one thousand titles. All languages are included, translations are always noted, and of the writings about Masaryk not only all books but also all articles in periodicals, with the exception of daily newspapers, are listed. The work gives the impression of great completeness and of bibliographical exactitude.

Milan Srškić, 1880-1937. Edited by MILUTIN POPOVIĆ. (Sarajevo, Izdanje Odbora za izdavanje Spomenice M.S., 1938, pp. 255, Din. 100.) This book was published in memory of the Bosnian statesman who was a member of the Bosnian diet before the World War, deserted from the Austrian army during the war, became later one of the protagonists of the policy of Serbian predominance in Yugoslavia, was repeatedly a member of the cabinet, and was finally prime minister from 1932 to 1934. It contains much interesting material, both for the prewar history of Bosnia and for the recent history of Yugoslavia, where Srškić enjoyed the confidence of King Alexander I.

Kroz Istoriju Srba: Kralj Milan u Njegovo Doba. By SVETOLIK M. GRENEŃAĆ. (Belgrade, S. B. Cvijanović, 1938, pp. xvi, 158, Din. 25.) This book represents a point of view which is now rarely held by Serb historians. It shares the viewpoint of the former nationalist Serbian party, the Naprednjaci, and defends the Austrophil policy of King Milan. It is hostile to Russia and to Russian influence in the Balkans.

Pachitch et l'union des Yougoslaves. By COMTE SFORZA. (Paris, Gallimard, 1938, pp. 253, 20 fr.) In this book Count Sforza erects a monument of warm tribute to the memory of the Serbian statesman. The first part deals with the history of Serbia prior to the World War and with the role which Pašić played as the leader of the radical party and as prime minister. The second and more important part deals with the years of the World War and those immediately following, in which Sforza himself played a great role through his negotiations with Pašić. The book does not profess to be an objective and fully rounded picture of the epoch and the man, but it reflects the intentions of the author as the man responsible for Italian foreign policy with respect to the settlement of the Italo-Yugoslav questions.

Biografija Jaše Tomića u razvoju lične ideologije. By VLASTOJE D. ALEKSIJEVIĆ. (Belgrade, Globus Press, 1938, pp. 127, Din. 25.) This book contains a biography

and an analysis of the development of the personal ideology of Tomić, who had been a socialist in his youth and later became a leading Serb nationalist in the then Hungarian Vojvodina. By his connections with the radical party in Serbia Tomić gave to the Serbs in Hungary a Serbian democratic program, into which he wove many economic and social reforms. He also wrote many poems and novels, without artistic value but full of vigorous propaganda for Serbian nationalism.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Lektsii po russkoi istorii. Volume I, *Kievskaya Rus'* [lectures in Russian history: Kievan Russia]. By A. E. PRESNYAKOV. (Moscow, Gos. sotz.-ekon. izdat., 1938, pp. 279, 5.45 r.) These lectures were delivered annually at the University of St. Petersburg for many years prior to the brilliant historian's death in 1929. They were not designed for publication. The text was rewritten in 1915-16, but part of it has unfortunately been lost, and as a result the last seven chapters of the sixteen which make up the book follow an earlier version, composed in 1907-1908. This last section is of small value, since its substance is embodied in Presnyakov's dissertation, *Knyazhoye pravo v drevnei Rusi* [princely law in ancient Russia], published as far back as 1909. The first section, on the other hand, is of great interest. The author's approach here to the fundamental problems of early Russian history is both authoritative and original. His views underwent considerable change: while at first he attributed the leading role in the development of early Russian civilization to the alien, Varangian factor, he ended by emphasizing the part played by native Slav elements. The supplements to the volume include a paper dealing with the problems of the protohistory of Eastern Europe and an essay on Vilhelm Thomsen's views of early Russian history, written in 1927 on the occasion of the fiftieth anniversary of the publication of Thomsen's remarkable Oxford lectures entitled *The Relation between Ancient Russia and Scandinavia and the Origin of the Russian State*.

Alexandre 1^{er}: Un tsar énigmatique. By MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE. (Paris, Plon, 1937, pp. 315.)

The Enigmatic Czar: The Life of Alexander I of Russia. By MAURICE PALÉOLOGUE. Translated from the French by Edwin and Willa Muir. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. 325, \$3.50.) This biographical study presents Alexander I as the tender-hearted, neurotic emperor, a hereditary victim of a "suspicious degenerate . . . that monster, that 'deaths-head' who was known as Paul I". The tragedy deepened further to truly Macbethian dimensions when the psychological guilt of parricide entered into the already melancholy soul of Alexander. But Alexander was by no means so tender and easily swayed, not even by characters like Metternich. Joseph de Maistre records an interesting utterance made to him by Alexander and cited by Paléologue: "I recall a remark that Napoleon made to me during our talks in Erfurt: 'In war it is obstinacy that counts; that is what has won me my battles.' Very well, I shall show him that I have not forgotten his lesson." The events of 1813-1814 proved that Alexander did learn something from his Erfurt meeting. Paléologue describes this meeting with much skill. "Never perhaps had a conference between two rulers been packed with so many subterfuges and mystifications, so many lies and impostures." As a veteran diplomat he knows what he is talking about, and the statement can be taken on good faith. As the turbulent events continued to engulf Europe, Alexander became a continental figure. And from a national background Paléologue masterfully carries the characterization of the "enigmatic czar" to the international stage. Altogether, the study is a valuable contribution presented in a delightful style. The translation is exquisite. It is all the more welcome since, except for the brilliant short essay by the late A. A. Kiesewetter, there is scarcely an up-to-date monograph on the czar who at one time held the stage of Europe.

ANATOLE G. MAZOUR.

Au service de la Russie: Alexandre Iswolsky, correspondance diplomatique, 1906-1911. Compiled by HÉLÈNE ISWOLSKI. Introduction and Notes by GEORGES CHKLAVER. Volume I. (Paris, Éditions Internationales, 1937, pp. 438, 30 fr.) This is an exasperating book to read, and to review. It contains nearly two hundred private letters, a few written by Iswolski, the rest sent to him by the Russian ambassadors at Berlin, Vienna, Paris, Rome, and London. Most of them are of slight importance, and a large number have no importance whatsoever. Even the title is deceptive. There are letters for every year from 1906 to 1910, but the great majority, including all those worth reading, were written in 1906. On that year the volume throws a few fitful rays of light, though Iswolski's letters merely add confirmatory details to what has long been known from other sources. On the basis of this and similar volumes it seems possible to state with some confidence and much relief that the law of diminishing returns is beginning to operate in the field of diplomatic history.

R. J. SONTAG.

Vospominaniya [reminiscences]. By S. E. KRYZHANOVSKI. (Berlin, Petropolis, 1938, pp. 221.) Sergei Yefimovich Kryzhanovski was minister of the interior under Stolypin. After the latter's death he was appointed secretary of state, a post which he held until the end of the empire. The memoirs of this loyal servant of the czar are confined to the author's official career. They throw much revealing light on the political history of the last years of the old regime.

Vchera: Vospominaniya [yesterday: reminiscences]. By O. O. GRUZENBERG. (Paris, Dom Knigi, 1938, pp. 242.) These memoirs of the veteran Russian-Jewish jurist of prerevolutionary days should be of some interest to the historian of the last decades of the imperial regime.

V bor'be za rodinu, 1918-22 [fighting for our country]. By A. V. ZUYEV. (Harbin, Izdat. V. G. Zuyevoy, 1937, pp. 132.) These sketches by a participant in the Russian civil war relate to the part played in the conflict by the Orenburg Cossacks. The account is in the nature of personal reminiscences unsupported by any documentation. The author's purpose was to spur the youth who had grown up in the Dispersion to fight for the liberation of Russia from Bolshevik domination.

Na Kaspiiskom more: God beloï bor'by [on the Caspian Sea: a year of white struggle]. By N. N. LISHIN. (Prague, Izdanie Morskovo zhurnala, 1938, pp. 182.) The author of this book, a Russian naval officer, was a participant in the civil war on the anti-Bolshevik side. In 1918 and the first half of 1919 he chanced to be in the thick of the military and political events which were taking place in the Caspian region. The work deals with the British intervention in the Caucasus and Transcaspia, with the early history of the Azerbaijan Republic, and with events at Baku down to June, 1919. Some official documents and newspaper articles are cited, and a typewritten proclamation composed by a sailor is reproduced in facsimile. The book is a contribution to the knowledge of a relatively obscure phase of Russia's civil conflict.

Moi vospominaniya. Volume I, *V revolyutzii, 1917-1919* [my reminiscences: the revolution, 1917-1919]. By I. I. SEREBRENNIKOV. (Tientsin, Star Press, 1937, pp. 289.) This volume is an addition to the sizeable memoir literature produced by the notables, now exiled, who were active in the last years of the empire and during the civil war. The author, a geographer of moderately liberal views, lived at Irkutsk when the March revolution broke out, and he remained in eastern Siberia until January, 1920, when he voluntarily expatriated himself. After the Kerensky regime was overthrown, he took part in the anti-Bolshevik movement, serving as chairman of the administrative council of the so-called Siberian government, which was set up early in July, 1918. Subsequently he held the post of minister of supplies in Admiral Kolchak's cabinet. His story deals almost exclusively with public affairs.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Correspondance de Ferdinand Verbiest de la Compagnie de Jésus, 1623-1688, directeur de l'Observatoire de Pékin. By H. JOSSE, S.I., and L. WILLAERT, S.I. [Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais des Académies, 1938, pp. xxiv, 591, 65 fr.) Ferdinand Verbiest was of that notable succession of Jesuits who in the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries succeeded in planting Christianity so firmly in China that it survived a series of disasters in the eighteenth century and, largely because of the foundations thus laid, experienced a remarkable growth in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The device by which the door into closed China was pushed slightly ajar and a partial toleration of Christianity obtained was the establishment at Peking of a group of scholars who by their attainments in mathematics, astronomy, and mechanics won the respect of some of the *litterati* and made themselves useful to the imperial court. For several generations, with occasional interruptions, the imperial bureau of astronomy was under their direction. Of this Peking mission Verbiest was an outstanding leader. The volume before us is the most complete collection of his correspondence which has yet appeared. It is made up of letters from him and to him, most of them assembled by the late P. Henri Bosmans, S.J. Some of the documents have previously been published, but to them have been added a large number which have never before appeared in print. A few are from the period before Verbiest went to China (1657), but the majority cover his China experience and come down to the year of his death. Because of Verbiest's prominence in the China mission, the volume provides a valuable collection of source material for the history of Roman Catholic activity in China during the second half of the seventeenth century. Nothing in the volume alters the main outlines of what is already known, but details are amplified, and our knowledge of events is made fuller.

K. S. LATOURETTE.

More Letters from Basil Hall Chamberlain to Lafcadio Hearn and Letters from M. Toyama, Y. Tsubouchi, and Others. Compiled by KAZUO KOIZUMI. (Tokyo, Hokuseido Press; New York, Stechert, 1937, pp. viii, 208, \$3.50.) Among the Occidental scholars who took part in the reconstruction of Japan after the Restoration of 1868 it would be very difficult to find two who left a more lasting impression on Japanese culture than did B. H. Chamberlain and Lafcadio Hearn. Chamberlain studied the Japanese language in a modern, scientific way and published the first systematized Japanese grammar. He also made accessible to Western students for the first time the oldest annals of Japan, *Kojiki*, through his excellent English translation. But it was Hearn who revealed, through his inimitable exquisite word-painting, the heart and soul of Japanese culture, not

only to the Western people but even to the Japanese themselves. No two Western writers could be more different than were these two men in scholarly temperament and aesthetic preferences, as well as in social attitude, but the difference proved no hindrance to their close and abiding friendship. The letters here published stand as a testimony to the warm relationship that existed between them. Letters from Dr. M. Toyama, at that time dean of the Department of Art and Literature of Tokyo Imperial University, and from Dr. Y. Tsubouchi, head of the Department of Literature at Waseda University, which are included in this volume, give an interesting picture of institutions of higher learning in Japan.

RYUSAKU TSUNODA.

Japan in China. By T. A. Bisson. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 417, \$3.00.) Among the books on contemporary developments in the Far East that have appeared since Japan began its latest period of continental aggression in 1931 none is more readable in style, penetrating in analysis, and balanced in treatment than this volume by Mr. Bisson. As a member of the research staff of the Foreign Policy Association, he has closely followed events in the Far East for the past ten years, and much of the material relating to recent developments was gathered during a year of travel and investigation in Japan and China in 1937. The period covered in the book extends from the Tangku truce of 1933 to the first part of 1938. Mr. Bisson's strong sympathy for China's cause has led him at times to go beyond the evidence which he adduces in order to discredit Japanese policy, and a number of his conclusions will probably be subject to change in the light of additional evidence which the future will disclose. His book, however, will probably stand up exceptionally well under the test of time largely because of the author's mature grasp of the historical background of the period with which he deals.

The Real Conflict between China and Japan: An Analysis of Opposing Ideologies.

By HARLEY FARNSWORTH MACNAIR. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 215, \$2.00.) That ideological and psychological factors which exacerbate relations between peoples cannot be slighted in favor of economic and political factors by those who seek to understand such relationships, recent events in Europe have amply testified. In writings on Sino-Japanese relations these factors have been conspicuously minimized or ignored. Professor MacNair's book is therefore an important addition to the literature on contemporary developments in that field. It is devoted entirely to this aspect of events, and the treatment is essentially historical. The author traces from early times in both Japan and China the dominant political philosophies, concepts of the state, and the nature of the relationship between emperor and subject, which stand in such striking contrast. It is an approach which goes far to explain the differing rates of modernization in the two countries. In order to give the reader the flavor of the thought permeating their contrasting ideologies the author has wisely allowed their leaders and philosophers to speak directly through numerous translated quotations in the belief that "five indigenous words are worth a ream of description". The book is carefully and adequately documented, and there is an interesting appendix of observations by a recent resident of Japan on "The Contemporary Conflict in the Japanese Empire between Christian and Shinto Ideology".

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

Bibliography on German Settlements in Colonial North America, especially on the Pennsylvania Germans and their Descendants, 1683-1933. Compiled and edited by EMIL MEYNEN. (Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1937, pp. xxxvi, 636, 18 M.) This is the only comprehensive bibliography yet published of the colonial German-Americans and their descendants. The volume is a by-product of the original project of the compiler, who spent three years in the United States collecting material for a "cultural geographic survey of the Pennsylvania German habitat". His diligence and thoroughness are indicated by the fact that he

has catalogued more than seventy-eight hundred items, arranged under sixty-five different headings with numerous subdivisions. Almost half of the compilation deals with local history, biography, and genealogy. The book does not attempt to list all publications which might reasonably be expected to shed light on the civilization of the early German-Americans. For instance, no Pennsylvania German almanacs or newspapers or dialect writings are noted, but books and articles discussing these publications are given. It is difficult to judge how nearly complete the bibliography is within the limits set by the compiler. This reviewer has discovered a few serious omissions in the field with which he is especially familiar. No mention is made, for example, of Thomas's *The History of Printing in America* or of McCulloch's *Additional Memoranda for the History of Printing*—both of them outstanding pioneer works containing much information about the early German-American printers. Despite omissions, however, the book is so comprehensive that it is decidedly valuable to all those interested in the field of early German-American civilization. Although the year 1933 is set in the title as the final date of publication of the items listed, a few of a later date have been noted. There are complete author and surname indexes.

JAMES O. KNAUSS.

Makers of Christianity. Volume III, From John Cotton to Lyman Abbott. By WILLIAM WARREN SWEET. (New York, Henry Holt, 1937, pp. viii, 351, \$2.00.) Professor Sweet has supplied us here with succinct sketches of some two score "makers" of Christianity in America; some of these sketches are informative, and some, despite the handicap of a pedestrian style, are entertaining. No criterion of selection is suggested, but, granted the propriety of excluding all Catholics since the Revolution, the list is conventional and not objectionable. Mr. Sweet has, however, entirely failed to indicate in what way his makers contributed to the making of Christianity in America. He regards religion as an organized activity—particularly interesting when displayed in a frontier society—rather than as an intellectual, emotional, or spiritual experience. It is not so much what preachers preached, as the fact that they preached at all, that interests him; his book is therefore notable for the entire absence of any discussion of ideas. That the American environment affected church organization is indicated; that it in any way affected religious philosophy is scarcely suggested. There is consequently no explanation of the rise of Deism in the eighteenth century, the shift in New England from orthodoxy to heterodoxy and to radicalism, the shift in the South from liberalism to fundamentalism, the impact of the higher criticism, of Darwinism, of modern economic problems, upon Christianity. There is no effort to relate American religious developments to developments elsewhere in the world or to the larger social and intellectual movements in the United States. The book is one-dimensional: it has neither breadth nor depth, and its occasional gestures toward interpretation reveal an absence of critical judgment and a lack of familiarity with the historical background.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

The Mentally Ill in America: A History of their Care and Treatment from Colonial Times. By ALBERT DEUTSCH. With an Introduction by William A. White. (Garden City, Doubleday, Doran, 1937, pp. xvii, 530, \$3.00.) The title of this work is quite descriptive; it is a history of the treatment of the mentally ill in this country. Only incidentally does it provide an account of psychiatry as such, and it therefore forms a good companion volume to such a book as Bromberg's *Mind of Man*. It provides a readable, detailed, and well-documented social history which throws considerable light upon such related topics as poor relief and welfare programs, as well as upon its immediate theme. The story follows,

with minor digressions, a chronological sequence from the seventeenth century to the present time, and in topical scope it covers all phases of mental illness or abnormality, except perhaps those pertaining to neurotics and sex variants. (The term "sex" does not appear in the index, which is a bit startling in a work of this sort.) Emphasis is rightly placed upon changing social and scientific attitudes toward the mentally ill and the manner in which these attitudes expressed themselves through various systems of care—or the lack of it. Particularly valuable is the account of institutional history and of the development of such related reform movements as those championed by Dorothea Dix and Clifford Beers. Equally significant is the description of the present situation in terms of (1) the amount of mental illness (480,000 patients were on hospital books in March, 1937, with as many others at large), (2) the types of therapy currently employed, and (3) the results now being achieved (the hospital recovery rate was 16 per cent in 1934, with an additional 25 per cent discharged as improved). The chief criticism to be suggested is that the narrative is not well integrated with the history of medicine. Certain trends are seen only in relation to psychiatry, which as a matter of fact reflected tendencies in medicine as a whole. Little consideration is given to the implications of folk practice, medical sects, and quackery. Homeopathy, hydropathy, and Christian Science, for example, may all have had some cause or effect relationship to the procedures commonly employed. These comments, however, are of an incidental nature. Both as factual narrative and as interpretation, this work is a most valuable study in American social history.

RICHARD H. SHRYOCK.

Wholesale Commodity Prices in the United States, 1700-1861. Statistical Supplement, *Actual Wholesale Prices of Various Commodities.* By ARTHUR HARRISON COLE. [The International Scientific Committee on Price History.] (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xxiii, 187; x, 359, text, \$4.00; statistical supplement, \$2.50.) Dr. Cole summarizes the findings of six independent studies of wholesale prices in American cities: Boston, 1720-1798; New York, 1720-1861; Philadelphia, 1700-1861; Charleston, 1732-1861; New Orleans, 1800-1861; and Cincinnati, 1816-1860. He explains each of these investigations, describing the sources of the data, the statistical procedures employed, and the results obtained. Also included is a comparison of the course of prices with respect to seasonal variation, geographical variation, and secular trends and cyclical movements. Then follow six appendixes which give the monthly indexes from which have been prepared fifty-two charts that are used by Dr. Cole to illustrate the results of the six investigations. These indexes are of different types. Some are weighted, some unweighted; some are for individual commodities; some are for domestic commodities; and some are for foreign goods imported. Others are of the multiple or all-commodity type. Of primary value to historians are (1) the price-data bibliographies for each of the six cities, (2) the quotations for individual commodities, 1700-1861, that make up the statistical supplement, (3) the multiple commodity indexes for five cities, 1720-1860, which Dr. Cole has plotted on three charts, thus co-ordinating the results of the separate investigations, and (4) the discussion of the geographical variation of prices, of cyclical movements, and of long-term price trends.

CURTIS NETTELS.

Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1730. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM. With an Introduction by Arthur Percival Newton. 1731. Edited by CECIL HEADLAM and ARTHUR PERCIVAL NEWTON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1937; 1938, pp. li, 500; xlviii, 466, \$8.00; \$7.75.) The significance of the two years covered by

these volumes lies chiefly in their indication of important developments soon to come. Internally the increased commercial activity of the northern colonies was producing a conflict of interest with the West Indies which was about to result in the Molasses Act. The petitions and memorials submitted in 1730 and 1731 by both groups of colonies and set forth in these volumes contain all the basic arguments both for and against parliamentary restriction of trade with the foreign West Indies. It is worth observing in these papers how adroitly each side appealed to the mercantilist interests and policies of the mother country for support. Externally the British colonial world was launching into a new era of expansion. Three new settlements were being talked about: David Dunbar's project already begun in the eastern part of Maine, a proposed buffer colony in the West to be peopled by Swiss emigrants, and a "Charitable Colony" to the south of South Carolina. The name "Georgia" was proposed for each of the three; it was finally adopted for the last. Interesting papers on all the schemes show how different was the process of colonial settlement in the fourth decade of the eighteenth century from what it had been a hundred years before. In the West Indies England was not yet ready for further expansion, but her diplomatic contest with France over the "Neutral Islands" produced some valuable reports from the Board of Trade on the early history of the Lesser Antilles. The papers on these and other topics leave the reader with the realization that the British colonial world had now definitely reached that stage of its history in which its lines of future growth as well as of conflict were clearly indicated.

LEONARD W. LABAREE.

Great Indian Chiefs: A Study of Indian Leaders in the Two Hundred Year Struggle to stop the White Advance. By ALBERT BRITT. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xi, 280, \$2.50.) This is a readable and useful book by an author who has sought with noteworthy success to give us objective human pictures of celebrated Indian chiefs. Dr. Britt is quite correct in naming Joseph Brant of the Mohawks as "the nearest thing to a statesman that his race has yet produced" (p. 94). Pontiac's dream of an Indian confederacy, he says (p. 95), "shook the hold of the English on their new Western empire". A recent biographer has sought to rob Pontiac of his dream, but obviously Dr. Britt does not agree with this theory, although he makes no mention of it. Of Tecumseh he says (p. 155): "For at least a generation after his death, his memory was a thing of power and glory among his people." After the surrender of Chief Joseph, of the Nez Percés, General Sherman remarked (quoted, p. 274): "Thus has terminated one of the most extraordinary Indian wars of which there is any record. The Indians throughout displayed a courage and skill that elicited universal praise, they abstained from scalping, let captive women go free, did not commit indiscriminate murder of peaceful families, which is usual, and fought with almost scientific skill, using advance and rear guards, skirmish lines, and field fortifications." Chief Joseph, says Dr. Britt, "was the best of them all."

FRANK E. ROSS.

The Faithful Mohawks. By JOHN WOLFE LYDEKKER. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xii, 206, \$3.75.) Students of the American colonial period have long recognized the archives of the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as a valuable source of history for religion, education, society, and the Iroquois. The archivist of the S.P.G. has culled from the collection materials for this sketch. Chronologically the account covers nearly a century and a half (1664-1807). The brief survey in chapter 1 of the relations of the French, on the one hand, to the Dutch and the English, on the other, prior

to 1704, is fairly well done. Brodhead (I, 408) gives the date of the treaty of Director Kieft with the Mohawks as 1645, not 1644. The bulk of the volume is devoted to a description of mission work among the Mohawks after 1704. A vivid picture is given of the famous visit of King Kendrick and his fellow sachems to the court of Queen Anne and its results among the Mohawks. Sir William Johnson is praised as "the greatest native administrator of his time". It seems strange that the author should not have used the eight volumes of the *Sir William Johnson Papers*, published by the State of New York. The chapter devoted to the Revolution is discussed from the Loyalist standpoint. Too much reliance is placed on Stone's *Life of Joseph Brant*; the author would have profited by the use of later works on Brant. After 1783 Brant labored indefatigably to obtain compensation for the loyal Iroquois from the imperial government and to make some satisfactory adjustment for them with the State of New York and the Federal government. While one may regret that the author did not make better use of sources available in Canada and the United States to round out his study of the Mohawks in the eighteenth century, yet the book as it stands was well worth doing.

A. C. FLICK.

General Washington's Dilemma. By KATHERINE MAYO. (New York, Harcourt, Brace, 1938, pp. viii, 323, \$2.50.) Miss Mayo's acknowledgment and bibliography attest her assiduity, but a curiously twisted logic, a lack of the critical faculty, a fervent pro-British sympathy, and a fondness for what is called "sob-sister" handling make this book useless to the historian. To begin with, the title is a misnomer. The Asgill affair was decidedly not a dilemma to General Washington, and Miss Mayo, once or twice, seems to grasp this, but pauses not in her energetic efforts to "show up" the American commander in chief, for once, as an unstable, nervous, unprincipled, characterless trimmer, while all the British officers are highminded, honorable gentlemen intent only on righteousness and justice. Miss Mayo's Washington is a contemptible creature, incapable of fair dealing and willing to compromise honor to sustain the impossible position in which he has placed himself, according to her weird logic. Her characterization, so completely at variance with Washington's life record, is grotesque. Her viewpoint is entirely personal, whereas Washington's handling of the Asgill case was impersonal at every point. His purpose was to prevent the threatened outbreak of blood reprisals which, once started, would end no man knew where and might even be the means of losing the war for America, which was already practically won. The most extraordinary instance of Miss Mayo's use of documents is the citation of a "memorandum from the French Government", which Luzerne was to "produce and use . . . only if softer means failed" to save Asgill (pp. 237-38). Can Miss Mayo produce this document? JOHN C. FITZPATRICK.

American Naval Songs & Ballads. Edited by ROBERT W. NEESER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 372, \$2.50.) For many years Mr. Neeser has been writing about the navy, a subject in which he became interested at an early age. A lover of the service and its history, he always produces a good book. His latest work is marked by the excellencies that characterize his writings—painstaking research, precision of statement, and orderly arrangement. Its title page, text, illustrations, paper, binding, bibliography, and index give evidence of careful consideration and combine to make a handsome volume. With a wealth of materials to draw upon, selection was inevitable. Only the best songs and ballads are included. The criteria as to what constitutes "the best" are three: poetical merit, truthful reflection of public opinion on the navy and its doings, and vivid description of naval life from the service point of view.

The selection is further limited, almost exclusively, to the Old Navy, the navy of the sailing ship. The period covered by the volume extends from 1775, the year of the founding of the Continental Navy, to 1882, the beginning date of the New Navy. Naval balladry appears to have been at its height during the War of 1812, for more than half of the selections relate to this war. The writers are both from within and outside the service, many of them unknown. The book is a useful addition to naval history and folklore. CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

The Society of the Sacred Heart in North America. By LOUISE CALLAN. With an Introduction by the Reverend GILBERT J. GARRAGHAN. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1937, pp. xvii, 809, \$5.00.) This book is not only the story of the Society of the Sacred Heart but also a memorial to the Reverend Mother Mary Reid, superior of the Southern Vicariate for the past twenty-five years and late president of Maryville College of the Sacred Heart in St. Louis. Any adequate account of Christian education must give a prominent place to the Society of the Sacred Heart, which had its origin in the work of St. Madeleine Sophie Barat, who started her work for the Church in France soon after that country began to emerge from the confusion of the Revolution. Shortly after she and three companions consecrated themselves to the glory of the Sacred Heart, the society was pledged to begin its work in the American mission field in the spring of 1818. The society carried on its missionary labors in Missouri, Louisiana, among the Potawatomi Indians, in New York City, in Pennsylvania, in Quebec, along northern lakes and rivers, in the Mississippi Valley, in Chicago, and elsewhere. Chapter VIII gives the internal history of the society from 1820 to 1852, and chapters XX and XXI deal with events and foundations in the twentieth century and the educational system of the society. The appendix contains interesting statistics. In 1935 the membership of the society in the United States and Canada was more than twelve hundred; it had thirty-three institutions with an enrollment of almost nine thousand. Attendance at retreats for Catholic girls and women during that year was above nine thousand.

EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

March of the Iron Men: A Social History of Union through Invention. By ROGER BURLINGAME. (New York, Scribner, 1938, pp. xvi, 500, \$3.75.) This stimulating volume is concerned more with the effects of inventions applied to our problems than with the inventions themselves. The author's thesis may be expressed as follows. If the United States had been formed a century earlier, it would have broken up through lack of technological means of cohesion. By the time of the Revolution the world level of invention was such that, after a period in which the Union remained together by political tolerance, it became a union through applied technological force. America's major problems were those engendered by distance, which intensified the need of communication and transport. For that reason in America the engine was relatively of less importance in the factory than in the steamboat and on the railroad. As the problems of transportation were solved, a flood of immigrants poured into the new Western land. In the South this expansion was dependent upon the cotton gin, and in the North it was later aided by the grain reaper. Inventions applicable to the respective sections brought a certain unity within them and fostered a difference in social systems, but by aiding in developing a preponderance of power in the North they enabled the Union to hold together. "Inventions in transport and industry had already united the North and West on fundamental needs of livelihood but the press united them mentally and emotionally. The final spark ran along the fuse of journalism. . . . Thus in 1865 the pattern of the nation was complete. . . .

Whether we liked it or not our movement was [henceforth] to be collective". Such is the author's interpretation, and a very good case he makes out for it. He makes no claim that this is a complete history, but he may justly hold that it throws into better perspective some of the factors frequently minimized. The volume is well illustrated and contains a reference list of events and inventions.

RUSSELL H. ANDERSON.

A Political History of the Cherokee Nation, 1838-1907. By MORRIS L. WARDELL. [The Civilization of the American Indian.] (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. vi, 383, \$3.50.) The Cherokee Indians loom large in the annals of the Anglo-American West. They were a comparatively populous tribe. Their original culture was probably superior to that of any other Indians east of the Mississippi, and they appropriated readily various institutions of the white man. Of great importance is the fact that by about 1840 they had come to be a literate people. Their leaders could speak and write forceful English; and, thanks to Sequoyah's syllabary, most of those adults who did not know English could use their own written language. Their history is not that of a savage people but rather the story of an intelligent native group struggling to maintain its integrity and defend its own institutions against the too rapid advance of the Euro-Americans. Although Dr. Wardell has not ignored certain social and economic forces, his book is truly what the title indicates, a political history of the Cherokees. The task he set for himself was not an easy one. Threads of the narrative had to be interwoven with all the intricacy of a piece of old lace. One wonders if he could not have simplified his story a little and thus have made easier the task of the reader. This might have detracted from the precision and thoroughness of the work, however. His general organization is good, and he writes in the sure and convincing fashion of one who knows a great deal more about his subject than he puts in his book. His bibliography, which is superbly organized, fills ten pages and reveals many manuscript sources which have not been used by other historians. Seventeen maps and illustrations add to the usefulness and interest of the book.

RUPERT N. RICHARDSON.

Men and Iron: The History of New York Central. By EDWARD HUNGERFORD. (New York, Crowell, 1938, pp. vii, 424, \$3.75.) This book has all the good qualities and all the shortcomings of similar volumes on transportation that have come from the pen of Mr. Hungerford. Despite its title it is not a well-rounded history of the New York Central system or even of the lines of that system east of Buffalo. Instead, its twenty-four chapters emphasize in somewhat journalistic fashion many of the high spots in the history of one of America's outstanding railway systems. One searches these pages in vain for the story of the relation of the House of Morgan to the New York Central or to its acquisition of the West Shore. Only one sentence, at the top of page 343, would indicate that J. P. Morgan had a hand in the Central's destinies or profited thereby. Nor does one find any inkling of labor troubles, particularly of the famous strike of 1890 when the Central was under the presidency of Chauncey M. Depew and the vice-presidency of H. Walter Webb. One would also like to know more about the relations of New York Central officials to political spokesmen than is shown in these pages. As an executive of the New York Central, Mr. Hungerford apparently has had access to official sources, but many of the excerpts with which the book is liberally sprinkled are drawn from newspaper accounts. The technical apparatus of the careful historian, namely, footnote references and an appended bibliography, are not used. Of the several illustrations the map opposite page 88 is perhaps most useful. One who desires to learn something of the

many persons directly or indirectly concerned with the formation and development of the New York Central will find much in this volume that is worth while, but those who turn to it in the expectation of a definitive history will be disappointed.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

One Man in his Time: The Adventures of H. Watkins, Strolling Player, 1845-1863, from his Journal. By MAUD and OTIS SKINNER. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 258, \$2.50.) This slender little volume, comprising copious extracts from the Journal of Harry Watkins supplemented by Otis Skinner's interpretative running comment, affords an intimate picture of the mid-century American stage which is of peculiar interest to the social historian. For Harry Watkins was not a star, a successful manager, or a critic. He was "a humble but eager practitioner" of the theater during one of the most interesting periods of its development. His journal consequently presents a picture of the conditions of theatrical life, especially in the provinces, quite different from that drawn in the reminiscences of more famous players. Mr. Skinner has provided the framework for the journal—paraphrasing certain parts of it, filling in gaps, explaining the diarist's references, painting the portraits of contemporary actors, and enlivening the whole with a rich fund of amusing stories of the stage. This running comment gives the book its continuity and a very definite popular appeal. For the historian the journal itself remains of greatest value. One might wish on these grounds that it had been more fully reproduced and more effort taken with the admittedly difficult task of dating the excerpts, but Mr. Skinner was not compiling a source book.

FOSTER RHEA DULLES.

Life of Abraham Lincoln. By W. D. HOWELLS. (Springfield, Abraham Lincoln Association, 1938, pp. xvii, xii, 94, \$3.00.) Whether viewed as a Lincoln item, a Howells document, a study in historiography, or an example of the publisher's craft, this book is a delight. Written hastily by Howells on the basis of material assembled by a youngster named James Q. Howard, the volume as published in the summer of 1860 contained a number of errors. The present edition is a superb reproduction of the copy owned by Samuel C. Parks as corrected by Lincoln in pencil. The editor's preface tells the story of the original and of Lincoln's annotations with that competent scholarship which characterizes the Abraham Lincoln Association.

J. G. RANDALL.

The Life and Speeches of Abraham Lincoln, and Hannibal Hamlin. Edited and published by REUBEN VOSE. (Fort Wayne, Lincoln National Life Foundation, 1938, pp. li, 42-118, \$2.00.) This tiny 32mo is a reproduction of a campaign biography which was registered for copyright on May 30, 1860, the very month of Lincoln's unexpected nomination. Owing to the great rarity of the original, the reproduction will be welcomed by Lincoln collectors. If copyright registry be the criterion, it appears that the book was preceded by the "Wide-awake edition" registered by Thayer and Eldridge of Boston on May 28. A minor part of the book is devoted to Lincoln; the rest consists of the Republican platform and other campaign material.

J. G. RANDALL.

Dana and "The Sun". By CANDACE STONE. (New York, Dodd, Mead, 1938, pp. xiii, 431, \$3.50.) By diligently perusing the *New York Sun's* editorial files the author of this book has been able to trace the views of Charles Dana and the *Sun* on every important political question and proposal for social reform during the thirty years following the election of Grant, thereby contributing a valuable newspaper study. Unfortunately, Miss Stone has not drawn very extensively

from sources outside the *Sun's* files to throw light upon the forces behind the scenes, which may have affected the public expression of Dana's views. Her conclusions seem sound, however, that the editor was more interested in the journalist's art than in the molding of public opinion, and that the public read the *Sun* primarily for its humor, spice, and "witty indignation" rather than to learn its position on public questions. One unique feature of the study is an analysis of public sentiment on contemporary issues made by noting the effect of Dana's editorials upon the paper's circulation figures. Extensive quotations from the *Sun* have their value but tend to accentuate the effect of a rather labored style of presentation.

RALPH R. FAHRNEY.

John Phoenix, Esq., the Veritable Squibob: A Life of Captain George H. Derby, U.S.A. By GEORGE R. STEWART. (New York, Henry Holt, 1937, pp. xiv, 242, \$2.50.) In writing his biography of Derby (pseudonymously "Phoenix" and "Squibob"), Professor Stewart performed commendably some of the tasks of a biographer. He drew upon an exhaustive body of printed and unprinted documents, a large share of them previously unexploited. The data were presented gracefully, interestingly, and fully. Further, he realized clearly the justification for his research. His subject's personality, he said, was "too vivid and vivacious to be allowed to slip into oblivion". Derby's life "was often . . . significant of America's own development—a New England education of the thirties, West Point in the forties, the Mexican War, the experiences of a hard-working Army engineer. Even more important than any of these is an opportunity which his life gives for the display of the early West, particularly in its fun-loving phases." Often, when the humorist's vivid personal records and the tales which made Derby almost legendary during his lifetime give an insight into an ingratiating character and his background, these implied objectives are achieved. Rather too frequently, however, the achievement falls short of the aim. The captain's personality apparently remains to the end of the study essentially a puzzle solvable (despite a rejection of such a solution) only in terms of a mental split. And Mr. Stewart's dubious implications about such matters as the stodgy nature of army exploration reports (p. 63), the lack of social preachments in the literature of the fifties (p. 175), the state of American Calvinism in the same decade (p. 176), several phases of the development of native humor (pp. 58, 172, 177, 197), and other details concerning the environment of his subject make the volume less valuable than it might have been for historical purposes. WALTER BLAIR.

Magoon in Cuba: A History of the Second Intervention, 1906-1909. By DAVID A. LOCKMILLER. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 252, \$3.00.) This volume treats in detail the history of a somewhat misunderstood period of American-Cuban relations under the operation of the Platt Amendment. The author expresses the opinion that the American government could have prevented formal intervention if the members of the American peace mission, Taft and Bacon, had supported President Palma in the August revolution of 1906, but he is certain that intervention was the only solution after the Cuban government quit (in September). Charles E. Magoon, whom Roosevelt selected as the civilian provisional governor of Cuba for the period of intervention, was well qualified by previous experience. At the end of his term of office he was highly praised by editorials of the Cuban press for the success of his administration in accomplishing a "tremendous task", and in the favorable estimates of his work he had the weight of contemporary public opinion both in Cuba and in the United States. After careful examination of the evidence relating to later complaints and charges against Magoon the author finds no proof

of his personal dishonesty but on the contrary positive proofs of his honesty. Rumors of bribery in connection with the purchase of church property he declares are without any factual foundation. In his researches the author has relied chiefly upon abundant published government documents and newspaper and periodical material, both American and Cuban, and upon Cuban monographs and pamphlets. He has also used the papers of public men and has obtained evidence from interviews with participants in the intervention. The volume is equipped with extensive footnote references, a select bibliography, and an adequate index.

J. M. CALLAHAN.

The United States and World Organization, 1920-1933. By DENNA FRANK FLEMING. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xiv, 569, \$4.00.) Professor Fleming has written a severe indictment of American foreign policy from the armistice to the present. Admittedly his book is not pleasant reading for Americans, whatever their persuasions about the League of Nations. It is generally conceded that the portentous issues involved in American ratification of the Treaty of Versailles were discussed and disposed of in a spirit of personal bitterness, partisan advantage, and political pettiness, which, in retrospect, constitute a tragic spectacle. And there can be no doubt that the repudiation before the world of an American President by a minority of the Senate was poor statesmanship, the more so as the tactics employed were unworthy of a great people. Having drawn an indictment, Professor Fleming naturally assumes the role of prosecutor rather than of judge. He resorts to a good deal of ex post facto reasoning in charging most, if not all, of the ills of Europe to nonratification by the United States of the Covenant and the tripartite Treaty of Guarantee. He creates an atmosphere of prejudice in exhuming the oil and veterans' scandals, Harry Daugherty, Jess Smith, poker and drinking parties in the White House, and other matters extraneous to Harding's foreign policy. The stock market inflation is brought into the picture for purposes not altogether clear. His estimate of the causes of American participation in the war might have been written in the febrile days of 1917. It would be unkind to discuss his concluding chapter "Toward the Future"—written before Berchtesgaden and Godesberg and Munich—except to say that it places American foreign policy in the altogether unrealistic dilemma of "collective security" vs. "isolation", "We" or "They". What was unrealistic before Munich is fantastic now. It is only fair to say that Professor Fleming would not pretend that he has written in a spirit of calm detachment. But even as special pleading this book overshoots the mark.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

The Interstate Commerce Commission: A Study in Administrative Law and Procedure. By I. L. SHARFMAN. Part Four. (New York, Commonwealth Fund, 1937, pp. xii, 550, \$4.50.) The final volume of Professor Sharfman's monumental work deals with the organization and procedure of the Interstate Commerce Commission. While these were inevitably touched on in the earlier volumes, they are here presented in exhaustive fashion. Separate chapters cover the mechanism of administration, the procedural processes, and the pressure of administrative burdens, while a final one gives the author's well-considered conclusions. The commission is a "model tribunal", which has contributed substantially to the development of a sound regulatory process. Primarily responsible for its success, aside from the personal competence and disinterestedness of the staff, has been its pragmatic handling of problems. It developed its regulatory powers slowly, on the basis of trial and error and in response to practical needs but always under a sense of realism and restraint. It based its findings on the assumption of private

enterprise and individual initiative. This approach suggests a certain weakness in such a system. Prevailing methods have generally constituted the starting point of regulatory proceedings, but this has prevented bold and constructive handling of some major problems. Foremost among these is the financial structure of the railroads, which is a chief cause of their present weakness. "The future handling of these financial problems will constitute an important test of the constructive possibilities of the regulatory process". The purpose of control, concludes Professor Sharfman, "is not to achieve a fixed goal by reconstituting the organization and operation of the transport agencies, but to maintain a moving balance between private rights and public interests by directing their various manifestations into nationally desirable channels". The commission has been able to avoid the pitfalls of both unrestrained individual freedom and outright collective action. Its rich experience of half a century thus furnishes the most enlightening background for testing in perspective the economic soundness, legal validity, and administrative effectiveness of the newer projects and proposals for public control of private enterprise.

E. L. BOGART.

Bibliographies in American History: Guide to Materials for Research. By HENRY PUTNEY BEERS. (New York, H. W. Wilson, 1938, pp. 339, \$3.50.) The author's aim was to compile a comprehensive catalogue of bibliographical materials for research in American history. He has included the economic, educational, religious, artistic, literary, and scientific aspects of history as well as the diplomatic, political, and social. He lists 7692 separate bibliographical items, which are arranged in fourteen chapters, with more minute classification by period, country, or type. A detailed author and subject index refers by number directly to each item. It is difficult to appraise a work of this character. No two individuals would agree as to the inclusion of a particular title. It is debatable whether a compiler is justified in the duplication of effort involved in enumerating general bibliographical tools, common to all subjects, when reference to Mudge's *Guide to Reference Books* and to Van Hoesen and Walter's *Bibliography: Practical, Enumerative, Historical* would not only have indicated but would also have described them. The chapter on local history (approximately one fourth of the work), devoted to lists relating to the states and territories, is especially valuable, since literature on localities is voluminous but often fugitive and inaccessible. Heretofore no up-to-date guide has been available. The main question that presents itself to the reviewer is whether so general a work serves its purpose. Would not a selection of the more valuable bibliographies have rendered a greater service; or, if the inclusive list is desirable, could not a symbol have been used to indicate the titles of first importance? For example, that indispensable work by Bemis and Griffin, *Guide to the Diplomatic History of the United States*, has no mark to distinguish it from a fifteen-page mimeographed bibliography on *Diplomacy*.

EDITH M. COULTER.

The Official Publications of American Counties: A Union List. By JAMES GOODWIN HODGSON. With an Introduction on Collecting of County Publications. (Fort Collins, Colorado State College Library, 1937, pp. xxii, 594, \$5.00.) The holdings of 194 American libraries are reported herein. Over five thousand entries are listed, but as this averages less than two per county, it is obvious that further research will add materially to this useful bibliography. In addition to administrative, financial, and educational reports, listings include occasional county histories published under official auspices, indexes of deeds, wills, and court records, and a few documentary publications for the period prior to 1800.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

The French Occupation of the Champlain Valley from 1609 to 1759. By GUY OMERON COOLIDGE. (Brattleboro, Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 1938, pp. 173, 75 cents.) In this monograph the author undertakes "to fill a gap in the history of Vermont". "From an enormous mass of correspondence, and from a great number of isolated references in published works" Mr. Coolidge has sought "to resurrect the story of one hundred and fifty years of effort". The first half of the volume is chiefly a chronicle of the early explorations and missionizing efforts through what is known as King William's War and Queen Anne's War, to about the year 1725, when the French seriously entered upon the task of colonizing the valley. It is from this point that the author makes his distinctive contribution to the history of the region. Drawing extensively upon documentary sources, he sets before us the records of the great seigniories into which the region was carved in the next few years, relates the history of the building of Fort St. Frederic and of the establishment of settlements there and elsewhere, drawing largely from the "Chronicle of St. Frederic". Of the hundred and fifty years of occupation no physical traces were left, says the author, "other than the mute and deserted ruins of their homes and military posts, surrounded by the cultivated fields which represent civilization". Many of the place names, nevertheless, survive to this day. Appended to the volume are useful lists of the governors and intendants and of the commandants and chaplains at Fort St. Frederic.

The Finns on the Delaware, 1638-1655: An Essay in American History. By JOHN H. WUORINEN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. ix, 179, \$1.25.) The American Finnish Delaware Tercentenary Committee gave Dr. Wuorinen an impossible task. To be sure, Finns played an important part in New Sweden, but the Finnish element on the Delaware cannot be isolated for particular study. Apparently only one contemporary document wherein Finns and Swedes are differentiated is known to exist (p. 76). Throughout the volume, which is a careful and concise summary of the history of New Sweden from 1638 to 1655, the author is obliged to refer to the settlers as "Swedes and Finns". The title of the work should have carried the same inclusive phrase. Dr. Wuorinen, however, faced his impossible task with scholarly caution. He made no strained interpretation of his materials to emphasize the Finnish element. He wisely avoided drawing conclusions from name similarities. He did point out, with proper qualifications, that the recruits drawn from Värmland and Södermanland (provinces populated in some measure by Finns) may have included some Finnish emigrants. While no new contribution to the history of New Sweden is made, the work is valuable for its concise and scholarly summary of the story of the settlements and especially for its emphasis upon economic backgrounds and upon the influence of foreign merchants, notably the Dutch, in Swedish commercial enterprise. The author's statement that the history of New Sweden "is still largely unwritten" (p. 114) is open to question in view of the excellent work of Ohlner, Keen, and, especially, Johnson. Minor errors such as "Anglization" are more conspicuous because of their rarity. The appendix, including congressional debates and resolutions on the tercentenary, adds nothing to the historical information but perhaps serves to show that this work owes its existence to that spirit of Finnish nationalism on which Dr. Wuorinen is an authority. But this could have been shown in less than fifty pages.

JULIAN P. BOYD.

Salem in the Eighteenth Century. By JAMES DUNCAN PHILLIPS. (Boston, Houghton Mifflin, 1937, pp. xix, 533, \$4.00.) In the same delightful, informal style Mr. Phillips has continued his *Salem in the Seventeenth Century* (1933) from the downfall of the Andros regime to 1783. Like this earlier volume, the present one is no ordinary town history but brings the story of Salem into relationship with the history of Massachusetts and England. Fishing, shipbuilding, and trade were the basic activities of the town. In 1760 Salem was a more important port of departure than Boston. The attacks of French and Indians usually fell on the frontier, and Salem was "a frontier town to the sea" (p. 9). Her fishing and trade suffered, and privateers and letter-of-marque ships flourished. Although much of the military history can be sketched only in bold strokes, Mr. Phillips has given an excellent and vivid description of the capture of Louisbourg in 1745. In the American Revolution Salem played its part. Mr. Phillips has made exemplary use of primary sources, but his list of secondary works is less complete. And finally, the fine of a hog reeve (p. 213) represented, not an attempt to force him to serve, but the price of exemption from the onerous duties.

ISABEL M. CALDER.

In French Creek Valley. By JOHN EARLE REYNOLDS. (Meadville, Crawford County Historical Society, 1938, pp. 352.) The author indicates the historical importance of this work when he states that his intention was "to sketch informally the story of the development of French Creek Valley". In general the twenty-seven sketches in chapter form which constitute the volume deal in rather casual fashion with local personages and events. Quotations from sources are liberally

used. Many illustrations and slightly printing render the book attractive, although typographical errors are rather frequent. There is an index and a not very satisfactory bibliography. A "formal" account of French Creek Valley might have possessed considerable historical interest, for it is part of the natural highway between Pittsburgh and Presqu'Isle used by Washington in his famous journey of 1753. The Venango forts were built near its mouth, and Ft. Franklin was erected a short distance upstream in 1787. Correspondence between Gen. Josiah Harmar and the commanders of Ft. Franklin from 1787 to 1791 in the Harmar Papers in the William L. Clements Library throw considerable light on the history of this region.

JOHN R. ALDEN.

Pennsylvania Iron Manufacture in the Eighteenth Century. By ARTHUR CECIL BINING. (Harrisburg, Pennsylvania Historical Commission, 1938, pp. 227.) The significance of this scholarly little volume is that it presents the details of the old furnace and forge industry common to eighteenth and early nineteenth century America. Though the Pennsylvania industry crossed the Alleghenies before 1800, it began and centered in the southeast, in the Schuylkill, Delaware, and Susquehanna river valleys. Its capital was limited; it antedated all revolutionary processes; its sole fuel was charcoal; it was rural, and its basis agricultural. A few slitting mills, plating mills, and blister steel works rose in the towns. Skilled blacksmiths were urban as well as rural; but blast furnaces and bloomery and refinery forges, the real ironworks, were organized on plantations of from three hundred to ten thousand acres. Here, as in Virginia, Negro slave as well as white artisans were employed. Perhaps their isolation caused the iron plantations to fade from public memory. Almost self-sufficing communities, they consisted of "the mansion house, the homes of the workers, the furnace and forge or forges, the iron mines, the charcoal house, the dense woods . . . the office, the store, the gristmill, the sawmill, the blacksmith shop, the large outside bake oven, the barns, the grain fields, and orchards". In some respects they resembled small medieval manors. The author's purpose is to present especially "the social and economic aspects" of the industry. Though he occasionally repeats, he writes clearly and illuminatingly. His research is intensive, comprehensive, thorough. He demonstrates the significance of the ironmasters. Partners owning large interests included national figures like John Dickinson and James Wilson. The amazing list of manuscripts seems to warrant an expanded book to show the larger influence on Pennsylvania, perhaps on America.

KATHLEEN BRUCE.

The Arts and Crafts in New York, 1726-1776: Advertisements and News Items from New York City Newspapers. [Compiled by RITA SUSSWEIN GOTTESMAN.] (New York, New York Historical Society, 1938, pp. xviii, 450, \$3.00.) Following in the path of Benjamin Peter Hunt, whose pioneer extracts of servant and immigration items in colonial newspapers remain unpublished, and of more recent compilers including Dow, Weeks, Bacon, and Prime, Mrs. Gottesman has compiled from advertisements and news items gleaned from all the New York City newspapers, 1726-76, material relating to the early crafts. The resultant volume is a useful short cut for the social historian to essential newspaper material, in most cases the only records available on the activities of craftsmen. Owing to the expansion of home manufactures and the growth of population the number of such advertisements increases markedly after 1750. The compiler has included all craftsmen who advertised in New York City newspapers whether or not they worked or resided in New York, but this policy at times is a source of confusion to the reader. It would have been more logical to have eschewed items of nonresidents. Humor abounds in these extracts. A clockmaker warns

shopbreakers that if they choose to return "during the cold Season, he will take care to provide them a warm Reception". Craftsmen, in the absence of guilds, at times stooped to malicious attacks on the character or skill of fellow artists. Customary advertisements for the return of "a lusty well-set Negro" or a "Smart Wench" garnish these pages. Here also are preserved that fast-vanishing feature of American life, the "Help Wanted" advertisements. It bespeaks a somewhat wider musical activity than is generally accredited to New York in those times to find an advertisement in 1752 of a bookbinder who "likewise rules Musick to the greatest Perfection". In addition to the specialist, the jack-of-all-trades is not uncommon.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

A Revolutionary Conservative: James Duane of New York. By EDWARD P. ALEXANDER. [New York State Historical Association.] (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 283, \$3.00.) Fame in some instances is a matter of chance. Had this excellent volume appeared a century ago, James Duane might have been as well known to American school boys as Gouverneur Morris and John Jay instead of hovering in the nimbus of second or third-rate statesmen of the Revolutionary period. This biography proves that orators and military heroes are not alone responsible for the progress of a people. Duane deserves appreciation, certainly, and perhaps praise as well, for having helped to lay the foundations on which the Republic was built. In an intensely interesting interpretation Dr. Alexander has shown that Duane was a tremendous worker, raised money to keep the patriot army going under heart-rending conditions, had a keen judicial mind, handled people in a conciliatory manner, stood aside while more eloquent men pleaded the cause of independence, and possessed a rare understanding of the rights and feelings of the American on the other side of the controversy. Comprehending the points of view of Whig and Loyalist, he had an insight that enabled him to speak and act at the right time. A stickler for law and order as well as for established government, he came slowly to the idea of a revolution, but when a separation from the empire seemed inevitable he stood stanchly behind Congress and Washington. In addition to the many new facts set forth about Duane, this volume throws much light on the little-known legal profession in colonial days, on the first Federal district courts, on the Hampshire Grants, on land speculation, on the Livingston family, on the treatment of Loyalists, and particularly on the establishment of what might be called the manor and village of Duanesburg. The book is remarkably free from factual errors, and one finds it easy to agree with the opinions and conclusions expressed.

A. C. FLICK.

Early Western Pennsylvania Politics. By RUSSELL J. FERGUSON. (Pittsburgh, University of Pittsburgh Press, 1938, pp. vii, 300, \$3.00.) A significant phase of the history of American democracy is the process of its development in frontier communities. A series of studies of this type for the various frontier regions is essential to the better understanding of political behavior. Such essays should not only consider organization, issues, and leaders, but should seek to discover the process of the growth in political effectiveness of a frontier region, of the struggle against older and better established political powers, and of the means used to obtain recognition of its needs and aid for its projects. The author of this book was commissioned by the Western Pennsylvania Historical Survey to make this study, but unfortunately it had to be done in a limited time and with inadequate material. The sources were not readily available and have been only in small part discovered. The result is an adequate plan inadequately developed. The author has studied physiographic conditions and the growth of communities and

has endeavored to relate political behavior to its social background. But, presumably because of lack of material, he has drawn too copiously upon the general history of Pennsylvania and the Jeffersonian partisanship in the nation at large. The process in Western Pennsylvania is not clearly defined and is sometimes lost from view. The book is well made and aptly illustrated by some interesting portraits. The character sketches of the early leaders are effectively done. The whole work can be classed as a preliminary survey of an important subject, which lays down certain sound principles, but which leaves the vivid story of a new section creating its own political institutions yet to be told. It is to be hoped that the means for the telling have not been lost.

ROY F. NICHOLS.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

- The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish, New Kent and James City Counties, Virginia, 1684-1786.* Transcribed and edited by C. G. CHAMBERLAYNE. (Richmond, Library Board of Virginia, 1937, pp. xxvi, 840.) This volume is the fifth in a series of original parish records of Virginia published by the State

Library Board. Four of these volumes, including the present one, are especially valuable because they relate to an area in the Peninsula between the James and York rivers where the local archives of the period have been lost. The Vestry Book and Register of St. Peter's Parish were published separately by the Colonial Dames of America in Virginia in 1904 and 1905, respectively. These volumes, however, long out of print, were somewhat incomplete transcriptions of the originals, and they lacked the scholarly editing which Dr. Chamberlayne now provides. The chief historical value of the parish vestry book lies in its routine periodic entries of receipts and expenditures, tax levies, processioning of lands, and provisions for public welfare. He who seeks the unusual or the dramatic will generally be disappointed; yet in the very casualness of some brief phrase the scholar may find much to ponder. In addition to routine matters the record of St. Peter's contains considerable descriptive material about the construction of its upper and lower churches and the glebe house. The operation of a ferry by the parish is an early example of a publicly owned utility. The archivist will be gratified to learn that the register book was ordered to be kept in a chest in the lower church and that the clerk had custody of the key. The parish register for 1733 to 1786 includes 220 pages of births and baptisms, 10 of marriages, and 30 of deaths. In the appendixes the editor has assembled copies of official documents and other source material (some hitherto unpublished) pertaining to the parish. A thorough name and subject index completes the volume.

LESTER J. CAPPON.

The Siege of Charleston, with an Account of the Province of South Carolina: Diaries and Letters of Hessian Officers from the Von Jungkenn Papers in the William L. Clements Library. Translated and edited by BERNHARD A. UHLENDOFF. (Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1938, pp. xi, 445, \$4.00.) This volume of first-hand accounts of the siege of Charleston in 1779-80 is composed, with the exception of a few letters of minor importance, of three diaries by Hessian officers who took part in the siege. The least substantial is that of Major General Johann Christoph von Huyn. The general was evidently a rather dull fellow, for there is nothing in what he wrote that either arouses our interest or makes us feel that it was worth preserving. The diary of Captain Johann Ewald is somewhat more valuable. It has some illuminating bits now and then, although it is for the most part a pretty matter-of-fact account and seems to be the work of a competent but not very imaginative man. The diary is not signed, but the editor attributes it to Captain Ewald from evidence provided by the diary next to be mentioned. This diary, that of Captain Johann Hinrichs, forms both the largest and most valuable part of the book. Captain Hinrichs was a keen observer and a wielder of a sprightly pen. His account tells the story of the expedition from the time that it left New York until it returned. It is filled, as the others are not, with various enjoyable asides that illustrate the multiplicity of the author's interests. There is a long section, entirely apart from the narrative, devoted to an account of the history, character, and physical resources of South Carolina. The editor is to be commended for an excellent translation and for the admirable arrangement of printing the original and the translation upon facing pages.

TROYER S. ANDERSON.

The Tobacco Kingdom: Plantation, Market, and Factory in Virginia and North Carolina, 1800-1860. By JOSEPH CLARKE ROBERT. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 286, \$3.00.) This book tells the story of tobacco from seed to quid in an era when "manufactured tobacco was virtually synonymous with chewing tobacco". Although few technical details are omitted, a clear picture

is obtained of the tobacco industry before the Civil War in the country's chief tobacco region—a trapezoidal shaped area in the Virginia piedmont, its narrow top reaching Fredericksburg and its broad base being the northern tier of North Carolina piedmont counties. The book is divided into three parts. In the first the tedious process of growing tobacco is described, from preparing the plant beds in January to packing the hogsheads in December. The second part takes up transportation and marketing. The chief markets were Richmond, Petersburg, Lynchburg, and Danville, important in that order. Especially interesting are the story of the railroad building competition by these market cities to tap the hinterland and the account of the decline of the long-used tobacco note, the rise of the inspector as auctioneer, and his displacement by the Tobacco Exchange. In the third part manufacturing and sale are discussed. Until 1840 most Virginia tobacco was exported; afterwards most of it was manufactured in Virginia. A chapter is devoted to the thirteen thousand slaves who worked in tobacco factories in 1860. The book has all the accoutrements of a scholarly piece of work: picturesque illustrations, a generous supply of clear maps, charts, and tables, a helpful appendix, and a good index. A well-organized bibliography and judicious footnoting give evidence of careful use of newspapers and plantation records. My lone criticism is that Dr. Robert touches too lightly on some of the broader aspects of his subject, such as the effects of soil exhaustion and the draining of slaves to the cotton kingdom.

DONALD L. KEMMERER.

Mississippi: Storm Center of Secession, 1856-1861. By PERCY LEE RAINWATER. (Baton Rouge, Otto Claitor, 1938, pp. xi, 248, \$4.00.) Professor Rainwater's study is a worthy companion, from the standpoint of substantial scholarship, to Shanks's *The Secession Movement in Virginia, 1847-1861*, and Denman's *The Secession Movement in Alabama*. Perhaps its significance is greater because of the leading position of Mississippi in the movement for Southern independence. In addition to narrating actual events, Rainwater has presented the various alternatives that were considered at moments of decision, and he has described the tactics by which opposing politicians sought to gain their ends. Public opinion is explained by maps as well as by words in terms of such basic social and economic factors as cotton production, soil fertility, and slaveholding. The maps are very significant, although several are perhaps too crowded with data. In the reviewer's opinion, the most informative chapters are the fourth, which summarizes the arguments for and against a separate South, and the tenth, which is entitled "The Personnel and Work of the Convention of 1861". While the study is primarily analytical and interpretative, enough of contemporary material has been quoted to convey something of the feeling of the times—the enthusiasms, the anger, and the emotional appeals that were so influential in determining the course of events. It is unfortunate that the publisher of this book fell short of the excellence achieved by the author.

CHARLES S. SYDNOR.

Minutes of the Proceedings of the Greenville Ladies' Association in Aid of the Volunteers of the Confederate Army. Edited by JAMES WELCH PATTON. [Trinity College Historical Society.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1937, pp. 118, \$1.00.) In reading the minutes of this society, which was organized two days before the first battle of Bull Run and continued until May 1, 1865, one gets a view of the practical and efficient way in which the women of the South went about providing for the needs of the soldiers of the Confederate armies and relieving the distress of the wounded and sick. In addition to being valuable historically the minutes are surprisingly interesting; this is in no small part due to the capable way in which they were edited.

The Girls of the Sixties. By ELIZABETH WARING McMASTER. (Columbia, S. C., privately printed, 1937, pp. 175, \$5.00.) This volume is a compilation of sketches of more than one hundred members of a group of Richland County (S. C.) women who were girls or young women during the Civil War. Some twenty of the sketches contain interesting personal narratives of experiences during the war, and a dozen more include interesting reminiscences of the subjects' experiences by members of their families. While not to be compared with such a compilation as *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, edited by Mrs. T. E. Taylor, this volume helps to round out a picture of life behind the lines and life in the path of a ravaging army. Either an index or a list of the subjects by their maiden names would have been a valuable addition.

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 A. J. HANNA, ed. The Confederate Baggage and Treasure Train ends its Flight in Florida: A Diary of Tech Francis Tilghman. *Florida Hist. Quar.*, Jan.
 CHARLES G. CORDLE, ed. The John Tobler Manuscripts: An Account of German-Swiss Emigrants in South Carolina, 1737. *Jour. Southern Hist.*, Feb.
 M. L. CRIMMINS, ed. Colonel J. K. F. Mansfield's Report of the Inspection of the Department of Texas in 1856. *Southwestern Hist. Quar.*, Oct., Jan.

WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Marcus Whitman, Crusader. Edited by ARCHER BUTLER HULBERT and DOROTHY PRINTUP HULBERT. Part II, 1839 to 1843. [Overland to the Pacific.] (The Stewart Commission of Colorado College and the Denver Public Library, 1938, pp. xii,

342, \$5.00.) This volume evidently had the advantage of much critical attention from Dr. Hulbert himself. Mrs. Hulbert's meticulous editing puts it in practically perfect form. It brings the story of Marcus Whitman down to his return from the East in 1843, thus covering the much-mooted episode of his "winter ride". The book is in two parts, The Biography of Marcus Whitman, and Oregon Mission Correspondence. The subject matter of the second part has become familiar to students of the epoch and the episode, for the correspondence has all been printed before but not in any one place. The Hulbert book brings it all together, thoroughly organized and in a typographical form which delights the scholar. The biographical section gives us a thorough and convincing picture of Marcus Whitman as man and as missionary. When Edward Gaylord Bourne, nearly forty years ago, published his article entitled "The Whitman Myth", he challenged all writers on Whitman who relied on other than contemporary written sources. Discussion since that time has been on a more scientific plane, and no one has done more than Dr. Hulbert in carrying out the Bourne ideal. In consequence, he has written an unassailable account of that period in Whitman's life. The story moves with the inevitability of fate, wholly within the channels now finally established by complete and adequate contemporaneous evidence. This work is the best justification of the application of strict critical rules to historical investigation. When it is looked upon as the end result of more than a generation of controversial writing, most of which, being based on tradition, has now fallen into the limbo of forgotten things, it is a warning to the untrained to leave complicated historical questions alone.

JOSEPH SCHAFER.

Wah-to-yah and the Taos Trail. By LEWIS H. GARRARD. Edited by RALPH P. BIEBER. (Glendale, Arthur H. Clark, 1938, pp. 377, \$6.00.) Garrard was a Cincinnati youth of excellent family (his great-grandfather was governor of Kentucky, and his stepfather was Justice John McLean of the United States Supreme Court) in whom the reading of Frémont's report of his Western expeditions implanted the desire to imitate that popular hero. In the summer of 1846, when Garrard was barely seventeen years old, he made his way to Westport, where he joined the annual trading caravan of Bent and St. Vrain and in its company traversed the Santa Fe Trail to Bent's Fort. It was the opening year of the Mexican War, and Garrard's adventures were varied and exciting. Before returning to his home he had his fill of Indian fighting. Garrard's narrative was published at Cincinnati and New York in 1850, when the author was still but twenty-one, and has ever since remained a classic of the Santa Fe Trail. As Volume VI of Professor Bieber's Southwest Historical series it now reappears in a form that would give keen delight to Garrard were he alive to witness it. The editorial introduction and annotations are painstaking and admirable (one misprint only has been observed—in footnote 80), but the absence of an index is to be regretted. It affords cold comfort to the user to be told that some time in the indefinite future an index to the entire series of twelve volumes (eleven of which he does not want) will be published. The precedent established in this respect by such works as Thwaites's *Early Western Travels* is a bad one and should be interred with the generation to which that eminent editor belonged. M. M. QUAIFFE.

The Village at the End of the Road: A Chapter in Early Indiana Railroad History. By WYLIE J. DANIELS. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1938, pp. 112, 75 cents.) This work is almost exclusively a compilation of contemporary newspaper comments on railroad development in Indiana between 1845 and 1855 and particularly on the influence of this development on the growth of Indianapolis.

It is concerned primarily with the Madison and Indianapolis Railroad, and an interesting chapter in transportation history is suggested by the description of the effect on the termini of this road of the completion of competing lines—Indianapolis profited while Madison declined. The copious use of newspaper quotations is intended to depict contemporary opinion accurately, but the amount of space devoted to such quotations seems excessive. JOHN B. RAE.

Adventure on Red River: Report on the Exploration of the Headwaters of the Red River. By CAPTAIN RANDOLPH B. MARCY and CAPTAIN G. B. McCLELLAN. Edited and annotated by GRANT FOREMAN. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. xxxi, 199, \$2.50.) This journal of Captain Marcy was originally published in 1853 by the United States government as a part of the Marcy report on the exploration of the upper Red River country. Few journals of Western exploration have assembled so much valuable and interesting information alike for the naturalist, the geologist, the anthropologist, and the historian. Replete with accurate detail and written in a fascinating style, it is a veritable mine of data pertaining to the character and nature of the upper trans-Red River region—its general resources, soil, climate, natural history, and geography. Captain Marcy was a most observing and thoughtful student of the Indians of the country. In the editorial introduction Dr. Foreman has succeeded in giving the journal its proper setting and has pointed out adequately its importance as source material. The biographical sketch of Captain Marcy, though brief, is excellent. In short, this is a fine example of how a reprint ought to be edited.

JOHN PERRY PRITCHETT.

Wooster of the Middle West. By LUCY LILIAN NOTESTEIN. (New Haven, published for the College of Wooster by Yale University Press, 1937, pp. x, 333, \$2.50.) This is the story of the College of Wooster, a Presbyterian institution in Ohio, from its beginnings "in the prayer of the Reverend James Reed, kneeling in 1865 in a grove that is now the campus". The history of this institution is here delightfully told by the daughter of Jonas O. Notestein, who was long connected with it. He himself worked on the story for a long time and at his death left four chapters briefly sketched. At this point his daughter took up the work and has produced a more detailed and elaborate account than her father had planned. Here one will find chatty reports of the various activities of the institution, its hardships in the early days, its period of expansion, "the golden age", and the rebuilding of the institution after a fire in 1901. The account of the rebuilding is an inspiring story—the heroic work of President Louis E. Holden and his manifold and energetic activities in the interest of the institution. Chapter xxii deals with "the new Wooster" and the work which was carried on there under the direction of President Charles F. Wishart. Interesting also is the account of the curriculum which appears here and there in the volume. A brief account of the early schools in Ohio and of the passage of the first free school law in that state is also given. Here is another useful contribution to the history of higher education in the United States. EDGAR W. KNIGHT.

Illinois as Lincoln knew it: A Boston Reporter's Record of a Trip in 1847. Edited by HARRY E. PRATT. Reprinted from *Papers in Illinois History and Transactions for the Year 1937*, for Members of the Abraham Lincoln Association. (Springfield, the Association, 1938, pp. 84.) This consists of letters written at Chicago and other places in Illinois by J. H. Buckingham, son of the founder and publisher of the *Boston Courier*, and published first in that journal.

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- Mrs. ROY BRIDWELL. Notes on one of the Early Ballard Families of Kentucky, including the Ballard Massacre. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Jan.
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- MARY LOYOLA. The American Occupation of New Mexico, 1821-1852. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Jan.
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C. C. RISTER, ed. Colonel A. W. Evans' Christmas Day Indian Fight (1868). *Chron. Oklahoma*, Sept.

J. MANUEL ESPINOSA, ed. Report Authorizing Governor Vargas to reconquer New Mexico. *New Mexico Hist. Rev.*, Jan.

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

W. S. Robertson

Manuscritos y publicaciones de Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue. Three volumes. (Lima, Imprenta Americana, 1934; 1935; 1936, pp. xiii, 598; xii, 692; 667.) These volumes contain the collected writings and public addresses of a distinguished Peruvian littérateur and publicist. Scion of a well-known family, Eugenio Larrabure y Unanue served as the president of the Instituto Histórico of Lima and vice president of Peru. These volumes owe their publication largely to the zeal of his son, Carlos Larrabure y Correa. Besides a miscellany of items on a wide variety of topics, Volume I contains studies of Juan de Arona, Antonio Canovas del Castillo, and D. J. Hipólito Unanue. Volumes II and III contain a large number of historical articles upon a wide variety of subjects more or less related to Peruvian history and archaeology, such as Incan chronology, prehistoric ruins in the province of Cañate, indigenous languages of Peru, poetry among the Incas, the population and the roads of pre-Columbian Peru, and an account of the debate which took place in 1885 between Eugenio Larrabure and Padre Cappa concerning Columbus and the discovery of America.

Educational Foundations of the Jesuits in Sixteenth-Century New Spain. By JEROME V. JACOBSEN. (Berkeley, University of California Press, 1938, pp. xii, 292, \$3.00.) This extremely interesting book by a member of the Society of Jesus turns the attention of its readers to an almost forgotten but important part of the amazing history of the Jesuits. Mexico, as this volume reveals, was one of the richest and one of the best-worked fields of Jesuit endeavor in many directions, particularly in that of education. The vast erudition of the Jesuits in New Spain included a purposeful knowledge of the native languages. This exemplified their generous attitude towards the Indians and their culture as well as towards their souls, which constituted one of the chief causes of the society's great success in Mexico. Men of the highest cultural attainments themselves, the Jesuits had a deep-seated humanity which enabled them to appreciate the good in all races and classes of the people among whom they labored. The manner in which Father Jacobsen has told the story is worthy of all praise. His book cannot be read, even by a non-Catholic, without profoundest respect and sympathy for the great society which has so often been maligned. The documentation and the bibliography of the volume are well nigh perfect.

PHILIP AINSWORTH MEANS.

The International Economic Position of Argentina. By VERNON LOWELL PHELPS. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. xv, 276, \$3.00.) This is a very useful and illuminating study of Argentina's economic relationship with the outside world from the era immediately preceding the World War to the eve of her spectacular recovery from depression in 1936-37. The book is descriptive, statistical, and eschews searching analysis or generalization. After an introduction describing the background of the Argentine economy, three chapters trace the vicissitudes of Argentine international accounts as evidenced on the one hand by a history of the balance of payments and on the other by the movements of foreign exchange. Succeeding chapters deal in turn with the

growth of foreign investments since 1914, trends and competitive factors in Argentina's foreign trade, her policy since 1933 of negotiating preferential exchange agreements with nations with which she has a favorable trade balance, and the possibilities of a reciprocal trade treaty with the United States. Chapter iv may be especially interesting to the lay reader as a discussion of the operations of the Argentine Exchange Control Commission, as is chapter vii for its analysis of the competitive elements in the trade of Great Britain and the United States with the southern republic. The volume is implemented with forty-two tables and charts besides eight statistical appendixes. There is a useful bibliography and an indifferent index. Distinction of form is perhaps not to be looked for in a Ph.D. thesis in economics. The book is written with special reference to the trade of the United States. The problem of achieving a reciprocity agreement with Argentina, the author admits, is a difficult one in view of the opposition of the farm bloc in this country and Argentina's present foreign commercial policy of "bilateralism". He believes, however, that a basis exists for tariff concessions which might be acceptable to the Argentine government.

CLARENCE HENRY HARING.

Nuevo León: Apuntes Históricos. By SANTIAGO ROEL. Two volumes. (Monterey, privately published, Escobedo 122, 1938, pp. iii, 168; 177, \$2.00.) A history of the State of Nuevo León, Mexico, equipped with illustrations, plans, and an index.

Figuras y figurones: Con un estudio crítico de Rufino Blanco-Fombona sobre el autor. By M. GONZÁLEZ PRADA. (Paris, Tipografía de Louis Bellenaud et Fils, 1938, pp. 294.) Sketches of Manuel Pardo, Nicolas de Piérola, Eduardo L. de Romana, and José Pardo preceded by an appreciation of the author by Blanco-Fombona.

La tragedia de petróleo. (Mexico, Ediciones Ciceron, 1938, pp. 101.)

Las guerras de Bolívar. Volume IV, *La patria granadina.* By F. RIVAS VICUÑA. (Bogotá, Imprenta Nacional, 1938, pp. 641.) This installment of a detailed treatise on the military campaigns of Bolívar describes his part in the liberation of the viceroyalty of New Granada from Spanish rule and in the founding of "Great Colombia".

Translations from Hispanic Poets. (The Hispanic Society of America, 1938, pp. 271.) Besides translations from poets of Spain and Portugal, this volume prints translations from poets of ten Hispanic American countries.

Eighth International Conference of American States, Lima, Peru, December 9-27, 1938. Report of the Results of the Conference submitted to the Governing Board of the Pan American Union by the Director General (Washington, Pan American Union, 1939, pp. 108.)

Alamán estadista é historiador. By J. C. VALADÉS. (Mexico, Antigua Librería Robredo, José Porrua é Hijos, 1938, pp. xii, 576.) A full-length biography of a prominent Mexican publicist of the early national period.

Genaro Estrada. By G. FERNÁNDEZ MACGREGOR. (Mexico, Fabula, 1938, pp. 45.) An appreciation of the Mexican littérateur, Estrada, which was read to Mexican learned societies.

La corte de Maximiliano: Cartas de don Ignacio Algara que publica por primera vez con advertencia y notas. Edited by M. ROMERO DE TERREROS. (Mexico, Edi-

torial Polis, 1938, pp. 77.) Letters written in 1864 and 1865 which describe the arrival in Mexico of Maximilian and Charlotte and their imperial court.

Historia política de la revolución. By M. ALESSIO ROBLES. (Mexico, Ediciones Botas, 1938, pp. 473.) A popular account of the Great Revolution in Mexico from 1911 to the downfall of Calles.

The Mexican Expropriation Law and Cases in which it has been Applied: English and Spanish Text. (Mexico, Editorial Polis, 1938, pp. 61.)

Centón Epistolario de Domingo del Monte. With a Preface and Notes by JOAQUÍN LLAVERÍAS Y MARTÍNEZ. Volume V, 1841-1843. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1938, pp. xiv, 202.) An installment of letters of a Cuban humanist who carried on an extensive correspondence with his contemporaries at home and abroad.

Martí en España: Discursos. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1938, pp. 302.) Addresses which deal with the experiences in Spain of the Cuban patriot, José Martí.

Nariño: Su vida, sus infortunios, su talla histórica. Two volumes. By J. R. VEJARANO. (Bogotá, Editorial Santafé, pp. 939; xv, 412.) A detailed biography of the leading Colombian precursor of independence; contains a bibliography.

Estudios históricos y fisonomías colombianas. By L. GARCÍA ORTIZ. (Bogotá, Editorial A.B.C., 1938, pp. xv, 315.) Studies dealing mainly with the revolutionary period.

Bailes de Antaño: Conferencia leída en el foyer del teatro de Colón el día 14 de Octubre de 1938. By L. A. CUERVO. (Bogotá, Editorial A.B.C., 1938, pp. 47.) An account of dancing, with special attention to the revolutionary era.

Deutsche Heimat in Brasilien. By M. KAHLE. (Berlin, Grenze und Ausland, 1937, pp. 151, 2.70 M.)

González Prada. By L. A. SÁNCHEZ, *et al.* (New York, Instituto de las Españas en los Estados Unidos, 1938, pp. 53.) Six brief essays and a bibliography concerning the career, character, writings, and genius of this Peruvian poet.

Las invasiones inglesas del Río de la Plata (1806-1807) y la influencia inglesa en la independencia y organización de las provincias del Río de la Plata. By C. ROBERTS. (Buenos Aires, Jacobo Peuser, 1938, pp. xxviii, 458.) A detailed study of the English invasions of the viceroyalty of La Plata, based partly on investigations in English and Argentine archives. The volume is equipped with a bibliography and several maps.

El fundador de la biblioteca pública de Buenos Aires: Estudio histórico sobre la fundición y formación de la biblioteca pública en 1810 hasta su apertura en Marzo de 1812. By R. LEVENE. (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos de la Penitenciaría Nacional de Buenos Aires, 1938, pp. 180.) The role of Mariano Moreno in the establishment of the national library at Buenos Aires, with an appendix of documents, some of which have not been published before.

Esteban Echeverría y su tiempo. By A. J. BUCICH. (Buenos Aires, Talleres Gráficos Virtus, 1938, pp. 102.) A collection of articles concerning the *Asociación de Mayo*, founded in 1837 by young Argentines headed by Echeverría. These essays pay considerable attention to the spirit of that age and to the liberalizing influence of members of that association.

- La Moda: Gaceta semanal de música, de poesía, de literatura, de costumbres, 1838.* Edited by JOSÉ A. ORIA. (Buenos Aires, Guillermo Kraft, 1938, pp. 220.) The Junta de Historia y Numismática Americana, now styled the Academia Nacional de la Historia, has reproduced a very rare Argentine periodical which is accompanied by learned notes.
- Urquiza en la instrucción pública.* By A. SAGARNA. Two parts. (Buenos Aires, 1936; 1937, pp. 23; 15.) Contains a summary of the steps taken by Urquiza to promote public education.
- Homenaje al Capitán General Justo José de Urquiza, el organizador, el reductor, el pacificador, el americanista.* By A. SAGARNA. (Paraná, Imp. de la provincia, 1938, pp. 37.) A tribute to the work of Urquiza as a constructive statesman.
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- Martí y la Conferencia Monetaria de 1891: Discursos.* [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", 1938, pp. 75.) Addresses which discuss the participation of Martí, as the delegate of Uruguay, in the monetary conference which was held in Washington in 1891.

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HISTORICAL NEWS

AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The next annual meeting of the Association will be held in Washington, D. C. As authorized by the Association, the Executive Committee has selected New York City as the place for the annual meeting in December, 1940.

ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting of the Association was held on December 29 at the Stevens Hotel in Chicago. The customary action was taken with regard to the reports of the secretary and treasurer, the secretary read a list of the names of members who had died during the past year, and memorials to two former presidents of the Association, George Lincoln Burr and Laurence Marcellus Larson, were read by Andrew C. McLaughlin and Guy Stanton Ford, respectively.

On behalf of the Committee of Ten on Reorganization and Policy (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 728, 965) the chairman, Professor John D. Hicks, made a preliminary report, and the committee, pursuant to its own request, was continued in existence for a year. The financial status of the Association, according to the committee, was better than had been predicted the year before and showed that the Association had a good chance of maintaining its present cash balance of about \$5000. While convinced that the various expenditures of the Association were neither unreasonable nor excessive, the committee questioned the efficiency of the existing organization. "We have too many offices and perhaps too many officers. Undoubtedly the ideal solution would be to consolidate all our offices in Washington, where, according to the terms of our charter, our 'principal office' must be located." The committee urged strongly that the Executive Committee be made more definitely than now seems to be the case a subordinate body to the Executive Council. To this end it urged that members of the Executive Committee be chosen exclusively from the membership of the Council and also that at least one Council meeting be held well before the regular meeting of the Association in December. The committee voiced its objections to the proposed plan of dual nominations for the office of second vice-president; held that the formation of a new Pacific Coast Historical Society, if undertaken, would in no sense be regarded as a secession movement ("The American Historical Association will continue to be the national historical body in which American historians find membership essential, whatever their regional interests and affiliations."); urged that future

meetings of the Association be held exclusively in large cities; and promised to investigate such criticism as might be brought to its attention. It expressly denied that it had formed a final judgment on any question. "What has been said merely indicates the present direction of our thought. If we have gone astray, it is your duty to set us right. We particularly solicit your opinions *in writing*, for verbal and oratorical efforts, while moving enough at the time, are easily forgotten." The committee will hold another meeting somewhere in the East next summer. Communications should be sent to the chairman, John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin.

The following resolutions relative to a proposed new magazine of history and the creation of a new class of associate members of the Association (see below, p. 764) were presented on behalf of the Council:

1. That the Council endorse in principle the idea of a magazine of history to be controlled by the American Historical Association and to reach beyond the present clientele of the Association, and for the wider dissemination of historical knowledge in popular form.
2. That the Association, through the Council, exercise the right to make appointments to the board of editors of such projected magazine, and that the Editor-in-Chief be chosen by such Board.
3. That there be created an associate membership in the Association for subscribers to such projected magazine, without the right to vote.
4. That any contract which shall determine the relationship of such magazine to the Association be approved by the Council.

After a debate on the general principles and the means of implementing them, it was voted to postpone action on the resolutions until the next annual meeting. The critical vote, on a motion to postpone action on the first resolution, was 74 to 62.

The following amendments to the constitution and the by-laws of the Association, proposed by the Council, were unanimously adopted.

Article III of the constitution was amended to read as follows:

Any person approved by the Council may become an active member of the Association. Active membership shall date from the receipt by the treasurer of the first payment of dues, which shall be \$5 a year or a single payment of \$100 for life. Annual dues shall be payable at the beginning of the year to which they apply, and any member whose dues are in arrears for one year may, one month after the mailing of a notice of such delinquency to his last known address, be dropped from the rolls by vote of the Council or the Executive Committee. Members who have been so dropped may be reinstated at any time by the payment of one year's dues in advance. Only active members shall have the right to vote or to hold office in the Association.

Persons not resident in the United States may be elected by the Council as honorary or corresponding members, and such members shall be exempt from the payment of dues.

Pursuant to a resolution passed at the business meeting in December, 1937 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 728), an amendment to the by-laws was adopted to make Section II read as follows:

The president, first vice-president, second vice-president, secretary, and treasurer shall be elected in the following manner. The nominating committee at such convenient time prior to the 1st of September as it may determine shall invite each member of the Association to indicate his or her nominee for each of these offices. With these suggestions in mind it shall draw up a ballot of nominations which it shall mail to each member of the Association on or before the 1st of December, and which it shall distribute as the official ballot at the annual business meeting. It shall present to this meeting orally any other nominations for these offices petitioned for to the chairman of the committee at least one day before the business meeting and supported by the names of twenty voting members of the Association. The election shall be made from these nominations at the business meeting.

Elective members of the Council and members of the nominating committee shall be chosen as follows: The nominating committee shall present for each vacant membership on the Council and on the nominating committee two or more names, including the names of any persons who may be nominated by a petition carrying the signatures of twenty or more voting members of the Association. Nominations by petition must be in the hands of the chairman of the nominating committee by November 1st. The nominating committee shall present these nominations to the members of the Association in the ballot distributed by mail as described above. The members of the Association shall make their choice from among these nominations and return their ballots for counting not later than the 20th of December at 6 p. m. No vote received after that time shall be valid. The votes shall be counted and checked in such manner as the nominating committee shall prescribe, and shall then be sealed in a box and deposited in the Washington office of the Association, where they shall be kept for at least a year. The results of the election shall be announced at the annual business meeting. In case of a tie choice shall be made at the annual business meeting from among the candidates receiving the highest equal vote.

This amendment made no change in the method of electing the executive officers of the Association but merely in the method of electing members of the Council and of the nominating committee.

In order to bring the constitution into conformity with the foregoing amendment to the by-laws, Article V, Section II, sentence 1, relating to the election of members of the Council, was amended by substituting "in the manner provided in the By-Laws" for "at the annual meeting of the Association".

Section III of the by-laws was amended to read as follows:

The nominating committee shall consist of five members, each of whom shall serve a term of two years. In the 1939 election two new members shall be elected; in 1940, three; and this alternation shall continue thereafter, except in the case of elections to complete unexpired terms. If vacancies on the nominating committee occur between the time of the annual elections, the nominating committee shall fill them by direct ad interim appointments.

A motion was made looking to the holding of meetings of members of the Association interested in European history, resident in the Mississippi Valley, at the time of the annual meeting of the Association in the years when the Association does not meet in the West, such meetings to be held

at central points in the Mississippi Valley. This proposal was referred to the Committee of Ten for recommendation.

REPORT OF THE EXECUTIVE SECRETARY FOR 1937-38

The Executive Council of the Association held one meeting during the year, on December 27 at Chicago. The Executive Committee of the Council met three times during the year: March 6, October 1, November 13.

All of the activities of the Association hereafter to be noted are in general charge of the Executive Secretary, under the immediate direction of the Executive Committee and subject to the general control of the Executive Council.

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW. During the current year the *Review* has been edited by Professor Robert L. Schuyler from the editorial offices at 535 West 114th Street, New York City. The total cost of editing the *Review* amounted to \$6600. The net cost of printing the *Review*, after deducting the contribution of the publishers to editorial expenses and the Association's share of profits of publication, amounted to \$2171.91, making a total cost of \$8771.91, or about \$2.64 per member, a reduction of 17 cents per member from the corresponding figure last year. The explanation of this reduction lies chiefly in the fact that there was a very considerable increase (55 per cent) in the Association's share of the profits of publication, arising out of increase in circulation, increase in advertising, and decrease in the purchases of paper stock by reason of large purchases during the preceding year. The following paragraphs are quoted from the report of the Managing Editor:

Volume XLIII of the *Review* (October, 1937-July, 1938) carried 1020 pages, including an annual index of 38 pages, as compared with 890 pages in Volume XLII. The total number of Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents was 21, the same as in Volume XLII. The increase in the number of pages is explained by the marked increase in the number of books reviewed and noticed and the increase in the number of articles listed. Volume XLIII contains 261 reviews as against 241 in Volume XLII and 468 notices as against 249. That is to say, the reviews and notices totaled 729 as compared with 490 in Volume XLII, an increase of 49 per cent. The total number of articles listed was 2314 as compared with 1859 in Volume XLII, an increase of almost 25 per cent.

During the period covered by this report 111 Articles, Notes and Suggestions, and Documents were submitted, as compared with 84 during the preceding twelve months. Of these, 23 were accepted, 86 rejected, and 2 are still under consideration. It will be noted that the number of submissions was considerably larger in 1937-38 than in 1936-37. Twelve major articles were published, including the presidential address and the memoir of Dr. Jameson. The account of the annual meeting of the American Historical Association, which customarily appears in the April issue, was omitted because many of the papers presented were to be published in a separate volume. Of the articles, 3 were in the field of European history, 3 in American history, 1 each in Franco-American, Anglo-Spanish, and Near Eastern history, and 1 in Japanese historiography. There were 5 Notes and Suggestions,

2 in European history, and 1 each in Anglo-American, Anglo-Caribbean, and Franco-American history. Four documents or collections of documents were published, 2 in American, 1 in Anglo-American, and 1 in European history.

The Ten Year Index, which is now in galley, should be ready for distribution by December 1. The Macmillan Company have advised me that the cost of publishing the Index will be covered by a subscription of about five hundred. As more than this number of individuals and libraries have indicated their desire to purchase the Index and as some additional subscriptions may be anticipated, it would seem that the publication of the Index will not reduce the profits payable to the Association by the Macmillan Company.

SOCIAL EDUCATION. During the current year *Social Education* has been edited by Professor Erling M. Hunt from the editorial offices, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University. The arrangements for publishing the magazine, with the co-operation of the National Council for the Social Studies and the American Book Company, were set forth at length in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937. The following paragraphs are quoted from the report of the Executive Board of the magazine:

Social Education has continued publication in accordance with the policies reported a year ago. It is directed mainly to teachers in secondary schools, with some attention, however, to teacher training and to the elementary school. The 692 pages of Volume I, including the nine issues of the calendar year 1937, were concerned with history, government and civics, economics, geography, sociology, and current affairs, and have touched on many aspects and various levels of education. The reviews reflect as wide an interest. In 1938 it has been possible to increase the amount of attention to European history, previously not adequately represented.

Both subscriptions and contributions indicate that *Social Education* is a national magazine, though the South and Southwest are somewhat under-represented.

The expenses of the editorial office, due to responsibility for advertising sales and some co-operation in promotion, rose somewhat during the year. The sale of advertising, however, increased even more as a result of the efforts of a part-time advertising assistant who has relieved the editor of some business responsibility.

The total number of subscribers to the magazine remains substantially what it was a year ago. There was an inevitable reaction from the intensive drive for subscribers which accompanied the launching of the magazine, but that loss has now been virtually recovered. The policy of shutting off subscriptions sharply at the date of expiration has come to be accepted by subscribers, who are co-operating increasingly in prompt renewals. The National Council for the Social Studies is now inaugurating a systematic program for increasing membership which will, it is anticipated, substantially increase the circulation.

The editorial costs of the magazine amounted to \$8764.69, an increase of about \$800 over the corresponding figure last year. Returns from advertising and from subscriptions amounted to \$4456.29, making the net cost of the magazine about \$4300. It will be recalled that this cost is borne

out of special funds earmarked for the purpose and constitutes no charge upon the regular budget of the Association. At the end of the fiscal year 1937-38, there was a balance of \$10,816.30 in this special fund, enough to carry on the magazine for, perhaps, three years. *Social Education* is now generally known and seems to have established itself firmly. It needs a good many more subscribers if it is to get upon a self-sustaining basis, but the prospects for the future are bright.

ANNUAL REPORT. The *Proceedings* of the A.H.A. for the year 1936 have appeared during the year in the *Annual Report* for 1936. *Writings on American History* for 1934 has also appeared. *Writings* for 1935 and *Proceedings* for 1937 are in second galley proof. Both of them will appear early in the year 1939. *Writings* for 1936 is in preparation. Dr. Mayo's *Instructions from the British Foreign Office to British Ministers in the United States, 1791-1812*, alluded to in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937, is now nearly a year overdue, but Dr. Mayo promises definite delivery of the manuscript soon. Money is available from the appropriation of the Federal government for the publication of the volumes in preparation, with a sufficient balance to pay for the printing of *Proceedings* for 1938 and for the Mayo volume if it is ready in time.

WRITINGS ON AMERICAN HISTORY. The printing of *Writings* continues to absorb considerably more than half of the annual appropriation from the Federal government for printing. The committee in charge of *Writings* has, therefore, recommended to the Council that the scope of *Writings* be curtailed by the omission of Latin-American and Canadian items, and the Council has approved. It will be recalled that Dr. Lewis Hanke is publishing through the Harvard Press an annual bibliography of Latin-American items.

The Federal government provides funds for printing *Writings*, but the preparation of them for the press has to be separately financed. These editorial costs amount to approximately \$2000 a year, which is raised by contributions from a number of historical societies, the Association contributing about one third. This arrangement involves an annual passing of the hat and places the whole enterprise, certainly one of the most important activities of the Association, on a more precarious footing than it ought to be. The committee appointed to supervise the publication of *Writings* was invited to explore the possibilities of raising a separate endowment for the purpose as a memorial to Dr. J. Franklin Jameson, but this matter has now been assigned to a special committee.

The Cumulative Index of *Writings*, being prepared by David M. Matteson and financed by a special grant from the American Council of Learned Societies, is progressing slowly. The editor is not yet prepared to promise when it will be completed.

ALBERT J. BEVERIDGE MEMORIAL FUND PUBLICATIONS. During the year

the Committee has published the letters of James Gillespie Birney, edited by Dwight L. Dumond. The editorial expenses of this project were borne elsewhere, but publication costs were paid out of the Beveridge Fund. The Committee, whose publications heretofore have been confined to source material, is now planning to publish a series of monographs on American history. This series will be restricted to short books—not over 75,000 words in length—which will be significant contributions to American history and which will be written with distinction. The Committee has also undertaken to provide funds for an essay prize in American history, to be awarded biennially and to take the place of the Justin Winsor Prize, which is now maintained by the Association by private contributions from a group of its members and which will be discontinued. The new prize will be for \$200, will be known as the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize, and will be awarded by a committee appointed by the Council for the purpose. The conditions governing the award of the prize will be the same as those of the Justin Winsor Prize, with the additional attraction that prize winning essays, if they appear to have sufficient merit, will be published by the Beveridge Fund Committee in its monograph series.

LITTLETON-GRISWOLD FUND PUBLICATIONS. The Littleton-Griswold Committee has, during the year, undertaken to ascertain by personal inspection what colonial records seem to be particularly worthy of publication. The Secretary of the Committee has accordingly examined the state archives from Maine to Florida but has not yet presented his report for consideration. The Chairman of the Committee reports as follows:

During the past year work has been nearly completed on Dr. Farrell's volume of "Reports of the Superior Court of Connecticut, 1772-73", which will be our next publication. It is hoped that the collaboration on this volume of Dean Charles E. Clark of the Yale School of Law will not be rendered impossible by his appointment as a member of the United States Circuit Court of Appeals of the Second Circuit. "The Minute Book of the Common Pleas and Quarter Sessions, 1684-1730", of Bucks County, Pennsylvania (to be supplemented by materials erroneously bound in a Sessions Docket of 1715-30), has been microfilmed, a typewritten transcript thereof is far advanced toward completion, and the editors, Mr. Sprogell and Mr. Fitzroy, have made considerable progress in their labors. Owing to various causes, less progress can be reported upon the New Jersey volume, "The Minutes of the Supreme Court of West New Jersey, 1681-1709". A second Connecticut volume is under consideration. It would contain the records of the Court of Assistants of Connecticut, 1665-71, and would be edited by Mr. Norbert Lacy, with some collaboration by a lawyer in the interpretation of the materials. It would have much the same special appeal to the bar that Mr. Farrell's volume will have.

CARNEGIE REVOLVING FUND PUBLICATIONS. The committee in charge of this Fund has undertaken to publish three volumes: H. I. Priestley's *France Overseas*, O. P. Chitwood's *Life of John Tyler*, and J. T. Horton's *Life of James Kent*. The first of these, which is now in press, was subsidized to the extent of \$1000 by the University of California. The other two are

being prepared for the printer. At the end of the fiscal year the balance standing to the credit of this Fund was \$6814.55. The Chairman of the Committee writes as follows:

Since a good share of this sum will be used up in the publication of these three volumes, and since receipts from sales are extremely meager (note receipts as follows: 1936, \$1742.94; 1937, \$1322.32; 1938, \$883.69), it is obvious that for the future the Committee can accept only an occasional manuscript. It is our unanimous judgment, to quote one of my colleagues, that hereafter "publication by our Committee ought to be in the nature of an accolade—a recognition of really distinctive work."

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF AMERICAN TRAVEL. The plans of the committee in charge of this project, outlined in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937, have, unfortunately, not been carried forward further because of lack of funds.

THE CONSTITUTION RECONSIDERED. A large number of the papers read at the meeting of the Association in Philadelphia on the occasion of the sesquicentennial of the United States Constitution have been edited by the Executive Secretary and published under the title *The Constitution Reconsidered* by the Columbia University Press. All expenses of publication except editorial expenses have been borne by the Press, and provision has been made for a generous royalty to the Association. An advance of \$500 against royalties has been made by the Press for editorial expenses.

COMMITTEE ON HISTORICAL SOURCE MATERIALS. This Committee continues to play a very important part in co-operating with the Historical Records Survey, carried on under the direction of Dr. Luther Evans through nationwide relief projects of the Works Progress Administration. There can be no doubt at all that Dr. Evans and his associates are producing a survey of historical records in this country, both Federal and local, which will place at the command of students the most comprehensive guide of historical source materials available in any country in the world. Space does not serve to record the progress of this work. Members of the Association are urged to follow the reports of the Committee on Historical Source Materials as they are printed in the *Annual Report*. A few extracts from the report of the Chairman of the Committee for 1938 are quoted here.

Work on the inventory of federal archives outside the District of Columbia was begun on January 1, 1936. . . . Archives of the field offices of the executive offices were first inventoried, and then work was undertaken on the archives of the independent agencies. By December 1, 1938, the work of preparing inventory reports upon the archives of the executive departments was virtually completed, though that on the archives of the independent agencies was not more than half done. . . . The first publication in this series is to contain reports on the administration of the survey, acknowledgments, and general discussions of location, condition, and content of the federal archives within a particular state. The succeeding publications in the series relate to the archives of the judiciary, to the archives of the executive departments (except the Department of State), and to the

archives of other major units of the federal government. . . . By December 1, the editorial work on the series pertaining to the judiciary was 38 per cent completed, with 5 publications issued . . . work on the series pertaining to the executive departments (excepting the Department of State and the Post Office Department) was 43 per cent completed, with 64 publications issued. . . . Editorial work on the series pertaining to the independent agencies was just begun, with 15 publications issued.

Work on the inventory of state and local archives was begun . . . in the winter of 1935. Greatest progress has been made in the inventory of county archives. . . . By December 1, first drafts of such inventories had been prepared for 2031 counties, or approximately 66 per cent of the total . . . inventories had been issued for 146 counties, or approximately 5 per cent of the total. Certain of the published inventories are conspicuous for the excellence of the essays they contain on the historical background of the county governments, on their organization and records system, and on the housing, care, and accessibility of the records. Considerable progress has also been made on the inventorying of municipal and town archives. . . .

In addition to the work in public records, the Historical Records Survey has secured inventories of church records. By December 1, the records of 51,468 churches had been listed, or approximately 28 per cent of the total. . . .

Work on manuscript resources has not progressed as far as work on archival materials. At its meeting in December, 1936, the Committee on Historical Source Materials . . . suggested that the . . . Survey include in its program a preliminary survey of institutions in this country to determine the volume of manuscript material in their custody. . . . In accordance with this suggestion, the Historical Records Survey has secured information by submitting questionnaires to custodians of manuscript resources in various depositories. By December 1, questionnaires were returned from approximately 900 institutions. . . . While accurate estimates on the amount of work done on manuscript collections can not be made, plans have been developed for the inventorying of manuscript collections in most states.

The Committee on Historical Source Materials concludes:

1. that the work of inventorying the archival resources of the country is proceeding in a commendable manner, and that its continuance, through public appropriations for that purpose, should be ensured, and that, therefore, this work merits the endorsement which the Committee on Historical Source Materials has given it in a letter directed to the Honorable Harry Hopkins,
2. that the editorial work upon the inventory reports upon archival resources is proceeding apace, but that the publication of the results is lagging behind somewhat, and that, therefore, the Committee on Historical Source Materials might consider means to facilitate the publication of the results,
3. that the work of bringing the manuscript resources of the country under control has resulted in a preliminary survey of depositories, which is basic to the development of a long-range program of work upon manuscript collections as such, and that the actual work upon manuscript collections has just begun.

The Committee recommends that the Association consider the advisability of producing, on the basis of the work done by the Survey, a comprehensive guide, to be published by the Association. It also suggests that the co-operation of its members be invited in securing appraisals of manuscript collections utilized by them in their several researches.

But the point upon which the Committee lays most stress is the desirability that American historical scholars should recognize the fundamental importance of the work being done by Dr. Evans and his associates, the high quality of the reports they have published, and the need of supporting their efforts in every possible way. Foundations have been laid for a comprehensive survey and appraisal of the enormous mass of historical material preserved in this country in public and private collections. Much has been done to impress upon public officials and private owners the importance of preserving this material and of making it accessible. The American Historical Association, through its Committee on Historical Source Materials, has watched the progress of the H.R. Survey with a very critical eye. From an attitude of skepticism it has been converted to an attitude of complete endorsement, and it has been able to render to Dr. Evans and his associates much valuable service. The American Historical Association is in a position to speak on the subject, and to speak with authority, and it should raise its voice in no uncertain tones, not only in praise of what has already been done, but in emphasizing the importance of carrying the work forward indefinitely. The W.P.A. has made the venture possible, but the business of listing, arranging, preserving, and editing the manuscript material upon which the history of these United States must be based should be on a footing independent of work relief, and made a permanent and important part of the work of the Federal government.

COMMITTEE ON AMERICANA FOR COLLEGE LIBRARIES. The colleges participating in the so-called "McGregor Plan", which is administered by this Committee, are: Dartmouth, Mount Holyoke, Allegheny, William and Mary, Wake Forest, Emory University, Wesleyan College for Women, Florida State College for Women, Birmingham-Southern, Western Kentucky State Teachers College, Carleton, Albion, Baylor University, Pomona, Mills. The Chairman of this Committee writes as follows:

In reviewing the work of the year, we may say that the colleges were so alert to this opportunity that practically every one had spent, or committed, its entire \$1000 long before the first half of the year was completed. The job of your Committee is to get the books. As you know, we submit catalogues to the colleges, and the resulting duplications of orders keep us busy finding other copies of books which several colleges may have wanted.

Naturally we find the widest divergence among the colleges as to what constitutes "rare Americana" within the sense of their particular needs. We are helping build up a collection of rare Kentuckiana at Bowling Green, where a rare Kentucky imprint or an early edition of Daniel Boone means more than a 17th century New England tract, and may be even harder to get. Albion, Carleton, Baylor, Allegheny, Mount Holyoke, Dartmouth and others are inclined to accept the words "rare Americana" in their widest sense. Some of the colleges are really trying to specialize in books which will be useful to their communities as well as to their own students. All of these policies have merit, when we consider their

individual wants, needs and aspirations. It is difficult for your Committee to lay down rigid rules of book selection for colleges so widely distributed, and therefore your Committee is being guided by the late Mr. McGregor's more general principle: "be helpful".

Funds for the operation of the Americana Plan are contributed by the Trustees of the McGregor Fund. At present their appropriation amounts to about \$15,000 a year. Operating expenses for the calendar year 1938 showed an excess of income over expenditures of about \$500. This surplus will probably enable us to add one more college to our list of participants.

COMMITTEE ON RADIO. The Director of the A.H.A. radio program reports as follows:

Early in 1938, the Educational Department of the National Broadcasting Company, of which Dr. James Rowland Angell is Educational Advisor, became very much interested in the work of the Radio Committee. The Keith Fund, which had been one of the benefactors of the experimental series in 1937, had made a new grant of \$1000 to the Radio Committee. This grant was made on condition that it be met by sufficient funds to finance a series of at least ten talks. The National Broadcasting Company agreed to give free time on the air and to duplicate the grant of the Keith Fund at the rate of \$100 a week for ten weeks. The Radio Committee felt, and Dr. Angell and Mr. Dunham of the N.B.C. agreed, that the broadcaster was a matter of great importance, that he should be chosen with great care and should be paid for the job. Various possible broadcasters were interviewed and tested for the new series. We were very fortunate in securing the services of Mr. Cesar Saerchinger as broadcaster of the talks. Mr. Saerchinger was at one time Berlin correspondent for the *New York Post*. He was for several years the European representative of the Columbia Broadcasting System. He combines with a knowledge of how to reach people, a broad cultural background and familiarity with international affairs, and an enthusiastic endorsement of the ideas and ideal of the Radio Committee. At the end of the ten broadcasts, which ran from March 4th to May 6th, the N.B.C. was anxious to do three more talks. Through the generosity of the Keith Fund, we were enabled to do them.

The talks in the series of March-May, 1938, were published by the Columbia University Press in *The Bulletin of the Story Behind the Headlines*. This *Bulletin* contained, in addition to the talk, a short critical bibliography on the subject of the talk, and a second article on some subject of general interest, either historical or current. The *Bulletin* was sold for ten cents a copy, and involved no charge upon the budget of the Committee.

The Story Behind the Headlines started its 1938-39 series with a grant from the Keith Fund sufficient to enable it to carry on for thirteen broadcasts. The National Broadcasting Company in addition to providing the time over the network, is providing two thirds of the money for the program. Shortly after the beginning of the series this fall, the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace made a grant to the Radio Committee which will make it possible to continue the program, after the money from the Keith Fund is exhausted, through the season.

The Columbia University Press is again publishing the *Bulletin*, which is edited by the Director of the program at the Philadelphia office of the A.H.A., selling for ten cents a copy or \$2 for twenty-six issues.

These radio talks are making an important contribution to the development of the radio as a medium for the transmission of popular education

along sound lines. The Radio Committee has heretofore succeeded in financing its own operations without any charge upon the Association—thanks chiefly to the indefatigable efforts of Mrs. Evelyn Plummer Braun, Director. It is to be hoped that sooner or later this enterprise can be put upon a more stable basis, so that the energies of the Director may be confined to its educational aspects and not scattered in a constant effort to provide the necessary funds.

The attention of members of the Association is particularly directed to the *Bulletin*, and especially to the critical bibliographies which it prints upon the historical background of matters of immediate contemporary interests. These selected bibliographies are prepared by recognized experts and have proved to be of great value for teachers of modern history, both in schools and colleges, and for all those who are seeking guidance for sound reading in modern history.

THE UNION LIBRARY CATALOGUE OF THE PHILADELPHIA METROPOLITAN AREA. This project, sponsored by the A.H.A., is now a very important bibliographical agency for the Philadelphia metropolitan area. It not only provides a central point at which the library resources of the whole area can be consulted, but it is also doing much to develop a spirit of co-operation among Philadelphia libraries. Furthermore, the Philadelphia catalogue has become a model for the development of regional union catalogues throughout the country, and its director is coming to be recognized as one of the foremost experts in the world on all problems connected with cataloguing technique. A project is now on foot to develop a community research center in Philadelphia with the union catalogue as its nucleus, and a grant has been made by the Carnegie Corporation to finance the preparation of plans for such a center. This is an example of the sort of enterprise which the Association is in a position to promote and which is of incalculable value to historical scholarship.

PRIZES OFFERED BY THE ASSOCIATION. Four prizes were available for award at the December meeting: the Jusserand Medal, the George Louis Beer Prize, the John H. Dunning Prize, and the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize. Three of these were awarded: the George Louis Beer Prize to René Albrecht-Carrié for his study, *Italy at the Paris Peace Conference* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938); the John H. Dunning Prize to Robert A. East for his study, *Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era* (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938); the Herbert Baxter Adams Prize to McCandless Wilson for his monograph, *French Foreign Policy during the Administration of Cardinal Fleury, 1726-1743: A Study in Diplomacy and Commercial Development*. The Jusserand Medal was not awarded, and by vote of the Council the practice of awarding it has been discontinued.

There has, on the whole, been a much more gratifying response to these

prizes this year than heretofore. Five essays were submitted for the Beer Prize, ten for the Adams Prize, fourteen for the Dunning Prize. The Chairman of the Beer Prize Committee believes that the prizes should have greater publicity. The Chairman of the Adams Prize is much gratified at the large number and high quality of works submitted in competition. An excellent example of what may be done by the vigorous efforts of the chairman of a prize committee to give publicity to the prize is presented in the report of Dr. Kathleen Bruce, Chairman of the John H. Dunning Prize Committee. Miss Bruce writes as follows:

On being informed by the Executive Secretary of the vote of the Executive Committee, and the necessity for quick action on the part of the Dunning Prize Committee, the Chairman of the Committee immediately set to work to do a thorough job in the way of giving the prize publicity. A mimeographed request to editors to print a notice of the change in the date of the award, the last date on which works might be submitted, and the address of the Chairman to whom competing works should be sent, was dispatched to the editors of 68 historical publications listed in the *HANDBOOK* of historical societies in the United States and Canada, these being all who seemed to have the facilities for printing such a notice. Essentially the same notice, accompanied by a personal letter, was sent as a news item to the editors of book reviews of 15 of the greater newspapers between the Atlantic and the Pacific. . . . Instructions entitled "Notice for the Governance of Competitors for the Dunning Prize of the American Historical Association", based on the standard regulations of the Association, were then prepared . . . and a copy dispatched, usually in the return mail, to each person who requested more information. In due course, the Chairman received 98 inquiries from 49 men and 49 women together representing 27 states, and the District of Columbia, which testifies to the generous response of the historical and newspaper editors in printing without charge the original notice sent out by the Chairman.

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF BRITISH HISTORY, 1714-89. The status of this enterprise was described in the report of the Executive Secretary for 1937. It will be recalled that Dr. Stanley Pargellis has assumed editorial responsibility for the work. His task has been that of editing material supplied by English contributors and of supplementing it when necessary. Dr. Pargellis writes as follows:

I write to report progress on the Bibliography. . . . The sections on Military History, Political Theory, Historiography, and Education are nearly finished and ready for copying. Of these only the last was turned over to me in a shape fit to publish, and I have found few errors and made few changes in it. The first two had to be completely redone and the third is a new section, not included in the original bibliography. The section on Biography has been expanded into the form of a list of books to be consulted in running down information on obscure persons in the period. It should be one of the most useful sections in the book. The rather brief section on the reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commission I have enlarged into a detailed list of materials arranged by those eighteenth century persons whose papers are described or calendared. Sections on colonial history, art, architecture, philosophy, and English literature I have been able to assign to competent people here.

How soon this job will be finished I can not say. It moves slowly, and there seem to be few sections that can pass without careful checking and revision. I have this year two and perhaps three assistants who will have to be trained; the subvention voted by the Council of the Royal Historical Society, which Professor Bellot has sent on to me, should do little more than provide for clerical work.

In this connection it will be recalled that there is a plan afoot for a new edition of Dr. Charles Gross's *The Sources and Literature of English History . . . to about 1485*. The enterprise is sponsored by the Royal Historical Society in England, and by the American Council of Learned Societies, the Mediaeval Academy, and the American Historical Association in America. Professor William E. Lunt of Haverford College, one of our most distinguished medievalists and an old student of Dr. Gross, has been selected as editor.

INTERNATIONAL COMMITTEE OF HISTORICAL SCIENCES. This year Mr. Waldo G. Leland, for many years the representative of the A.H.A. on the International Committee and one of its most vigorous and effective members, becomes its chairman. He writes as follows:

During 1938, the quinquennial International Congress of Historical Sciences was held in Zurich, August 28-September 4, and at the same time, as required by the Constitution, there was held the general assembly of the International Committee.

An account of the Congress which is published in abridged form in the January number of *The American Historical Review* is appended to this report, as is also an account of the general assembly of the Committee, and these appendices should be considered as the main part of my report.

In this section of the report I beg to deal chiefly with the participation of the American Historical Association in the work of the International Committee.

The International Committee of Historical Sciences was created chiefly through the initiative of the representatives of the American Historical Association in the Brussels Congress of 1923; a large share of its financial support has been secured through applications presented to the Rockefeller Foundation in the name of the Association; for the first eight years of the Committee's existence, I served as its treasurer, and its legal headquarters were during that time set up in Washington, near the headquarters of the Association.

It is not too much to say that without the initiative, interest, and support of the Association, the International Committee would not have been organized, or, if organized, it could have maintained itself only with the greatest difficulty.

At the present moment, more than ever the Committee needs the active interest of the Association. If the international organizations of scholars that have been formed since the World War are to be kept in activity and even in being during the period of extreme difficulty through which the world is passing, it will be only through the exercise of patience and forbearance, the avoidance of emotional explosions, and the achievement of mutual understanding. We must not forget that throughout the world, scholars, whatever their political views may be, are mostly men of good will, such as we like to think that we ourselves are, and we must not hold them responsible for situations and conditions over which they have little or no influence.

More than most, American scholars have a grave responsibility in these times to help maintain the intellectual balance of the world.

One of the most effective ways in which we can meet our responsibility is by friendly and effective collaboration with our colleagues of other countries in useful undertakings, and our relation to the International Committee affords abundant opportunity for such co-operation.

In the first place I may assume that the Association desires to maintain its representation in the International Committee, and to contribute its financial support in the form of the annual dues, which are set at 250 Swiss francs, but which the larger countries have of late accepted to be of 300 francs. (The amount in sterling has not yet been determined.)

In the second place I beg to urge that the Association make a special effort to aid the publications of the International Committee to become self-supporting. This is particularly important in the case of the *International Bibliography of Historical Sciences* and the *Bulletin of the International Committee*.

The first of these is published annually, contains over 6000 items, selected by collaborating editors in different countries, and is an indispensable tool of research. The tenth volume, just published, covers the year 1936, and the lag is being gradually reduced. The price of the annual volume is at present \$6.00 and in order for the bibliography to become self-supporting almost 1000 copies must be sold. Of this number at least 200 should be sold in the United States; the present distribution is *ca.* 80. It is recommended that a special effort be made in 1939, through personal solicitation, to persuade university and college libraries, and departments of history, to subscribe to the *Bibliography* and to purchase back numbers, which can be secured at a substantial reduction.

It is also recommended that the American editorial contribution of bibliographical items (historical works produced in the United States) be continued, at an annual cost of \$200, of which I agree to be responsible for one half, expecting to secure it from another source.

The second publication, the *Bulletin*, is published quarterly. At present only *ca.* 20 subscriptions come from the United States. Here again a personal effort should be made to secure from 200 to 300 subscriptions from libraries, departments, and individuals. The price in 1939 will probably be less than \$2. The contents of the *Bulletin* are miscellaneous; they include reports from the various Commissions (History Teaching, Iconography, History of Enlightened Despotism, History of the Press, etc.), the proceedings of the Committee, abstracts of papers read at the international congresses, and extended summaries of historical works in languages not generally read by the majority of Western scholars. A small committee has been appointed to plan the improvement of the *Bulletin*. I make no recommendation of direct financial support by the Association, but urge that the good offices of the Association be made available for the extension of the circulation in the United States.

In this connection let me remark that several of these publications are due to American suggestion: the *Bibliography* was proposed by Dr. Jameson as was also the List of Diplomatic Representatives; the History of the Press was proposed by E. Malcolm Carroll of Duke University, while the History of Constitutions, of which two volumes have appeared, was proposed by myself.

Dr. Leland has expressed so well the significance of the work of the International Committee, not only as an instrument for the promotion of historical scholarship, but also—at this critical juncture in human affairs—for the promotion of international understanding and good will, that it

would be gratuitous to add to it. The Council of the Association has taken action in accordance with Dr. Leland's concrete suggestions and recommends to the membership at large their personal co-operation in promoting the objectives and the other activities of the Committee.

AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION AND BY-LAWS ¹

A NEW MAGAZINE OF HISTORY. For some years the Executive Committee of the Council has been interesting itself in the development of plans for the establishment of a magazine of history which should be non-professional in character and should aim at the wide dissemination of sound history in popular form to the public at large. In the spring of 1938 a self-constituted committee of historians in and about New York City, at least three of whom were prominent members of the Association, undertook to formulate plans for such a magazine. They drew up a concrete proposal for the consideration of the Executive Committee in the early summer. So far as the Association was involved, they asked the Association to assume control over the personnel of the board of editors of the new magazine, and to create for the benefit of subscribers to the new magazine an associate membership in the Association without voting power. They proposed to relieve the Association of all financial responsibility, and to raise \$300,000 for financing the venture. The terms of this plan were considered carefully by the Executive Committee at two separate meetings and were finally approved by the Executive Committee by a vote of five to one, Mr. Merk dissenting. The plan was then referred to the Council, and the Council, by a close vote, also approved it. It was then laid before the Association at the Annual Meeting in the form of resolutions, the first of which invited the Association to endorse in principle the idea of a popular magazine, to be controlled by the Association. The second invited the Association to assume control over the personnel of the board of editors of the new magazine; and the third asked for an amendment to the Constitution which would make possible the creation of associate membership without voting power. Debate in the Annual Meeting was confined to the general resolution inviting the endorsement of the principle. By a close vote this resolution was tabled and, therefore, the whole proposal, so far as the Association is involved, was shelved for at least a year.

MEMBERSHIP COMMITTEE. The Chairman of the Membership Committee writes as follows:

No formal Membership Committee was made up by the Chairman as it was thought better to use a changing group from year to year. With the valuable assistance of the previous Chairman of this Committee, R. C. Miller of Wayne University, the entire problem of membership maintenance in the Association was considered last winter and spring. Especially valuable was an April conference at Indianapolis where the problem was discussed at length by the Treasurer of the

¹ This section of the report has been omitted because the amendments have been dealt with in the account of the annual business meeting given above.—ED.

Association, Solon J. Buck, Mr. Miller, and myself. At least partly as a result of this meeting several fundamental changes were made in our system of maintaining our membership.

Most important of these was the new policy inaugurated by the Treasurer of dealing with members who have become delinquent by non-payment of dues. The new system replaces the older, formal notices to such delinquents, with well-phrased, signed letters from the Treasurer, and where that is ineffective with a similar "follow-up" letter that, while entirely dignified, gives every indication of being more effective in securing renewals. The importance of this new procedure will be appreciated when it is understood that the annual loss of members has been so large in the past that the Membership Committee has been like the character in *Alice in Wonderland*—it has had to run as fast as it could in order to stay in the same place.

A change was also made in the system of treating new members. Under the older system a young scholar who felt he had arrived at the period of affluence where he could at least afford to join the Association might be surprised, if he sent in his membership near the end of the year, to receive immediately the three back numbers of the *Review* for that year, and within three months the current number, together with a bill for his next year's dues. It seemed clear that this practice had created considerable bad feeling toward the Association in the past and accounted in part for the high rate of membership loss. The new policy permits memberships to begin with any quarter and entails some extra work upon the office of the Treasurer.

A third innovation was to inaugurate a system of deferred dues payments for our spring recruiting campaign. This applies almost entirely to securing memberships from graduating students who sometimes find the dues a serious drain at that time. Actually the change is merely one of encouraging the prospective member to indicate his intention to join, with the statement that he will be billed for his dues in the autumn. Actually he does not become a member or receive his copy of the *Review* until his dues are paid. It is thought that this procedure will have a favorable effect in stimulating new memberships.

A campaign for new members was instituted in all the important centers of graduate instruction last spring. In a few cases this was started too late to be of maximum effectiveness, usually because of delay caused by the difficulty of finding a staff member to undertake the work. In most cases someone went out of his or her way to call graduate students' attention to the desirability of membership and to place in their hands copies of the new folders on the work of the Association. The results were uneven from institution to institution, chiefly because of differences in the enthusiasm of the staff members who undertook the task.

The previous Committee on Membership made its largest campaign in 1937, and consequently it seemed wise not to make a nation-wide campaign in 1938. Instead it was decided to confine the campaign to the area from which the Chicago meeting will draw extensive attendance. Later Michigan and Tennessee were eliminated from the area because of the thorough campaign in those states last year.

Data for gains and losses in membership for the full year ending November 30, 1938, reveals a gross gain in membership of 414, as compared with a gross gain of 389 for a twelve-month period last year. The net gain for the year was 188, as compared with 152 for the twelve months previous. The geographical distribution of members is as follows: Atlantic Seaboard, 1838; Mississippi Valley, 1197; Pacific Coast, 284; dependencies, 3; other

countries, 104. The year's increase in members was chiefly in the following states: New York (52), Illinois (47), District of Columbia (42), Pennsylvania (37), Mississippi (23), Ohio (19), California (18), Indiana (16), Wisconsin (15), Michigan (11), Connecticut (10). In all other states, there were less than 10 new members, with no new ones at all in ten states: 6 west of the Rockies, 3 in the Mississippi Valley, and 1 on the Atlantic Seaboard. As compared with the last five years, the net gain this year is very gratifying. In general, we have added new members at the rate of about 10 per cent a year, but we are still losing too many old members, and too many of our members are still behind in the payment of their dues.

THE FINANCES OF THE ASSOCIATION. The report of the Board of Trustees, distributed with the report of the Treasurer at the Annual Meeting, reveals the fact that the net result of the year's management of the investments of the Association has been a decrease in the market value of the securities held by the Association from \$239,530.36 to \$214,182.25, a decrease of about 10½ per cent, while the income from investments has decreased from \$9896 to \$8069, a decrease of over 18 per cent. This striking decrease both in principal and in income reflects, of course, the general decline in security values and a very considerable decrease in dividend payments. The marked recovery in security values since August 31, 1938, would make an inventory of securities today considerably higher.

The Chairman of the Board writes: "The Board of Trustees regards the portfolio as an exceptionally strong one, and though it realized the importance of a good return on investments, its chief objective is and will remain security of principal."

The charges made by the Fiduciary Trust Company for the management of securities amounted during the fiscal year to \$946.68; the brokerage charges on purchases and sales of securities amounted to \$95.20. The Board of Trustees itself filed no expense account.

A detailed statement of the operating finances of the Association at the end of the fiscal year is presented in the Treasurer's Report, which was distributed to the members of the Association at the Annual Meeting. Operating expenses for the fiscal year were less by \$155.02 than had been estimated in the budget. Operating receipts exceeded estimates by \$2372, the important items of increase being in receipts from membership fees and receipts from registration fees. The net result was that the A.H.A. for the first time in five years spent less than it received and its budget is in balance. This illustrates the futility of prophecy. The Executive Secretary in his report last year declared we were certainly not yet in sight of a balanced budget. The Finance Committee prophesied last year that we should have exhausted all our reserve of income and be actually in the red by 1940. They have now changed their tune and prophesy that we shall be over \$2000 to the good in that year. But in any case we are perilously near the Plimsoll mark.

We must increase our income or else we can not expand our activities as we should in the nature of things do. Our income from endowment is not likely to show any marked increase unless we increase our endowment. Our income from dues is our most promising source of increasing revenues. Once again we must stress every effort to get new members and to hold fast to our old members. In this connection, we must never forget that the best of all possible ways to increase the number of our supporters is to enlarge the scope of our activities and increase our usefulness.

CONYERS READ, *Executive Secretary*.

THE OFFICERS AND COMMITTEES OF THE ASSOCIATION FOR 1939

President: William Scott Ferguson, Harvard University.

First Vice-President: Max Farrand, Henry E. Huntington Library and Art Gallery, San Marino, California.

Second Vice-President: James Westfall Thompson, University of California, Berkeley.

Secretary: Dexter Perkins, University of Rochester.

Executive Secretary: Conyers Read, 226 South 16th St., Philadelphia.

Treasurer: Solon J. Buck, The National Archives, Washington, D. C.

Assistant Secretary-Treasurer: Patty W. Washington, 740 Fifteenth St., N. W., Washington, D. C.

Editor of the Annual Report: Lowell Joseph Ragatz, George Washington University.

Council: (ex officio) the president, vice-presidents, secretary, and treasurer; (former presidents) Albert Bushnell Hart, Andrew C. McLaughlin, Worthington C. Ford, Edward P. Cheyney, Charles M. Andrews, Henry Osborn Taylor, Evarts B. Greene, Carl Becker, Herbert E. Bolton, Charles A. Beard, William E. Dodd, Michael I. Rostovtzeff, Charles H. McIlwain, Guy Stanton Ford, Frederic L. Paxson; (elected members) Bessie L. Pierce, Frederick Merk, Carl Wittke, Isaac J. Cox, Eugene C. Barker, Laurence B. Packard, R. J. Kerner, Allan Nevins.

Executive Committee of the Council: Laurence B. Packard, Amherst College, chairman; Frederick Merk, Allan Nevins, Bessie L. Pierce; (ex officio) Solon J. Buck, Dexter Perkins.

Council Committee on Appointments: Bessie L. Pierce, University of Chicago, chairman; Carl Wittke; (ex officio) Dexter Perkins, Conyers Read.

Board of Trustees: Shepard Morgan, Chase National Bank, New York City, chairman; W. Randolph Burgess, Leon Fraser, Stanton Griffis, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Committee on Publication Policy: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; John D. Hicks, Dumas Malone, Francis S. Philbrick, Conyers Read.

Standing Committee on Government Publications: Samuel Flagg Bemis, Yale University, chairman; Homer C. Hockett, J. Fred Rippy.

The Pacific Coast Branch: President, Henry S. Lucas, University of Washington; Vice-President, Ralph H. Lutz, Stanford University; Secretary-Treasurer, Francis H. Herrick, Mills College; *Council*, the above officers and David K. Bjork, Donald Rowland, James Westfall Thompson, Harold C. Vedeler; Managing Editor of the *Pacific Historical Review*, Louis Knott Koontz.

Committee on Program for the Fifty-fourth Annual Meeting: Eugene N. Anderson, American University, chairman; Viola F. Barnes, Merle E. Curti, Walter L. Dorn, Paul Lewinson, William F. McDonald, John Patterson, Carlton C. Qualey, Ralph Turner; (ex officio) W. S. Ferguson, Dorothy C. Barck, Dexter Perkins, O. C. Stine.

Committee on Local Arrangements: E. L. Kayser, George Washington University, chairman.

Committee on Nominations: Kent R. Greenfield, The Johns Hopkins University, chairman; Frank L. Owsley, Howard K. Beale, Curtis P. Nettels, Judith Blow Williams.

The American Historical Review: Managing Editor, Robert Livingston Schuyler, 535 West 114th Street, New York City; Assistant Editor, Eleanor D. Smith; Board of Editors, Arthur E. R. Boak, William L. Langer, Dumas Malone, Nellie Neilson, Dexter Perkins, Preserved Smith.

Social Education: Editor, Erling M. Hunt, 204 Fayerweather Hall, Columbia University; Assistant Editor, Katharine Elizabeth Crane; Executive Board, Harold F. Clark, Columbia University, chairman; Conyers Read, secretary; Charles A. Beard, Ronald Beasley, Erling M. Hunt, A. K. King, James I. Michener, Edwin H. Reeder, Ruth Wanger, Edgar B. Wesley, Louis Wirth, (ex officio) Howard E. Wilson.

Committee on Membership: Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, chairman, with power to appoint his associates.

Committees on Prizes: *George Louis Beer Prize*, Alfred Vagts, Sherman, Gaylordsville P. O., Connecticut, chairman; David Harris, Lawrence D. Steefel. *John H. Dunning Prize*, Viola F. Barnes, Mount Holyoke College, chairman; Paul H. Buck, Philip Davidson, jr. *Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize*, Caroline F. Ware, American University, chairman; Henry S. Commager, Colin B. Goodykoontz.

Committee on the Carnegie Revolving Fund for Publications: John D. Hicks, University of Wisconsin, chairman; Verner W. Crane, Frances E. Gillespie, Kent R. Greenfield, Jakob A. O. Larsen, Edward Whitney.

Committee on the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Fund: Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Merle E. Curti, Julius W. Pratt.

Committee on the Littleton-Griswold Fund: Francis S. Philbrick, Univer-

sity of Pennsylvania, chairman; Carroll T. Bond, John Dickinson, Walton H. Hamilton, Leonard W. Labaree, Richard B. Morris, Thomas I. Parkinson.

Committee on Historical Source Materials: Herbert A. Kellar, McCormick Historical Association, chairman. *Special Committees:* *Archives*, Margaret C. Norton, Illinois State Library, chairman; *Manuscripts*, Julian P. Boyd, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, chairman; *Newspapers*, Robert C. Binkley, Western Reserve University, chairman; *Business Records*, Oliver M. Dickerson, Colorado State Teachers College, chairman; *Library Holdings*, Douglas C. McMurtrie, American Imprints Survey, Evanston, chairman; *Research Associate*, Everett E. Edwards, U. S. Department of Agriculture.

Conference of Historical Societies: C. C. Crittenden, North Carolina Historical Commission, chairman; Dorothy C. Barck, New York Historical Society, 170 Central Park West, New York City, secretary.

Committee on Publication of the Annual Report: Leo F. Stock, 1017 Michigan Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Solon J. Buck, Lowell Joseph Ragatz, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on Writings on American History: Leo F. Stock, 1017 Michigan Avenue, N. W., Washington, D. C., chairman; Samuel Flagg Bemis, Solon J. Buck, St. George L. Sioussat.

Committee on the Bibliography of American Travel: Frank Monaghan, Yale University, chairman; Julian P. Boyd, Harry M. Lydenberg.

Committee on Radio: Conyers Read, University of Pennsylvania, chairman; Phillips Bradley, Evelyn Plummer Braun, Stephen Duggan, Felix Greene, John A. Krout, Walter C. Langsam, Charles G. Proffitt, Ralph S. Rounds, Cesar Saerchinger, Raymond Gram Swing, Elizabeth Y. Webb.

Committee on Americana for College Libraries: Randolph G. Adams, William L. Clements Library, University of Michigan, chairman; Arthur S. Aiton, Thomas W. Streeter, Kathryn L. Slagle, Julian P. Boyd, Conyers Read, Lawrence C. Wroth.

Jameson Memorial Fund Committee: Waldo G. Leland, American Council of Learned Societies, chairman; Max Farrand, Dwight Whitney Morrow, jr.

Representatives of the Association in Allied Bodies: *American Council of Learned Societies*, Wallace Notestein. *International Committee of Historical Sciences*, Waldo G. Leland, J. T. Shotwell. *Social Science Research Council*, Roy F. Nichols.

The Albert J. Beveridge Memorial Prize has been substituted for the Justin Winsor Prize. It will be awarded biennially, beginning this year, for a monograph, either in manuscript or in print, in the field of American history, including South American history. The amount of the prize is

\$200. All manuscripts should be sent to Caroline F. Ware, The American University, prior to June 1. Since the date for submission formerly announced was September 1, the committee will entertain requests up to June 1 for the privilege of submitting manuscripts up to September 1.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

IV. Modern Europe

The European background and the causes of the struggle between the French and German nations culminating in 1866-1871. Prog. 2 vols. Chester W. Clark, *Cambridge, Massachusetts*.

The Prussian-Austrian newspaper war of 1868-69. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*
Bismarck and Russia, 1864-1871. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

The European reaction to Prussian expansion, 1866. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

VIII. Germany

Bismarck's technique in manipulating public opinion. Prog. 100 pp. *Id.*

XVIII. United States of America

(7) Before 1782

The Articles of Confederation, 1774-1781. Fin. 150 pp.
Merrill Jensen, *University of Washington*.

(8) Since 1782

A history of the United States during the Confederation period, 1781-1789. Prog. *Id.*

Waldo G. Leland, delegate of the American Historical Association on the International Committee of Historical Sciences and president of that committee, reports that an organization in Paris styling itself Conseil historique et heraldique de France is notifying American scholars of their nomination as "honorary corresponding members" and is inviting them to submit copies of their publications to its "reading committee", which is empowered to grant the title of "laureate" and to confer appropriate medals. It is recommended that persons receiving such communications, if they wish to have further information respecting the organization in question, communicate with Mr. Leland, who may be addressed in care of the American Historical Association.

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photostat of journal of assembly held at "St. Maries", Maryland, Apr. 21, 1649; C. A. Browne Collection of

seventy-nine miscellaneous pieces, including items relating to American History, 1770 to 1915; papers of William B. Randolph, 1774 to 1869; facsimile of letter of John Hancock, June 21, 1775; additional photostats of letters of George Washington; papers of Nicholas Low; additional papers of the Rumsey family of Bohemia Manor, Cecil County, Maryland, 1799 to 1830; film of diary of Anson Greene Phelps, 1806 to 1853; indenture of apprenticeship of William Thomas Prout, County of Kent, England, May 1, 1841; papers of the Spanish and American Claims Commission and the French and American Claims Commission, 1842 to 1908; typewritten copy of diary of Oscar Smith, United States Marine Corps, 1861-62; joint resolution of thanks, by the Senate and House of Representatives, Confederate States of America, for victory at Shiloh, Tennessee, dated Apr. 15, 1862; papers of William Lee Trenholm, 1865 to 1931; additional papers of Justin Smith Morrill; one paper of the Independent Republican Executive Committee, 1879; additional papers and copies of papers of President Benjamin Harrison; additional papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla.

Important bodies of records relating to the national defense and wartime history of the United States have recently come into the National Archives. Outstanding are records from the Adjutant General's Office, which include additional records of the Secretary of War to 1913; correspondence of the Adjutant General's Office proper to 1861; records of the Signal Corps, 1860-1901; and records of the Confederate States, 1861-65, including military records and records of Congress and of the War, Treasury, and Post Office departments that were seized at the close of the Civil War. From the Navy Department have been received records of the Bureau of Construction and Repair, including many ship tracings, 1830-1925; of the Naval Districts Division, relating to wartime use and subsequent disposal of private vessels, 1917-37; and of the Naval Aircraft Factory at Philadelphia, 1918-35. The Treasury Department has transferred records of the Southern Claims Commission, 1871-80, and of the Inter-Allyed Purchasing Commission, 1917-19. Other records of World War interest, recently received, include files of the War Production Board, 1917-19; of the War Transactions Section of the Justice Department, 1917-39; and of the Bureau of Mines, 1917-20. Other accessions include: applications and recommendations for appointments, 1797-1901, and accounting records, 1785-1906, from the State Department; correspondence and alien residence registration papers from the Immigration and Naturalization Service, 1906-34; correspondence and meteorological records of the Weather Bureau and earlier agencies carrying on similar work, 1819-1912; and records of the Bureau of Agricultural Economics and antecedent agencies, 1915-37, of the discontinued Bureau of the Mint assay office at Helena, Montana, 1877-1933, of the Commissioners for the District of Columbia, 1791-1802, of the Office of Public Buildings and Grounds and

its antecedent agencies, 1802-1907, of the Bituminous Coal Commission of 1920, and of the Federal Fuel Distributor, 1922-23.

President Roosevelt on December 10, 1938, after consultation with a score of writers, scholars, and librarians, announced a plan for the erection of a building on the grounds of his family estate at Hyde Park, New York, to house his papers, official and personal, that have accumulated since 1910; his collections of manuscripts on the early history of the United States Navy and on the history of his family and of Dutchess County; his collection of paintings, drawings, prints, and models of American ships; and the bulk of his library, which is especially rich in books on naval subjects and in books written by his contemporaries. The President stated that when the building is erected the title to it and to the collections to be placed therein would be vested immediately upon acceptance by Congress in the Federal government and placed under the administration of the Archivist of the United States. By the end of December the plan for the projected repository had so far progressed that the "Franklin D. Roosevelt Library" had been incorporated under the laws of the State of New York with five trustees, who are empowered to raise and expend the funds necessary to realize the plan as soon as possible. An executive committee, of which Waldo G. Leland is chairman, has been appointed by the President to work out the details of the plan.

Some recent accessions to the Seligman Library at Columbia University will be of interest to students of French economic history: (1) a three-volume collection of MSS. of John Law containing some fifty-odd writings by Law, among them several hitherto unknown, one of which clears up the mystery of his whereabouts between 1703 and 1710; (2) a unique three-volume MS. work by Dupin (being a rewriting of his very rare *Observations on the Spirit of the Laws*) which he did not live to publish; (3) two hitherto unknown letters of Turgot on the reform of the *taille*, 1762; (4) the only known copy of minutes sent to the controller of finance by the parlement of Provence in 1763, in fifteen folio volumes and containing the fullest discussion of the French revenues in existence; (5) a number of items from the library collected by Lomenie de Brienne, among them several pamphlets on the estates general of 1614 and 1789.

A unit of the Historical Records Survey under the direction of Clifford L. Lord of the department of history of Columbia University has nearly completed work on *The Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1897-1937*. It is to be published in the near future and will supplement the well-known compilation by James D. Richardson.

An undergraduate curriculum in medieval studies has been announced by Stanford University. Its object is to give the student a well-rounded

knowledge of medieval life in all its phases, to enable him "to saturate himself temporarily in the standard of values and judgments commonly accepted by a great past culture, thus freeing his mind from current clichés and presuppositions and enabling him to see the world around him from the outside rather than from the inside alone". Several other departments of the university will collaborate with the department of history in offering courses in the new curriculum. Somewhat similar in purpose though less extensive in scope is a new course in medieval studies to be given at Barnard College next year, in which, as in the new Stanford curriculum, several departments will co-operate. Further educational interest in the Middle Ages is evidenced by the announcement of an Institute on Medieval Culture, to be held at the University of Chicago from June 28 to August 1 in conjunction with the university's summer quarter, which will consist of lectures by eminent authorities on various subjects in medieval life.

The Quarterly Journal of Inter-American Relations will include articles and book reviews in the fields of inter-American history, sociology, economics, and literary criticism. Among the historians who contributed to its first issue, which appeared in January, are Clarence Haring, Samuel Flagg Bemis, and J. Bartlet Brebner. It is planned to inaugurate in a subsequent issue a section devoted to an interpretative digest of Latin-American and Canadian editorial comment on important topics. Frank P. Davidson, 41 Holden Street, Cambridge, is managing editor. The annual subscription price is \$1.50.

The first issue of another new quarterly, *Jewish Social Studies*, has come to our desk. This journal will be devoted to contemporary and historical aspects of Jewish life. Salo W. Baron, Morris R. Cohen, and Hans Kohn are the editors. Communications should be addressed to the managing editor, Koppel S. Pinson, 55 Fifth Avenue, New York City. The annual subscription price is \$4.00.

The Historian is a new periodical published semi-annually by the national historical honorary fraternity, Phi Alpha Theta, under the editorship of Professor George P. Hammond of the University of New Mexico. It is intended as a medium for the publication of articles by members of the fraternity. The annual subscription price is \$1.00.

The issue of November 30, 1938, no. 54, concludes the tenth volume of the *Annales d'histoire économique et sociale*. This contains the index for Volume X and also cumulative indexes for Volumes I to X (1929-1938). This issue definitely marks the end of an epoch for this periodical. The Librairie Armand Colin will no longer act as publishers, and with the issue of January, 1939, the journal assumed the title *Annales d'histoire sociale*.

The new *Annales* is edited by Professors Marc Bloch and Lucien Febvre, and Professor Paul Leuilliot is editorial secretary. It is to appear four times a year.

PERSONAL

The French historical gild has lost an important figure in Paul Matter, who died last year. In the midst of an active life that was devoted primarily to law and politics, Matter found time to publish two impressive three-volume historical works: *Bismarck et son temps* (1905-1908) and *Cavour et l'unité italienne* (1925-27).

After a brief illness James Wilford Garner died at Urbana on December 9. Born in Pike County, Mississippi, in 1871, he derived from his native state not only his early education but also those less tangible influences which went to produce a delightful Southern personality. Though his activities were mainly in political science, especially in international law in which he was an outstanding leader, some of his significant labors give him a place in the historical gild, whose values and techniques, soundly acquired in early years, were later to find application in other fields. Among his historical contributions may be mentioned *Reconstruction in Mississippi* (1901), a Dunning inspired Columbia dissertation; *History of the United States*, with Henry Cabot Lodge (4 vols., 1906), a popular work by very dissimilar collaborators; *International Law and the World War* (2 vols., 1920); *American Foreign Policies* (1927); and *Essays on Southern History and Politics* (1914), of which he was editor. In political science some of his books treated the subject as a whole, but most of them dealt with international relations. In these pages there is no room to speak of his encyclopedia articles, his editorial labors, his exchange professorships, his foreign decorations and world-wide contacts, or of his influential activities in the American Political Science Association, which he served as president in 1924. From 1904 until his death he was professor of political science in the University of Illinois, and during this time he was head of the department, either *de facto* or by formal title. Professor Garner was a mild-mannered but courageous liberal, an ardent supporter of intelligent movements for international co-operation, and a vigorous critic of those influences which tended in his view toward bad faith and lawlessness among nations. He was a forceful, clear, and effective teacher and an eloquent speaker.

Christian Lous Lange, the noted peace worker, died at Oslo on December 11 at the age of sixty-nine. First active as a teacher, Lange was by the close of the century drawn definitely into work for the peace cause. He was secretary of the Norwegian *storting's* Nobel Committee from 1900 to 1909 and thereafter for years the committee's honorary counselor. From 1934 onward he was a member of the Nobel Committee. Between 1909 and

1933 he was secretary of the Inter-Parliamentary Union, and his indefatigable labors on its behalf during the World War held together the skeleton of an organization during that trying period. After 1920 he was active in league affairs, devoting his energies particularly to the disarmament question. He lectured and wrote extensively on the peace cause, and in his many newspaper and periodical articles and in pamphlets he often presented historical sketches of its background. His longer works were historical in character, notably: *Mellemfolkelig Politik 1815-1914* (1925), *Histoire de la doctrine pacifique et de son influence sur le développement du droit international*, issued by the Académie de Droit international (1927), and *Histoire de l'internationalisme*. This last was projected in three volumes, but Lange succeeded in publishing only the first one, bearing the subtitle, *Jusqu'à la paix de Westphalie, 1648* (1919). He shared with Branting the Peace Prize for 1921.

William MacDonald, well-known historian and editor, died at his home in New York City on December 15. He was born in Providence, Rhode Island, on July 31, 1863. Graduating from Harvard in 1892, he began his professional career at Worcester Polytechnic Institute. He was professor of history and political science at Bowdoin, 1893-1901, and professor of history at Brown, 1901-17. After leaving Brown he was lecturer at the University of California for a brief time and later (1924-26) lecturer on American history at Yale. He received the degree of Ph.D. (Hon.) from Union College and LL.D. from the University of New Brunswick. For the last twenty years he gave most of his time and attention to editorial and literary work—as associate editor of the *Nation* (1918-20), acting literary editor (1929), literary writer (1930-31), and editorial writer for the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* since 1924. In recent years he contributed reviews on historical works to the *New York Times*. Of his writings on American history the most noteworthy are *Jacksonian Democracy* (1905), *From Jefferson to Lincoln* (1913), and *Three Centuries of American Democracy* (1923). Valuable as these and other publications are, the student and teacher of American history are probably especially grateful for his three volumes of documentary source books: *Select Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States* (1898), *Select Charters and Other Documents Illustrative of American History* (1899), and *Select Statutes and Other Documents Illustrative of the History of the United States* (1903). The editorial work in these volumes is of superior quality. The brief introductions to the various documents are models of clarity, precision, and good judgment and are based on much careful examination of materials throwing light upon the conditions under which the documents were put forth and giving information in many instances not easily obtained elsewhere.

Warren King Moorehead, director emeritus of the department of archaeology, Phillips Academy, Andover, died in Boston on January 5. He was born of American parents in Siena, Italy, on March 20, 1866, and educated in the public schools at Xenia, Ohio, and at Denison University. His degrees included, M.A. (hon.) Dartmouth, 1901, Sc.D. (hon.) Oglethorpe, 1927, Sc.D. (hon.) Denison, 1930. He assisted Professor F. W. Putnam of Harvard in the installation of archaeological material for the World's Columbian Exposition at Chicago in 1893, and he himself collected much of the Ohio Valley and Southwestern material that was shown. He served as curator of the Museum of Ohio State University and the Ohio Archaeological and Historical Society from 1894 to 1897, editing *The Archaeologist* during a part of this time. He became curator of the department of archaeology of Phillips Academy at its founding in 1901 and was director of the department from 1907 to 1938. He was made a member of the Board of Indian Commissioners by Theodore Roosevelt in 1909, remaining a member until the dissolution of that body in 1933. He conducted archaeological explorations in the Ohio Valley, the Southwest, the South, and New England. He was the author of approximately one hundred and fifty reports, notices, and reviews in his field of study.

John C. Parish, professor of American history at the University of California at Los Angeles, died suddenly on January 13. He was born in Des Moines, Iowa, on July 25, 1881. At the close of a brilliant scholastic record in his native state, he received his Ph.D. from the State University of Iowa in 1908. Active in his teaching and in his writing up to the very last, he had just completed and sent to the publishers early in January another item in what is a notable bibliography. He was distinguished in three capacities—as teacher, as writer, and as editor. Few men have so won the regard of their students, for he combined in marked degree a democratic approachableness and thorough scholarship. A keen sense of humor lent an additional appeal to his lectures and to his writings. He edited two volumes and wrote four others, probably the best-known of the latter being *The Man with the Iron Hand* (1913). A number of stimulating brochures and articles came from his pen, one of the most thoughtful being "The Persistence of the Westward Movement", which appeared in the *Yale Review*, April, 1926. The two items mentioned are fair examples of the delightful quality of his writing. He was a close friend of the late Frederick Jackson Turner, though twenty years his junior, and the parallel between the two men is striking. Both were born in the Middle West, the writings of both were, in the main, an interpretation of the frontier advance and the westward movement, and both spent their last years in homes established within a few miles of each other on the Pacific coast. Parish took an active interest in the American Historical Association, was secretary of the conference of historical societies, 1919-22, and read papers before its sessions. Even more prolific than his writing was his editing. He was connected in one editorial

capacity or another with *The Iowa Journal of History and Politics*, *The Palimpsest*, *The Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, and finally, as editor, with the official organ of the Pacific Coast Branch of the American Historical Association, the *Pacific Historical Review*, which he founded in 1932.

Announcement is made of the appointment of visiting professors and instructors for the summer sessions of the following universities: *California* (Berkeley), Edward H. Tatum, intersession; Avery O. Craven, Samuel L. Joshi, Shao Chang Lee, William L. Westermann. *Chicago*, Henry Steele Commager, Ellis Merton Coulter. *Colorado*, C. Collin Davies, Harry N. Howard, Otakar Odložilík, Lynn I. Perrigo, J. Fred Rippey. *Columbia*, Herbert Heaton, J. D. Hicks, L. W. Labaree, W. E. Lingelbach, S. M. Pargellis, G. G. Van Deusen, A. A. Vasiliev, W. G. Wirthwein. *Cornell*, John S. Curtiss. *Fresno*, Percy A. Martin. *George Peabody College for Teachers*, J. M. Batten, Dan Robison. *Harvard*, James G. Randall. *Johns Hopkins*, Robert H. Wienefeld. *Michigan*, Gilberto Freyre, C. H. Haring, Charles E. Nowell. *Missouri*, Everett E. Edwards, Bert J. Loewenberg. *Nebraska*, Eugene N. Anderson, A. B. Sageser, Herbert S. Schell. *New Mexico*, Louis K. Koontz. *New York University*, William Best Hesseltine. *Northwestern*, Dan E. Clark, Roy F. Nichols. *Oregon*, George Verne Blue, Portland session; Edward M. Hume, Portland session and post-session at Eugene; Anatole Mazour, Eugene session. *Pennsylvania*, F. J. Tschann. *Pennsylvania State*, Hastings Eells, Alfred P. James, Mulford Stough. *Pittsburgh*, W. F. Dunaway. *John B. Stetson*, W. T. Jordan. *Texas*, John C. Patterson, L. B. Schmidt, for the first term; V. A. Mocdy, P. L. Rainwater, R. W. Strickland, A. H. Sweet, James Taylor, Ernest Wallace, for the second term; William C. Binkley, James K. Greer, for both terms. *Virginia*, Frank J. Klingberg, Thornton Terhune. *Wisconsin*, James L. Sellers.

William J. Van Schreeven, formerly in the Division of Classification of the National Archives, has resigned to accept the position of principal archivist in the Virginia State Library.

The Research Council of the University of Missouri has awarded Professor Charles F. Mullett a grant to aid him in editing James Abercromby's "An Examination of the Acts of Parliament Relative To the Trade and the Government of our American Colonies. Also The Different Constitutions of Government, in these Colonies Considered with Remarks. . . ." (1752). The manuscript in the Huntington Library will be used as the basis, but account will be taken of other copies as well as of some additional Abercromby manuscripts.

The Albert Shaw Lectures on Diplomatic History under the auspices of the Walter Hines Page School of International Relations at the Johns Hopkins University were given in January by Professor William Spence Robertson of the University of Illinois. His lectures were on the subject "France

and Latin-American Independence". The monograph upon which these lectures were based will shortly be published by the Johns Hopkins University Press.

COMMUNICATIONS

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

Although few things are more tedious than controversy about assertions at the second remove, I have too much respect for Professor Clark Wissler's judgment to let him record without question certain statements against my book, *Race* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIV, 62-63), which my text does not seem to me to warrant:

1. "Like most writers . . . the author blames Gobineau . . . showing for one thing that he was not always consistent." I specially exempt Gobineau from blame (pp. 72-3, 108). Mine is almost the only sympathetic account of Gobineau on the subject of race, for I show that he merely brought together for valid purposes of his own elements of historical and anthropological doctrine which long antedate him.

2. ". . . any kind of thinking which assumes a relation between intellect and biological functioning starts wrong, and so can never be right." I repeatedly leave the door open for proofs of such a relation to be furnished by modern science (pp. 24, 143, 174-5, 265, 294-9). My objections to the authors I cite is based on their assuming that such a relation exists and failing to bring proofs of the kind that they themselves forecast and require.

3. "Professor Barzun claims to have discovered that evaluations and adverse criticisms of the fine arts are expressions of belief in race." I claim no discoveries of any kind. Nor do I invent or imagine the fact that critics ascribe racial qualities to artistic products or, conversely, find a test of a man's race in the art he produces. The architectural dictionary of Viollet-le-Duc and Eichenauer's *Musik und Rasse*—two among hundreds—are there for anyone to read.

4. "Next he turns to anthropology, for which he has little tolerance because he thinks that race must be material or nothing. . . ." Far from denying a tolerant hearing to anthropology, I give full credit to the intentions and scholarship of the pioneers (*e.g.*, Paul Broca, pp. 166-9). I show the contradictions and non sequiturs into which their hypotheses led them, one of these hypotheses being that race is material or nothing. The modern form of this idea is what Professor Wissler calls biological functioning while blaming me for an unwillingness to entertain it.

5. "Perhaps the method is historical in that it searches through documentary materials. . . ." Professor Wissler's final judgment, as it seems to me, transcends the limits of my modest contribution to the history of ideas. The basic questions he raises without stating them seem to be: whether ideas are real forces or mere illusions; whether their relation to biological or economic fact is subtle and complex or obvious and simple (Race being a simple First Cause for culture) and ultimately, whether the student of ideas has the right to be a pragmatic critic instead of a mechanistic materialist.

Columbia University.

JACQUES BARZUN.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

After the lapse of an entire year you carry a review of "The Hidden Lincoln" in the January number of 1939.

Prof. Randall states that aside from Herndon & Weik in 1889 "the important Herndon & Weik manuscripts were long withheld from historical use; in 1920 they

were used again by Weik and notably by Beveridge but not by Barton, who belittled their significance". This statement about Barton belittling their significance is not founded on facts. Barton wrote Weik over 120 letters pleading and begging for these documents in whole or in part. Weik submitted Barton's letters to Beveridge and Beveridge wrote as follows: "tell him frankly that you cannot part with any further material and thus end the correspondence." I think the statement made by Prof. Randall about Barton without any examination of the facts—is certainly extraordinary. Now as to Beveridge having used these papers Prof. Randall knows or should know what using documents means. If he will read the Beveridge volumes he will see that he refers to the documents—quotes short statements from them without quotation in full of any. In 1933 I had occasion to re-examine the Beveridge volumes for that purpose. I refer the Professor to the pamphlet which I published on the subject—. The Professor next says, "If the reader should get the impression that the Hertz' volume gives the complete Herndon & Weik collection, he would be seriously mislead. The bulk of the collection, though drawn upon and quoted from as above indicated is as yet unpublished." This statement is untrue in every sense, and is unfair in the extreme as a commentary upon what I actually did. I never said that my book was a reprint of the complete Herndon & Weik collection. The only sane thing to have done, and which I tried to do, was to select the best and the complete statements. I selected—after the most careful study, the best in the series of all collections. I saw to it that not a single fact of any significance was omitted. I omitted all duplications. I could find no one who would publish the whole mass and produce a work like the John Quincy Adams diary nor a book like the Charles Greville Diary of 3,576 pages.

Let me dispose of the lament of Prof. Randall at my omission of the statements of "Thaddeus Stevens, John Bell", and others.

Before submitting my manuscript I stated that I must examine the contents of the Huntington Library collections. There I found the letters Herndon wrote to Hart, to Arnold, to Whitney and to Lamon. I had seen the Bartlett collection before. As all of these were written in 1866, 1867, 1868, 1869 when Herndon was in the full vigor of his mental powers—most of these turned out to be better than those he wrote to Weik in 1888, 1889, and 1890 and I concluded that these should be used. Adding what I found in the Huntington Library, the Herndon manuscript alone assumed huge proportions. When I came to the selection of statements prepared by Herndon from others who knew Lincoln—I again had to select the more important ones.

I supplied the Illinois Historical Society Library with a full catalogue of the Herndon & Weik collection and Prof. Randall evidently found that catalogue which contains about 2,200 numbers, referring to that many folders of manuscripts. I could not follow the method of strangling Herndon for the last time by quoting a few sentences or paragraphs and account for all his letters any more than I could print all his letters, in which he almost in identical words repeats the same thing, in order to impress upon Weik a particular fact. The list which Prof. Randall enumerates is of very little importance as compared with those I did select.

The Professor continues "Mr. Hertz gives a selection, but hardly a well-rounded sampling of the whole mass." How does the Professor know? He has never seen the original collection, nor a copy—he certainly has not read it, and will not be able to know what it contains until he will have read all of these collections as I have read them. Now what does the Professor mean by making such a statement? Then he proceeds to challenge some of those used—he would not have used them. Who is the better judge of which statement should have been used and which

omitted? The man who read them, who studied them, who compared them or the one who never saw them before writing the review, and when he will see them, he will see my copy of the documents I selected—but not those which I omitted. For the Herndon & Weik collection itself he will never see nor read. I did see it and I did read it as I did the Huntington collections. The Professor does not like my editing either—it is unsatisfactory. But he wants an adequate account of the Herndon & Weik collection; and I could not use up precious pages to supply the needs of the Professor.

"The editor gives no indication of the source of each document used" says the Professor. None is needed; it is in the handwriting of Herndon or the other contributors—all originals; the one who prepared them is the same much abused Herndon. The photostats are all in existence, as are the originals. In my preface I explained the original source of each document and he who can read or cares to read can tell by examining each letter. The Professor now finds that "the statement by Mr. Hertz that the originals—of Herndon's draft chapters for Lamon book and of his letters to Weik are "all in Huntington Library seems definitely erroneous". All I stated was that Lamon purchased a copy of all Herndon had until 1870 and that that copy is in Huntington now and has been for some time. The Professor is evidently confused—at my imaginary delinquencies. I did say that in writing to Weik, Herndon used almost the same language and facts and phrases as he used in the letters to Lamon and in the copy of the manuscript which he sold to Lamon. In other words, Lamon's whole collection of manuscripts including all he received from Herndon is in Huntington Library. To have used all Dennis Hanks wrote would have made a complete book in itself—and to have used his words and spelling would have added to the disgust of the all wise reviewers.

Now as to explanatory annotation which certain experts are always clamoring for—and in which they occasionally—much to the merriment of nations—indulge. I am more than convinced that neither Lincoln nor Herndon need annotators, glossators nor multitudinous notes. There are those who are for restating the Decalogue, the Multiplication table and the Alphabet; but there are still those who prefer them as they are. I am one of those.

When I was confronted with the Herndon & Weik collection, I had no time to consult these experts as to what to do under those conditions. The collection might change hands any moment and might be locked up forever—as it now is. It was of little importance what I thought of the specific items which I read and which I studied. The only thing I could do was what I did. In the final analysis the decision was mine to make—I had to decide, and quickly, what was important and what was not important and all things considered, the most important things found their way into my book.

I can state without fear of contradiction that nothing of primary importance has been omitted. I have done the best I could. Besides endless repetition would have palled on the reader. My only regret in this whole affair is that I am forced to reply to this review—as I have not noticed any other of the reviews, favorable or unfavorable.

New York City.

EMANUEL HERTZ.

THE EDITOR OF THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL REVIEW:

I wish to thank you for letting me see Mr. Hertz's letter. My estimate of his book has already been given, and I have nothing to add or subtract.

Urbana, Illinois.

J. G. RANDALL.

The American Historical Review

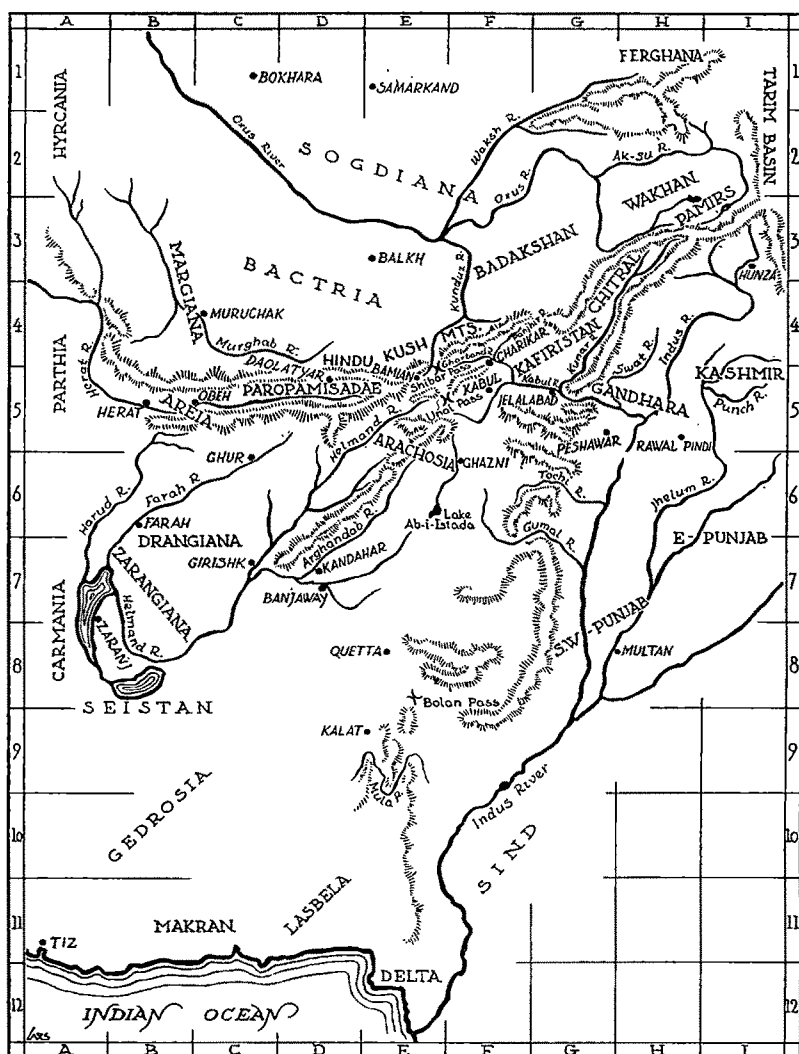
THE INDO-PARTHIAN FRONTIER

A STUDY IN POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY

THE purpose of this article is to employ the literary and numismatic evidence to define more accurately and clearly than has hitherto been done the successive boundaries of the political units which occupied the area east of Parthia and between the Hindu Kush Mountains and the Indus valley from the second century B.C. to the second century A.D.¹ The principal Greek and Roman sources for the geography of the area during that period are Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Ptolemy, as well as Isidor of Charax and the anonymous author of the *Periplus of the Erythrean Sea*. The major units which they recognize represent in both name and outline a fusion of the Achemenid organization with that installed by Alexander the Great. Apparently the short-lived Maurya Empire which succeeded Alexander did little to change this organization, and the coinages of the subsequent Yavana and Saka kingdoms reflect the persistence of these same nuclei of power. Still later, Chinese envoys and Arab geographers down to the Middle Ages describe the political and commercial centers of this area in terms which for the most part identify them as essentially the units inherited or organized by Alexander.

In the Indus basin Alexander left five principal political units. In the south the territory from the junction of the Punjab rivers with the Indus as far as the sea, in general comprising Sind and the delta, fell within the satrapy of Pithon. In the north the client kingdom of Abhisares occupied lower Kashmir and the Indus valley above the Punjab. East of the Jhelum River, in eastern Punjab, lay the kingdom of Poros. The satrapy of Philip was made up of western Punjab, the

¹ In other studies I hope to discuss the mint areas of Parthian Iran, basing my conclusions on evidence gathered in Iran during 1935 as a fellow of the John Simon Guggenheim Memorial Foundation; the nomad invasions of northeastern Iran, with a review of the literature on the subject of the Yueh-chi and the Sakai; and the political history of Parthian Iran in terms of geographical and economic factors.



INDEX TO MAP

Ab-i-Istada (lake)	E6	Chitral	GH3, 4
Ak-su River	H2	Daolatyar (city)	D5
Arachosia	E-G5, 6	Delta	E12
Arcia	BC5	Drangiana	BC6, 7
Arghandab River	E6-D7	Farah (city)	B6
Bactria	C3	Farah River	C6-A7
Badakshan	FG3	Ferghana	H1
Balkh (city)	E3	Gandhara	GH5
Bamian (city)	E5	Gedrosia	A-E7-11
Banjaway (city)	D7	Ghazni (city)	F6
Bokhara (city)	C1	Ghorband River	F4
Bolan Pass	E8	Ghur (city)	C6
Carmania	A7, 8	Girishk (city)	C7
Charikar (city)	F4	Gumal River	F6-G7

districts of Rawal Pindi east of the Indus and Peshawar on the west bank, which together comprised Gandhara, and the valley of the Kabul River below the Kunar River. Adjoining on the north lay the satrapy of Nikanor, made up of the Kunar and Swat river valleys with an extension eastward to an undefined border with Gandhara; this unit represents the area personally traversed and conquered by Alexander upon his entry into India, and too little attention has been paid to its wealth, high culture, and the strategic importance of this alternate route from Kabul City to the Indus.²

Within a very short period after their establishment the kingdom of Eastern Punjab (the kingdom of Poros) and Gandhara (the satrapy of Philip) absorbed the other three units. Though the latter retained their identities as important nuclei throughout the succeeding periods, East-

² For this campaign of Alexander see Arrian, *Anabasis*, IV, 23-28. The route has been described by Sir Thomas Holdich (*The Gates of India* [London, 1910], pp. 100-101, 113, 129) as the oldest and probably the best trodden between Kabul and the Punjab; he points also to its strategic importance and to the high culture of the Swat valley. For the satrapies see E. R. Bevan, "Alexander the Great", *Cambridge History of India*, I (New York, 1922), 351-52.

Harud River	B5-A7	Oxus River	H3-B1
Helmand River	E5-B7	P'ak-tat: district of Balkh.	
Herat (city)	B5	Pamirs	HI2, 3
Herat River	B5-A4	Panjhir River	F4
Hindu Kush Mountains	B-G4, 5	Paropamisadae	O-F5
Hunza (city)	I3	Parthia	A4, 5
Hyrkania	AI, 2	Peshawar (city)	G5
Indian Ocean	A-E12	Punch River	I5
Indus River	I3-E12	Punjab (East)	HI6, 7
Jelalabad (city)	G5	Punjab (Southwest)	GH7, 8
Jhelum River	I5-H7	Quetta (city)	E8
Kabul (city)	F5	Rawal Pindi (city)	H5
Kabul River	FG5	Samarkand (city)	E1
Kafiristan	G4	Seistan	A-C8, 9
Kalat (city)	E9	Shibar Pass	E5
Kandahar (city)	D7	Sind	FG10, 11
Kashmir	I5	Sogdiana	D-F2, 3
Ke-pin: Gandhara; Kingdom of the House of Eucratides.		Swat River	H4-5
Ko-hu: Paropamisadae; Arab King- dom of Bamian.		Tarim Basin	II, 2
Kunar River	H3-G5	T'ien-tok: Eastern Punjab; Kingdom of the House of Euthydemus.	
Kunduz River	F4-3	Tiz (city)	AI1
Lasbela	D11	Tochi River	G6
Makran	BC11	Unai Pass	E5
Margiana	B3, 4	Wakhan	H2, 3
Mula River	E9	Waksh River	GI-F3
Multan (city)	H8	Yueh-chi territory just prior to rise of the Kushana dynasty: Pamirs, Wakhan, Upper Chitral, Badak- shan, and the Kunduz River valley.	
Murghab River	D-B4	Zarangiana	B7
Muruchak (city)	C4	Zaranj (city)	A7
Obeh (city)	C5		
O-ik-san-li: Arachosia, including South- western Punjab; Kingdom of Vonones and of Soter Megas.			

ern Punjab and Gandhara stand out as paramount, and this relationship can be traced with little interruption from the Achaemenid period to the Middle Ages.

On the west between the Hindu Kush and the Indian Ocean the Greek and Roman sources recognize three units as bordering India: the Paropamisadae, Arachosia, and Gedrosia. North of these units and of the Hindu Kush lay Bactria, extending east only to the Kunduz River valley, which was considered a source of the Oxus; Sogdiana, extending south to include all of Badakshan; and, northeast of Sogdiana, the country of the highland Sakai, that is, Ferghana, the Pamirs, and the watershed between the Indus and Tarim basins.³ Insofar as they can be checked, the earlier sources agree with Ptolemy in locating the northwestern corner of India at the head of the Panjhir valley, just south of the headwaters of the eastern tributary of the Kunduz. This places within India all of the Kunar basin and the lower Kabul valley, from a point between Kabul and Jelalabad. Strabo and Pliny, however, locate the Indian frontier in the Kabul valley rather below Jelalabad.⁴ A great deal of error has crept into our interpretation of the geography and history of the Kabul valley through a rather general failure to appreciate the sense in which the Hellenistic writers used the name Kophen. It does not represent the length of the Kabul River of our day but rather the united stream of the Kabul and the Kunar rivers below Jelalabad.⁵ The district of Kabul, the Kabulistan of the early Arab geographers, from above Jelalabad to the Ghorband valley was attached to, but not an integral part of, the Paropamisadae. In all periods it appears as a passageway rather than as a center of power.

References to the Paropamisadae in our earlier Western sources are

³ Strabo, XV, 2, 9; Ptolemy, *Geographia*, VI, 11-13, 18-21, and maps nos. 7, 9-10. I have used the edition of Ptolemy prepared by Edward Luther Stevenson (New York, 1932) and have benefited from the commentary of André Berthelot, *L'Asie ancienne centrale et sud-orientale, d'après Ptolémée* (Paris, 1930).

⁴ Strabo, XI, 8, 9; Pliny, *Natural History*, VI, 21, 6-8.

⁵ Arrian, *Anab.*, IV, 22, 5-7. Coming from Bactria on his way to India Alexander arrived at Alexandria, near Charikar. While there he appointed Turiaspes satrap of "the country of the Paropamisadae and of the rest as far as to the river Kophen". From Alexandria he proceeded to Nikaia, which is generally identified as Kabul City. From Nikaia he "advanced toward the Kophen", at the same time sending heralds to the Indian princes of the Indus ordering them to come to meet him. "Here he divided the army"; this can apply only to his point of contact with the princes on the Kophen, which must have been some distance below Kabul. It is clear that the name Kophen cannot be applied to any stream much above the junction of the Kunar (the Choes of Arrian and the Koa of Ptolemy) with the Kabul, and so this junction seems to provide the basis for a new name. There are repeated instances in this same area of the application of a new name to the union of two streams.

vague, indicating little more than that it included the head of the Kabul valley, but they do not permit an assumption that it extended east of the valley to include parts of Kafiristan. Ptolemy includes in it the eastern limits of the satrapy of Turiaspes, that is, the Ghorband, Panjhir, and Kabul City districts. Westward it included Bamian and the Herat River valley down to about midway between Daolatyar and Obeh, where it bordered on Areia. Because of the paucity of reference in the Hellenistic literature, present-day historians have failed to see in it a political center of great significance. Bamian, however, is recognized as one of the great Buddhist centers of the Middle East. As late as the nineteenth century what has been described as the best and the most generally used route from the Oxus to Kabul passed through Bamian and thence either by the easy Shibar Pass into the Ghorband valley or south into the upper Helmand River valley and so, by the Unai Pass, to Kabul. The early Arab geographers described another route from the Oxus through Bamian to Ghazni and thence south to the great port of Tiz in Makran, or Gedrosia. It appears, indeed, that the only route known to the Arabs between Herat and Kabul passed through Bamian. Other routes, practicable for both commerce and war, connected Bamian through the Herat and Farah river valleys with the Ghur country and Seistan. It was this strategic position that led the Arabs to call Bamian "the trade port of Khorasan and the treasure house of Sind [the India of the Arabs]."

Bamian City was variously described as half the size of and as large as Balkh itself, and the kingdom included many large cities scattered over central Afghanistan from the Kabul valley to the borders of Herat. Besides its commercial importance and the fertility of its valleys, it was said to possess important gold and silver mines. The cultural affiliations of Bamian with India were remarked in the Middle Ages, and this tradition has persisted into modern times. The military importance of the Bamian route is attested by its repeated use during the Afghan civil wars, by the passage of Nadir Shah with an army that included artillery, and by the recorded conquests of Bamian by the Khwarzim shahs and the Mongols. For our present purposes the value of these Arab records lies in the evidence that the kingdom of Bamian of the early Middle Ages corresponded closely with the limits of the Paropamisadae described by Ptolemy, and at times it extended to the eastern limits of the satrapy of this name.⁶

⁶ Ptolemy, VI, 18; Guy Le Strange, *The Lands of the Eastern Caliphate* (Cambridge, 1905), pp. 416-18, 432; Holdich, pp. 217-18, 259-68, 438; cf. pp. 205, 211-24.

The Arachosia of Ptolemy comprised the upper and middle Helmand River valley, the districts around Ghazni and Lake Ab-i-Istada, and probably included the passes of the Gumal and Tochi rivers to the Indus plain. The boundary on this eastern side cannot be accurately traced, but it appears to have extended to the plain. The border on the south, that is, with Gedrosia, ran only a little to the south of the lake, which is called by Ptolemy "the Lake of Arachosia". The Kandahar district, which is so commonly identified with Arachosia by present-day writers, is included by Ptolemy within the borders of Gedrosia. Strabo, Pliny, Arrian, and Isidor of Charax confirm in a general way this concentration of Arachosia toward Ghazni rather than toward Kandahar.⁷

Further support is offered by the sources of the early Islamic period. The Kandahar district, called by the Arabs Rukhkhaj, with its capital, Banjaway, formed part of what they called Sijistan. This unit represented an expansion of northern Gedrosia, the Sakastan of Isidor, for Zarangiana and Drangiana were included. Above Sijistan lay the Arab Zabulistan, which comprised the highland country of the middle and upper Helmand valley, the upper reaches of the Kandahar rivers, and the district of Ghazni, with which the name Zabulistan was most closely connected. North of Zabulistan on the frontiers of Bamian lay the Arab Kabulistan.⁸

It is clear that the Arachosia of our Greek and Roman sources and the Zabulistan of the early Arabs represent essentially the same area

⁷ For Arachosia see Ptolemy, VI, 20. Strabo (XI, 8, 9) and Pliny (VI, 21, 6-8), in a series of measured distances between Alexandria of Areia (Herat) and India, ignore the existence of any center near Kandahar and pass from Prophthasia of Drangiana (Farah) directly to what they call the city of Arachosia, and both sets of figures (each is correct when properly interpreted) locate this city near Lake Ab-i-Istada. If the route of Isidor is properly traced (*Parthian Stations*, edited by Wilfrid H. Schoff [Philadelphia, 1914], sect. 16-19), his "metropolis of Arachosia" lies north of the lake; the rest of Arachosia, with Ghazni as the center, lay outside the Parthian border. Arrian (*Anab.*, III, 25, 8; III, 28, 1) shows Alexander arriving in the district of Zarangiana (Zaranj on the Seistan lake) and proceeding thence "toward Bactria and against Bessus, reducing on the way the Drangians and Gadrosians". Drangiana extended east from Farah to include Girishk; Gedrosia is here shown extending north of Kandahar.

⁸ Le Strange, pp. 334, 344-49; cf. Holdich, pp. 136, 474, 512. Kandahar is largely ignored by the early Arab geographers, and the important routes left it to one side. The Bolan Pass to the Indus does not appear to have been used in antiquity, and the Mula River Pass was connected with Kalat rather than Kandahar. The idea of a great natural highway of ancient trade and migration passing between Kandahar and the Indus, which has been accepted as historical, is largely a creation of British strategists of the nineteenth century.

and the same center of power within the area. Both groups of sources are very vague with respect to the eastern border of the area, but the Arabs clearly grasped the significance of the Gumal and Tochi passes to the Indus, which served both Ghazni and the lake country. Ghazni was called "the port of India", and from it the great Sultan Mahmud raided India and destroyed the Arab power in Multan. The strategic position of Ghazni in relation to both the Oxus and the Indus suggests that the Indian country south of Peshawar and southeast to Multan, extreme southwestern Punjab, was closely related to Arachosia proper and, given a leader in Ghazni, became dependent upon it.

The eastern frontiers of Gedrosia, the remaining political unit bordering India on the west, must have included the present districts of Kandahar, Quetta, Kalat, and Lasbela. As in the case of Arachosia, Ptolemy shows the eastern boundary running close to the Indus plain. The character and importance of Gedrosia have been badly misjudged through casual interpretation of the accounts portraying the sufferings of the Macedonian army in this region. Arrian's account is explicit in the statements that it was the coast which was desert and that Alexander deliberately chose the more difficult route in order to maintain contact with the fleet.⁹ The early Arab sources present a more detailed and balanced picture, and this receives corroboration from accounts by more recent travelers. The Makran of the Arabs extended north from the sea only to Turan, which corresponds to the Kalat district; on the east, like the earlier Gedrosia, it closely approached the Indus mouth and extended on the west to the borders of Carmania or Kerman. It possessed many fertile valleys in an advanced stage of cultivation and many wealthy cities near the coast and in the interior. Commerce was the principal source of wealth: by sea to the great port of Tiz, thence overland to India; by caravan from Syria and Bagdad; and, as has already been noted, by caravan from Khorasan and the Oxus valley by way of Ghazni. Tiz replaced Hormuz in the tenth century as the port of Sijistan. This picture of Makran, or southern Gedrosia, in the Middle Ages is supported by numerous and extensive ancient sites which have been reported by travelers of the present day. On the basis of evidence as opposed to surmise the route to and from India by way of southern Gedrosia must be recognized as one of the most significant of the

⁹ *Anab.*, VI, 23-24. Note that Alexander was so impressed with the possibilities of the country of the Oreitai, in a general sense the Lasbela district, that he inaugurated a foundation there which he expected would become a large city. (*ibid.*, VI, 21.5; Quintus Curtius, IX, 10).

ancient Middle East, equalled only, if at all, by that through the Kabul valley.¹⁰

Though it will never be possible to localize accurately by means of their coinages all of the political nuclei established in India and Afghanistan by the Greek and Saka chiefs who followed Alexander the Great, the numerous coins which have survived do provide important data for the recognition of units the approximate frontiers of which have been established by means of other evidence.¹¹ It is generally agreed that no coins of the Yavana or Bactrian dynasties were struck in the Oxus and Jaxartes valleys after the reign of Heliocles, that is, after about 135 B.C. In Seistan and Kandahar, and to an extent in Ghazni, numerous Yavana coins have been found which cover the period down to and including the reign of Eucratides, the contemporary of Mithradates I of Parthia. Coins of a contemporary prince, Antimachus, have been reported for the Murghab River valley region of Margiana. Supported as they are by fragmentary literary references, these collections of coins lead to the conclusion that for a generation at least prior to the expansion of Parthia under Mithradates I, Greek princes had held all of Arachosia and parts at least of Gedrosia, Zarangiana, Areia, and Margiana. For the period succeeding the reign of Eucratides no coins of the Yavana princes appear to have circulated in Seistan (Zarangiana), Kandahar (northern Gedrosia), and Ghazni (Arachosia). Odd pieces, of course, find their way beyond areas of circulation, but a study of the surviving Yavana coinages justifies the conclusion that there is no numismatic evidence pointing to the inclusion of these areas within the kingdoms of the eastern Greeks after about 155 B.C.

¹⁰ Le Strange, pp. 329-33; Holdich, pp. 193, 209, 292-311. Northern Gedrosia, in general the districts of Quetta and Kandahar, was classed by the Arabs as a part of Sijistan.

¹¹ The standard publication on the coins still remains Percy Gardner's *Coins of the Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* (London, 1886). He was much indebted of course to the earlier work of Alfred von Sallet, and he summarizes the data gathered together by Sir Alexander Cunningham covering the find spots of the coins. Cunningham devoted himself for years to the collection of coins and of information in regard to their find spots. This was published as *The Coins of Alexander's Successors in the East* (London, 1873). It is important to note that since the work of Cunningham relatively few ancient coins have been recovered from Afghanistan. Among a number of contributions by the English numismatist R. B. Whitehead, I have cited his "Notes on Indo-Greek Numismatics", *Numismatic Chronicle*, ser. 5, pt. 3, 1923, pp. 294-343. *The Cambridge History of India*, Volume I, contains three very important studies based in part on the numismatic evidence: "The Hellenic Kingdoms of Syria, Bactria, and Parthia" by Sir George Macdonald and "The Successors of Alexander the Great" and "The Scythian and Parthian Invaders" by Professor E. J. Rapson.

The Yavana principalities of the Indus basin took shape from about 155 B.C. to some time prior to the middle of the first century B.C., and under new dynasties they persisted at least to the middle of the succeeding century. The outline which follows is based largely on the very able and generally successful reconstruction of the numismatic evidence by Professor Rapson. The princes of the House of Euthydemus had their center in the eastern Punjab, where they represented a continuation of the earlier kingdom of Poros. In periods of expansion they dominated also the lower Indus valley and the seacoast, though for the most part these areas do not appear to have been effectively held by the Yavana kingdoms, and to the north they expanded into Kashmir and the upper Indus valley; at shorter intervals their rule extended westward to include much of the territory normally held by the rival House of Eucratides.

The greatest center of the House of Eucratides was undoubtedly Gandhara, and their kingdom is generally equated with the combined satrapies of Philip and Nikanor. To this I would add, for much of this period, the satrapy of the Paropamisadae and would distinguish more specifically than does Rapson a dependent unit in southwestern Punjab which had formed part of the satrapy of Philip.¹² After Gandhara the most important political unit held by the House of Eucratides was Kapica, which, as the kingdom of Hermaeus, survived after the valley of the Indus had passed into the hands of a new dynasty. Rapson equates this name with the upper Kabul valley and Kafiristan, but the evidence does not support this. Kapica certainly included parts of the Kabul valley and Kafiristan, but the study of its characteristic coin types in relation to the areas in which these types are known to have circulated requires that the center of this unit be located within the area embraced by the Kunar and Swat valleys, that is, within the satrapy of Nikanor. The coins of Hermaeus are found in large numbers not only in the Kabul valley but to the east in the Indus valley and the Punjab, where this prince must long have disputed the rise of the new dynasty. The late Chinese references to Kapica, cited by Rapson, refer not to the upper Kabul valley but to the Swat valley, which was a great Buddhist center and lay near the well-known southern road from China to India.¹³

¹² Rapson, "The Successors of Alexander the Great", *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 545-60.

¹³ For the holdings of Hermaeus see Whitehead, pp. 340, 342; for the discussion of Kapica see Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 555-56. Imitation of the coinage of Hermaeus must be attributed to the Yuch-chi prior to the rise of the Kushana dynasty rather than to Pahlava kings of the Kabul valley. The boundaries of Kapica in the seventh century

Another important nucleus of the House of Eucratides has hitherto been known only by the monogram which distinguished its mint, *kappa* with *rho*.¹⁴ A considerable body of data is available for the identification of this mint area and points very definitely to the territory which had its center in the Bamian valley, the earlier Paropamisadae and the kingdom of Bamian of the Middle Ages. The mint was employed by at least fifteen Yavana princes and had a longer life than any of the other Greek mints of the East, from the reign of Euthydemus I to just prior to the accession of Hermaeus, the last of the Yavana lines. In it was struck more of the silver of Euthydemus I than in any other one mint, and it shared in the issue of his bronze. Since the greater part of the known coins of this reign have been found north of the Hindu Kush, this mint must have been adjacent to the Oxus valley. An analysis of the coins of Demetrius I points to the same conclusion. Of those coins of Euthydemus which have been recovered south of the Hindu Kush, by far the greater part come from the upper Kabul valley; the mint, therefore, must have been adjacent to this area. On the other hand, the greater number of the princes who made use of this mint ruled only south of the Hindu Kush; it follows of course that it cannot have been located in Bactria. These conditions can be satisfied only by an assignment of the mint to either Bamian or the head of the Kabul valley, but the latter must be ruled out because of other considerations.

In his study of the Yavana coinages Whitehead has noted a group of five mint marks which he was unable to place in the Indus valley, Punjab, or Kapica, and which appeared to have been particularly associated with the region of the Kabul valley. The mint distinguished by *kappa-rho* is one of these five, but the evidence suggests that it was less directly connected with the Kabul valley itself than were the other four. The English numismatist discusses in detail ninety-seven silver coins found in the upper Kabul valley which cover nine reigns and

may not be applied to the first century B.C. in the absence of corroborative evidence. Cunningham and Rapson did not have access to the Chinese material which has been made fully available by De Groot. The common view that the city of Katisa, named by Ptolemy for the Paropamisadae, represents Kapica is a pure surmise.

¹⁴ Macdonald (*Cam. Hist. India*, I, 443) recognizes this monogram as a true mint mark and discusses its importance. Cf. Whitehead, pp. 311 and 315-16. It should be emphasized that such mint marks do not necessarily represent names of cities. All of the great Parthian mints of Iran from about 70 B.C. are so distinguished, and the Parthian practice appears to have been borrowed directly from the Bactrian.

show thirteen different mint marks. The four mints, for the upper valley are represented by 16, 26, 17, and 11 specimens each, the fifth mint by only one coin.¹⁵ Even more opposed to the attribution of this mint to the Kabul valley is the evidence that it was employed by the Parthians from about 70 B.C. to about 25 B.C. A large series of Parthian coins for this period, thoroughly homogeneous in their style, bear either the *kappa-rho* or *kappa* alone. The latter form occurs also in the Yavana coinage of this mint. The Parthian series cannot be assigned to areas further west, and their style had led me to associate them with the Bactrian region before my attention was called to the Yavana series.¹⁶ The latter antedates 70 B.C., though the mint area was very probably temporarily occupied also by Mithradates I and Mithradates II. The interest of both Parthians and Greeks of the East in the Bamian region may be explained by the presence there of silver mines as well as by its commercial and strategic importance as a passageway.

This location of an important Yavana nucleus in the Paropamisadae throws new light on the history of Greek domination of the Middle East. Though Bactria itself was lost, we find Greeks holding a solid block of territory from the Punjab north and west to the whole line of the mountain crest which overlooked Bactria and possessed of lines of communication not only with the Oxus but with Areia and thence to Media, farther west. In this arrangement the Kabul valley stands out in the perspective which we know was appropriate for the earlier period of Alexander and the later Islamic period—never an important center in its own right, it was essentially a passageway and a dependency of adjoining centers. This conclusion is supported by the extremely varied character of the numerous coins found there.

Sometime early in the first century B.C. a Saka dynasty, that of Maues and Azes, had risen in the Indus valley and by the middle of the century had occupied Gandhara and the Punjab. This consolidation of all of the Yavana holdings in the Indus basin, with the exception of Kapica where for a brief period Hermaeus continued to rule, had Gandhara for its center and was equivalent to the satrapy of Philip with the kingdoms of Poros and Abhisares. In the latter area lay the

¹⁵ Whitehead, pp. 315-16.

¹⁶ These Parthian coins will be discussed in greater detail in a later study. Warwick Wroth (*Catalogue of the Coins of Parthia* [London, 1903], p. 48, n. 1) has failed to note the *rho* combined with the *kappa*, but I have observed it repeatedly, and it has been recorded by Alexander von Petrowicz (*Arsaciden-Münzen* [Vienna, 1904], p. 42, no. 23).

original nucleus of the new dynasty, and this new development is significant.¹⁷

Rapson has insisted that the Sakai of whom Maues was the chief had formed part of the group which had attacked Parthia and must have entered India by way of the lower Indus valley. His argument rests on a number of fallacies. Contrary to the statement of Rapson, the displacement of Sakai by the Yueh-chi, which is described in the Chinese annals, took place, not in the country north of Bactria, but in a district northeast of the Pamirs, O-sun, and must be distinguished from the displacement mentioned by our Western sources. Rapson rejects the possibility that the Sakai of Maues entered India by way of the upper Indus or through one of the Kabul valley approaches because he assumes that they came in a body within a short period of time and in a state of political advancement requiring the issue of their own coinage. Neither of these assumptions is valid. We have already noted the Saka country shown by Ptolemy along the whole northern and eastern border of the upper Indus basin; these were the Sakai who had much earlier been conquered by Cyrus the Great, who had played an important part in Alexander's conquest of India, and who may be presumed to have filled a similar role under the Yavana feudal lords. It is only reasonable to assume a gradual infiltration of Saka elements into the upper Indus basin over a long period of time. As a final culmination of a long process we have the event cited by Rapson from the Chinese sources: Saka princes driven out by the Yueh-chi went *south*, and became chiefs in the new land. All of the evidence thus points to the upper Indus valley as the nucleus of the power of the new dynasty, and within the new kingdom of Gandhara which they established there was effectively included, probably for the first time, all of the upper Indus basin which Ptolemy shows as an integral part of western India.

Coins of Maues and Azes, as well as of their successors Azilises and

¹⁷ For a general discussion of these Sakai in India see Rapson, "The Scythian and Parthian Invaders", *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 563-71. Cf. Whitehead, p. 338, and Gardner, p. xl. The coins of Maues have been found chiefly in northwestern Punjab. A number of his early types have been copied from the coins of the much earlier Menāñder and Demetrius, who had extended the Yavana frontiers into regions not retained by their successors, with the exception of Hippostratus. The latter appears to have ruled in the Punch valley of Kashmir, and his issues are closely related to those of both Maues and Azilises. The evidence suggests that the new dynasty rose in the upper Indus valley and retained that area in the subsequent period of contraction. For the Sakai see also Ptolemy, VI, 13.

Azes II, are not known for the Ghazni country or for the Kabul valley above Jelalabad. There does occur in the valley, and apparently only there, a series of issues belonging to a Vonones and an associated group of Saka rulers. The style and types of these coins are so closely related to those of the Sakai in Gandhara and the Punjab that the two groups of princes must be classed together, and it is generally accepted that Azes II represents a fusion of both elements.¹⁸ Rapson states that the family of Vonones ruled over "Drangiana [Seistan] and Arachosia [Kandahar]". In this he disregards completely the essential factor of find spots and bases himself on the characteristic types found on the coins of Vonones, which, he says, were "presumably" struck in some district of Arachosia. But these same types were employed by Azes, Azilises, or Hermaeus, who by no stretch of the imagination can be thought to have ruled Seistan, Kandahar, or even Ghazni. The assumption of Rapson is reasonable that the character of the legend on this class of coins, with its reference to joint rulers, points to two different areas controlled by one paramount chief. As one area I would suggest the Kabul valley, where the coins occur, with Arachosia as we have defined it, excluding the Kandahar district. As the second area, joined to the first by the Gumal and Tochi passes, southwestern Punjab, south of the Peshawar district, presents itself as a logical choice.

Identified with this area, the types of Vonones and his associates fulfill all of the requirements of their occurrence in other reigns. Before the fusion of the two groups under Azes II, the princes of Kabul and Arachosia appear at times to have extended their rule over Peshawar and parts of Gandhara. It is not necessary to assume, as do Rapson and Thomas, that Vonones occupied not only the Kabul valley but brought to an end the rule of Hermaeus in what had been left of Kapica. During this period Azilises continued to rule in parts of Gandhara and the Punjab, and the Chinese sources suggest that Kapica, in part at least, became united to Gandhara. The date given by Rapson for Vonones is approximately correct, though it will be suggested below that he had established himself in the Kabul valley prior to 36 B.C. For our present purposes the particular significance of the rise of Vonones lies in the evidence it affords of the development of a new nucleus and, for the first time since the reign of Eucratides, of an

¹⁸ Gardner, pp. xl-xli; Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India.*, I, 568-74. Vonones himself presumably was no Saka, but an Iranian prince who had joined himself to this group. He may have been an Arsacid, but, as will be shown below, the date limits of his reign do not permit of his identification as Vonones I of Parthia, as has been suggested.

extension of the Indian frontier to include Arachosia, the region of Ghazni and of Lake Ab-i-Istada.

The successor of Azes II in Gandhara and the Punjab was Gondopharnes, and his reign in Gandhara began in A.D. 19.¹⁹ These admitted facts, however, determine neither the original nucleus of his power nor the date at which he established himself outside Gandhara. The bulk of the extant coins of Gondopharnes have been found in the Kabul valley, and a considerable quantity in the Punjab. Relatively few have been reported from Kandahar and Seistan. He countermarked coins of his contemporary Artabanus II of Parthia and of the earlier Orodes II. On his early coins he copied one of the types of this same Arsacid and borrowed the title *Autokrator* from the still earlier Sinatruces of Parthia. Without citing finds of his coins Rapson assumes that Gondopharnes reigned in "Arachosia" because of a supposed relationship with Vonones; that is, he assumes for Gondopharnes the arguments which he applied to the types of Vonones.

Though I find no evidence of a relationship between Gondopharnes and Vonones, I would accept the assumption of Rapson as applied to Arachosia as here defined. There can be no doubt that Gondopharnes interfered in Parthian affairs and territory, but the evidence of the coins points only to this and not to prolonged rule over districts which had hitherto been Parthian. I would suggest, rather, that Gondopharnes rose to power in a region of Arachosia, above Lake Ab-i-Istada, that had once been Parthian but was so no longer. There he imitated coins of former reigns. From an early point in his reign he must have ruled also in the Kabul valley, and to that area I would assign at least one, perhaps both, classes of his coins with the Nike reverse. Thus far his coinage remains entirely distinct from that of his Saka predecessors. The greater number of his known types, however, closely follow those of Azes and Azilises, and they must be assigned to the succeeding period of his rule in Gandhara and the Punjab. The date for his accession is based on an inscription made in Gandhara and is expressed in terms of an Indian era; it can be taken to indicate only the acknowledgment of his succession to the throne of this ancient center. The date

¹⁹ Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 576-78. For the find spots of the coins of Gondopharnes see Gardner, pp. xlv, l. Ernst Herzfeld ("Sakastan", *Archaeologische Mitteilungen aus Iran*, IV [Jan., 1932], 91-102) has argued that the center of power of Gondopharnes lay in Seistan, and in this he has seriously altered the chronology of the preceding reigns. Though there is much of value in his discussion, his disregard of the essential unity of the numismatic evidence makes unacceptable his argument for the location of the kingdom of Gondopharnes as well as that of the Chinese unit known as Ke-pin.

A.D. 19 is important as fixing the definite union of the Punjab, Gandhara, Kapica, the Kabul valley, and Arachosia.

In this connection we must consider the coinage of the "nameless king" of this period, who called himself on his issues simply *Soter Megas*.²⁰ The great majority of his coins represent a complete break with the types and style which had characterized the coinages of the Maues and Vonones group as well as with the later issues of Gondopharnes. On all of the latter a horseman is shown on the obverse, whereas *Soter Megas*, like the Arsacids, displayed the royal portrait on the obverse. The reverse of his coins invariably bears the figure of a horseman, but it is done in a style closely similar to that on contemporary and later Parthian coins. The coins of *Soter Megas* occur in great numbers in the Kabul valley and are noted by Gardner for no other area. For the period succeeding Gondopharnes, however, the issues of the Kushana dynasty occur in that valley in even greater abundance. This fact together with the wide diversity of style separating the coinages of the Kushanas and *Soter Megas* requires the assignment of the latter to the period immediately preceding Gondopharnes, and it follows that he must have been the successor of Vonones in the Kabul valley and, presumably, in Arachosia.

Soter Megas, I suggest, was the first of the so-called Pahlava rulers. From some nucleus in Arachosia near the Parthian border he rose and destroyed the power of Vonones. While *Soter Megas* controlled the Kabul valley and Arachosia, and perhaps its extension through the Gumal Pass to the Indus, Azes II continued to rule in Gandhara, a part of the Punjab, and probably in the Swat valley of Kapica. I would suggest, further, that Gondopharnes inherited the kingdom of *Soter Megas* and continued to rule his territory for some years before he invaded and conquered Gandhara. The rise of *Soter Megas* represents a reaction against the earlier rise of Vonones and his Saka associates, but the two must be considered as the founders of a kingdom which for perhaps fifty years maintained itself between India and Parthia.

The united kingdom of Gondopharnes, which centered in Gandhara, was broken up by the rise of the Kushana dynasty. In Pacores and Orthagnes we have two Pahlava princes who maintained themselves for some years thereafter in Arachosia and southwestern Punjab.²¹

²⁰ Gardner, pp. xlvii, l, 114-16. Rapson (*Cam. Hist. India*, I, 581) suggests that *Soter Megas* may have been a subordinate of the Kushana dynasty, but the style and types of his coins are definitely earlier and are completely foreign to those of Kadphises I and his successors.

²¹ Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 578, 580. Rapson has made Orthagnes a predecessor

The types of the former associate him in particular with the Indian side of the Gumal Pass, whereas the latter can have ruled only in Arachosia, but the coins of both occur in Kandahar and Seistan. This advance is to be connected with the civil wars in Parthia during the reign of Volagases I.

There are known coins of Phraates IV of Parthia which have been countermarked by an unnamed Saka ruler; these coins appear to have been struck in the Parthian mint of southern Gedrosia. Sanabares, another Saka or Pahlava prince, imitated coins of Volagases I which must be attributed to this same mint. On the basis of these associations both of these princes must be assigned to the delta country of the Indus valley, immediately adjoining Gedrosia, where, as we learn from the *Periplus*, during this very period "Parthian" lords ruled in a state of constant civil war.²²

This outline of the political units which bordered the eastern frontiers of Parthia during the periods of Greek and Saka rule in the Middle East can be filled in and rendered more complete by evidence from contemporary Chinese annals. We are here concerned chiefly with data to be found in the *Ch'ien-han-su*, though recourse is had to the earlier *Shi-ki* and the later *Hou-han-su*. The picture there presented applies to the first century B.C. and to that part of the next century which preceded the rise of the Kushana dynasty.²³ For this period and the area embracing northwestern India and the Afghan country north

of Gondopharnes on the basis of an issue which, on the obverse, bears the name of the former as paramount king and, on the reverse, the name of Gondopharnes. I suggest, rather, that it was struck after the defeat of Gondopharnes but before his death. This supposition appears to be necessitated by the fact that all of the coins of Orthagnes imitate the portrait of Volagases I of Parthia, who came to the throne in A.D. 51. I refer in particular to an issue of drachms of Volagases struck, I believe, in the mint of Drangiana, of which I have seen several examples. Petrowicz (p. 129, no. 14) has published what appears to be a similar piece.

²² Wroth, p. 114, nos. 96-102. For the coins of Sanabares see Gardner, p. 113, nos. 1-5. The first of these coins bears the mark of the Parthian mint of Ecbatana and a date which may be "IT" rather than as given. Though dates rarely occur on the Parthian coinage of Iran, when employed they are invariably based on the Arsacid Era, and the date in this instance, too, should be read as A.D. 62/63. Though apparently of the delta country by origin, there are some grounds for classing Sanabares as a king of Parthia; his successor in Parthia may have been Mithradates IV. See also *Le Périple de la mer Érythrée*, edited by H. Frisk (Göteborg, 1927), no. 38.

²³ For the most part I shall cite the now standard translation and commentary of J. J. M. de Groot, *Chinesische Urkunden zur Geschichte Asiens* (2 vols., Berlin, 1921-1926), especially Volume II, *Die Westlande Chinas in der vorchristlichen Zeit*. I have made use, also, of O. Franke, *Geschichte des chinesische Reiches*, Volume I (Berlin, 1930), and Sten Konow, "Notes on Indo-Scythian Chronology", *Journal of Indian History*, XII (Apr., 1933), 1-46.

to the Oxus River, the Chinese recognized to the east of Parthia two so-called great kingdoms, Ke-pin and O-ik-san-li, together with a number of smaller kingdoms or dependent districts. Among the latter we are particularly concerned with Ko-hu, P'ak-tat, and the country occupied by the five clans of the Yueh-chi.

In this particular period the Yueh-chi occupied the upper Oxus valley from the Pamirs west to include Badakshan and the Kunduz River valley, as well as upper Chitral.²⁴ South and southeast of the Yueh-chi was said to lie Ke-pin. Most scholars, influenced by similarity of sound, identify Ke-pin with Kapica, though the Peshawar district is generally included.²⁵ The philological relationship in this instance is probable but establishes no boundaries. Kapica was better known to the Chinese, since it lay nearer their borders, than Gandhara. For that reason they used that name, but the territory they referred to included Gandhara. A part was used to denote the whole, just as the Greeks had used the word Parthia to denote a larger empire. Lan-to, a dependent district of Ke-pin, lay to the northeast, and De Groot has been able to identify it with the Hunza country, far beyond Kapica.

²⁴ There is general agreement, based on precise geographical data, that their territory comprised Wakhan, Badakshan, and Chitral. Most writers include also Kafirstan and parts of the Kabul valley. For the former there is no evidence whatsoever, and it contradicts the texts; for the latter the numismatic evidence is strongly opposed, and Bamian more nearly meets the requirements of the text. This will be discussed under Ko-hu. In spite of the general agreement as to the actual location of the five clans, there is a tendency on the part of scholars to assume that in some manner they also controlled Bactria during this period. This is based largely on the assumption that in the second century B.C. the Yueh-chi had invaded Bactria, called by the Chinese the Kingdom of Ta-ha, from their base in Sogdiana, which the Chinese regarded as also Ta-ha country. Though the texts repeatedly distinguish between the Kingdom of Ta-ha south of the Oxus River and the Ta-ha territory north of the river, where alone the Yueh-chi are described as located during this earlier period, scholars have completely missed the distinction—largely owing to their preoccupation with attempts to identify the Yueh-chi with one or more of the nomad tribes named by our Western sources. The evidence offered to connect the Yueh-chi with Bactria in the first century is so weak that it would not have received support except for the fatal confusion in the history of the second century. This evidence concerns the names of capital cities: In the second century B.C. the capital of Bactria was called Lam-si, a century later that of the Yueh-chi in their new home bore the name Kam-si, and seven hundred years after this the name Lam-si occurs as a district of To-ho-lo, a term which the Chinese had adopted to designate Yueh-chi territory. At best, identification through similarity in the supposed sound is weak. In this instance scholars have disregarded the clear statement in the *Hou-han-su*, which directly follows the *Ch'ien-han-su*, that the Yueh-chi first took P'ak-tat (the country around Balkh) only upon the rise of the Kushana dynasty in the period just after that with which we are dealing. For the situation in the second century see De Groot, II, 12-27; for that in the first century, *ibid.*, pp. 95-102, 109. Cf. Konow, pp. 10-11, 14.

²⁵ De Groot, II, 85-87; Rapson, *Cam. Hist. India*, I, 566-67. Konow (pp. 15, 31) admits that Ke-pin finally embraced all of the Gandhara kingdom.

In itself conclusive is the description of Ke-pin. Along with Parthia and O-ik-san-li it was distinguished as a great kingdom possessed of its own coinage. The land was said to be flat and the climate mild, so the characteristic part of the country must have embraced the Indus plain of Gandhara. It produced sandalwood and bamboo, and its fauna included the elephant and the buffalo. Its inhabitants were adept in the construction of great buildings and in carving, engraving, and inlay work. Further proof of the identity of Ke-pin rests on interesting numismatic notes in the Chinese text. For this particular period the Parthian coinage was said to bear on the reverse the portrait of a woman. This can refer only to Musa, wife and mother of Phraataces (2 B.C.-A.D. 5); their coinage is especially characteristic of southeastern Iran. The contemporary coinages of Ke-pin and O-ik-san-li are compared in the further statement that the obverse of the former bore the figure of a horseman, while in the case of the latter the horseman appeared on the reverse. As we have already seen, the coinage thus attributed to Ke-pin is characteristic of the kingdom of Gandhara under the Saka dynasty, and that to O-ik-san-li, of the kingdom of *Soter Megas*. It is clear, therefore, that the Ke-pin of the Chinese sources is the kingdom of Gandhara, which in succession had been the kingdom of the House of Eucratides, the kingdom of the Saka dynasty of Maues, and, later, the kingdom of Gondopharnes. The Chinese evidence demonstrates, as the types of Maues had suggested, that this great political unit extended far to the north in the upper Indus basin, where it must have touched the country of the Sakai delimited by Ptolemy.

O-ik-san-li, besides being identified as the kingdom of *Soter Megas*, was said to lie both west and southwest of Ke-pin as well as to the east of Parthia. It was described as flat, very fertile, but very hot. As west of Ke-pin it clearly embraced Arachosia, as we have defined it, and the district of Kabul. As southwest of Ke-pin, and characterized by extreme heat, we must conclude not only that it extended east through the Gumal and Tochi passes but that it included an important area in southwestern Punjab, for to the Chinese this was the characteristic part of the country.²⁶

Further evidence is afforded by the description of the principal branch of the great southern road from China to the far west. It passed through Khotan, and considerable detail is given of its course thence southwest through Ke-pin and its terminus in O-ik-san-li.²⁷ Although

²⁶ De Groot, II, 86, 91, 93.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, pp. 47-48, 69-70, 92.

four principal routes are described, only in the one instance is this detail afforded; and it is to be taken as evidence of the importance of both route and terminus. The Chinese apparently knew nothing of the great desert of the Sind, and they fail to mention the sea in connection with the terminus. One may presume, therefore, that their road came to an end north of the Sind, and there may be real significance in the fact that the road from Bagdad to India described by the early Arab geographers extended to Multan in southwestern Punjab, adjacent to the very area we are discussing. The description of the sea route from Egypt and the Persian Gulf to the Indus mouth given in the *Periplus* belongs to the same century as does the Chinese account.

Even more closely contemporary is the account given by Isidor of Charax of the route from Syria through Seleucia, which he brings to an end on the Parthian border at what he calls the metropolis of Arachosia. Now the Chinese text states that in order to reach Parthia from the terminus one proceeded north and a little to the east (apparently an error for "west"), and if from Multan, or from the district near it on the west bank of the Indus, one proceeds north and a short distance west through the Gumal Pass one reaches the very point where our western sources all place the capital of Arachosia, and where Isidor places the contemporary Parthian border.²⁸ The Arab name for Ghazni, "the port of India", links it with southwestern Punjab in the trade from the Oxus valley. This remarkable series of Chinese documents of the first century demonstrates the existence of an important political unit stretching across Arachosia to the middle Indus valley, which served to link the commerce of the upper Indus valley and China and that of Parthia and the Indus delta.

O-ik-san-li was in existence as a kingdom independent of Ke-pin as early as 36 B.C., when it was included in a report to the Chinese court as one of the nations threatened by the rise to power of Tche-tche and the K'ang-ki of Sogdiana.²⁹ This reference can apply only to the reign of Vonones, while he and his associates were ruling Arachosia and the Kabul valley, and it confirms the suggestion already made that *Soter Megas* must be recognized as the successor of Vonones in Arachosia. The reference is important not only as establishing the date for Vonones but, through this, for the support it accords the general

²⁸ See note 7 above. For Multan and the Arab route see Haldich, pp. 192-93; Le Strange, pp. 332-33; Isidor of Charax, no. 19.

²⁹ De Groot, II, 103-104; see also Volume I, *Die Hunnen der vorchristlichen Zeit*, p. 230.

chronology for the Yavana and Saka kings, which has been worked out by Rapson.

We have seen that the Yueh-chi were located during the first century B.C. in the Oxus valley from the Pamirs to, and including, Badakshan. The districts occupied by four of the five clans are described as extending in a row from east to west, and the fifth clan is said to be located south of the fourth. In the *Ch'ien-han-su* the territory of this fifth clan is called by the name Ko-hu, but the *Hou-han-su*, which takes up the narrative from the rise of the Kushana dynasty, states that in this the earlier annals were in error, that the country of the fifth clan bore the name To-bit, and that Ko-hu lay southwest of the Yueh-chi districts and was a large wealthy country with a distinctive culture related to that of India. It had never been independent but had successively been under the rule of T'ien-tok (Eastern Punjab and in part Kashmir), Ke-pin, and Parthia; the Yueh-chi took it only when Kadphises I first expanded his district to establish the Kushana empire. Not only is Parthia named as the last to hold Ko-hu prior to this, but in a later passage we find again the statement: "He [Kadphises I] attacked Parthia, took possession of Ko-hu, and destroyed P'ak-tat and Ke-pin."³⁰

Some scholars have identified Ko-hu as the upper Kabul valley, but the evidence strongly supports its equation with the district of Bamian. Here lay the center for an important area; it possessed great wealth; as a great Buddhist center its cultural relations with India must have been close; and it lay southwest of Badakshan, which was the heart of the Yueh-chi country. I suggest that the fifth clan had occupied the upper Kunduz valley, corresponding to To-bit; that about 25 B.C. it took possession of Bamian, adjacent to this valley, and forced the closing of the Parthian mint of Bamian; that the Parthians later regained political control of Bamian with its new element, probably during the reign of Artabanus II, who is known to have waged successful wars in the East; and that during the civil wars between Vardanes and Gotarzes, Kadphises I conquered Bamian as described in the *Hou-han-su*. Under this interpretation, which appears to meet all of the requirements, both of the Chinese records can be accepted without contradiction; the later of the two naturally reflects the account

³⁰ De Groot, II, 101-102. See also page 48 for a third century Chinese document which names as dependencies of the Yueh-chi the regions of Ko-hu, Ta-ha, Ke-pin, etc. This suggests that Ko-hu, like the other units named, had not formed an integral part of the territory of the five clans. In all of the Chinese texts Parthia is referred to as An-sik, and the term is never applied to any other country.

most favorable to the prestige of the Kushana dynasty. Ko-hu thus appears as the equivalent of the great kingdom of Bamian of the Middle Ages, of the great borderline mint area of the Parthian and Yavana kingdoms, and of the Paropamisadae of the Hellenistic sources.

Over a period of several years around the middle of the first century A.D. Kadphises I conquered and united Bactria proper, Bamian, and the kingdom of Gandhara with its extensions into the Kunar, Swat, and upper Indus valleys.³¹ The Kabul valley must have been included, but the situation in Arachosia is not clear. As we have seen, it had formed part of the united kingdom of Gondopharnes, but after his defeat Pacores and Orthagnes continued to rule there and in southwestern Punjab for an indefinite period. Unlike Ke-pin and Ko-hu, O-ik-san-li does not appear to have been mentioned by later Chinese sources as a dependency of the Yueh-chi, and it is not clear whether Arachosia was then counted as an integral part of Ke-pin or whether it lay outside the Kushana frontiers. The latter supposition is supported by the evidence already noted for the location of Zabulistan during the early Islamic period, with its center around Ghazni, and the close correspondence of its borders with those given for Arachosia by Ptolemy in the second century A.D. In the delta of the lower Indus the overlordship of the Kushanas came to be recognized, but it does not appear to have been effectively exercised.

On the basis of the available evidence the frontiers of the Kushana Empire toward Iran, at least until the close of the Parthian period, cannot be extended to include more than Bactria proper, the Paropamisadae of Bamian, and, possibly, the Arachosia of Ghazni with its extension east into the Indus valley. To a remarkably close degree this western boundary approximates that of the Yavana kingdoms of the East at the death of Eucratides about 155 B.C. The changes in this frontier during the intervening period were limited largely to the successive loss and reconquest of these same three areas of central Afghanistan.³²

ROBERT H. McDOWELL.

University of Michigan.

³¹ As Konow states (p. 31), as against Rapson (*Cam. Hist. India*, I, 584), it was Kadphises I rather than Kadphises II who took Taxila, which was east of the Indus and ten miles northwest of Rawal Pindi. Rapson was led into this error by his failure to realize that Ke-pin included all of Gandhara. T'ien-tok, equivalent to the kingdom of the House of Euthydemus, fell to the second of the Kushana line.

³² The author regrets that this article was completed prior to the publication of two important works: W. W. Tarn, *The Greeks in Bactria & India* (New York, 1938), and W. M. McGovern, *The Early Empires of Central Asia* (Chapel Hill, 1939).

THE COLUMBUS QUESTION

A SURVEY OF RECENT LITERATURE AND PRESENT OPINION

A RECENT contributor to the *American Historical Review* has written that "Lincoln is everybody's subject."¹ The same may be said with equal truth of Columbus, who is alternately praised and belittled, groomed for canonization and charged with piracy, lauded as a scientist and branded as an ignoramus. Conservative adherents of the Irving-Fiske-Harrisse discovery version still engage in polemics with revisionists, both mild and radical. There is a lunatic fringe of writers determined to establish far-fetched theories regarding the Columbus enterprise or to prove that the discoverer was of some nationality hitherto unsuspected.² In Italy, Spain, and Portugal patriotism is seldom divorced from the subject.

Literary production among the Columbists continues abundantly and shows no tendency to slacken in volume despite the scarcity of fresh evidence.³ Only two new Columbus documents have come to light in the twentieth century, and there appears little hope of important additions in the future.⁴ The next stage, as Rómulo Cárbia, the able Argentine historian, rightly insists, should be that of re-evaluating the existing sources, returning to the original manuscripts and correcting the frequently erroneous printed versions.⁵

¹ J. G. Randall, "Has the Lincoln Theme been Exhausted?" *XLI* (1936), 270.

² Though the present writer does not pretend to know all the birthplaces attributed to Columbus, the following list of nationalities is representative: mainland Italian (including the claims of Genoa, Savona, Cogoleto, Nervi, Pradello, Cuccaro, Piacenza, Albisola, Bugiasco, and Finale), Corsican, Mallorcan, Galician, Catalan, Portuguese, Greek, "Nordic", Jewish, French, Swiss, English, and Armenian.

³ See "Bibliographie des grandes découvertes", *Bulletin of the International Committee of Historical Sciences*, VII (1936), 363-445, especially sections 9 and 10.

⁴ The document establishing Columbus's birth year as 1451, Ugo Assereto, "La data della nascita di Colombo", *Giornale storico e letterario della Liguria*, V (1904), 5 ff.; and the Piri Re's map, described by Paul Kahle, "A Lost Map of Columbus", *Geographical Review*, XXIII (1933), 621-38. The Assereto document is printed by Charles de la Roncière, *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, III (Cairo, 1928), 63-68, and in part by Henry Vignaud, "Proof that Columbus was born in 1451: A New Document", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XII (1907), 270-79. A photographic reproduction appears in Roberto Almagià, *I primi esploratori dell'America* (Rome, 1937), nos. 4, 5, and 6.

⁵ Cárbia, *La nueva historia del descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1936) and *La investigación científica y el descubrimiento de América* (Buenos Aires, 1937), the latter

Most of the current disputes over Columbus are in some degree traceable to divergent opinions regarding sources. Of what value, for instance, is the *Historie . . . della vita e dei fatti di Cristoforo Colombo*, attributed to Ferdinand Columbus and published at Venice thirty-two years after his death in Spain? Is this an authentic biography of the admiral by his son, is it mainly the work of Luís de Colón, his dishonest grandson, or is it the pure fabrication of Las Casas, as Cárbia maintains?⁶ The reliability of the *História de las Indias*, which agrees almost word for word with the *Historie* in important particulars, is thus called in question. Should it be seriously impugned, the somewhat neglected *Pleitos de Colón* would become our chief source, and a greatly revised history of the discovery would result. The authenticity of the *Libro de las Profecias* is now challenged, in part at least.⁷ Fritz Streicher's examination of the marginal notes by the Columbus brothers in books at the *Colombina* in Seville, though scholarly, does not seem to have contributed materially to the solution of any weighty problem.⁸ The Toscanelli correspondence, disputed for nearly forty years, is controversial still. Fortunately, plans have been made for preparing critical editions of the *Historie*, the *História de las Indias*, and the *Pleitos*.⁹ An international commission of scholars will superintend the publications, which will provide a basis for sounder judgments.¹⁰ When this work is accomplished, it is to be hoped that Columbists will give more attention to the scientific aspects of the discovery of America and less to biographical minutiae concerning the discoverer.¹¹ Since, however,

in answer to Diego Luís Molinari, "La empresa Colombina y el descubrimiento", *História de la nación argentina*, II (Buenos Aires, 1937), 341-528, who maintained that traditional sources might be taken at their face value.

⁶ Evidence of a Luís de Colón forgery is presented by Alberto Magnaghi, "I presunti errori che vengono attribuiti à Colombo nella determinazione delle latitudine", pt. 2, *Bollettino della Reale società geografica italiana*, LXV (1928), 553-82. Cárbia (*La nuova história*) believes that the entire *Historie* was invented by Las Casas to help the Colón heirs in their suit with the crown.

⁷ Magnaghi, *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82.

⁸ Streicher, "Die Kolumbus-originale: Eine palaographische Studie", *Spanische Forschungen der Görres-Gesellschaft*, I (Munich, 1928), 196-250.

⁹ The latest edition of the *Historie*, that of Rinaldo Caddeo (2 vols., Milan, 1930), is valuable in some respects but not critical in the sense demanded. The Gonzalo de Reparaz edition of Las Casas (3 vols., Madrid, 1927) is scarcely superior to that of 1875-76. The *Pleitos de Colón*, edited by Cesario Fernandez Duro, forms Volumes VII and VIII (Madrid, 1892, 1894) of the *Colección de documentos inéditos relativos al descubrimiento, conquista y organización de las antiguas posesiones españolas de ultramar*.

¹⁰ Almagià, "Il xxvi congresso internazionale degli Americanisti", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXXIII, 111.

¹¹ Note the plea of Almagià for more geographical science and less biography in

these valuable labors have had to be postponed because of events in Spain, it may be useful to summarize our present knowledge and the more important studies of the recent past.

The question of a pre-Columbus discovery of America is apparently never laid to rest. Real or imaginary evidences of voyages and voyagers have long been exploited—the Basques, the Zenos, the mysterious “ixola otinticha” of the 1448 Bianco portolan, Pining and Pothorst, João Vaz Corte-Real, Fernam Dulmo, Alonso Sanchez de Huelva, Jean Cousin of Dieppe, and Diogo de Teive.¹² The Chinese tale of a transpacific discovery in the fifth century has received attention from Edward P. Vining and others, and even Africa’s claims have their advocates.¹³ European voyages, however, have naturally been the subjects of most controversy, and several of the latest theories are interesting both because of the evidence presented and the interpretation of it by their advocates.

William H. Babcock relied on the Battista Beccario map of 1435, which marks a group of “Insulle a nov R’pte” (newly reported islands) in the Atlantic, though these are hardly far enough westward to be easily identified with America. Babcock took these islands to be the present Antilles and from their placement thought it possible to distinguish Cuba, Jamaica, Florida, and one of the Bahamas.¹⁴ He had no suggestion to offer as to the discoverer’s identity but did point out that Martin Behaim, on his globe, reported a western voyage of the year 1414. It has since been shown, however, that a different explanation accounts more satisfactorily for Beccario’s islands.¹⁵

“Ciò che è definitivamente acquisito alla scienza e ciò che ancora può essere utilmente indagato intorno alla vita, ai viaggi ed alle scoperte di Cristoforo Colombo ed alle conseguenze di esse riguardo al progresso delle conoscenze geografiche”, *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, V (1933), 267.

¹² The present study is not concerned with the voyages of Leif Erikson and Thorfinn Karlsefni. Though unquestionably authentic, they have no bearing on the Columbus enterprise.

¹³ Leo Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, II (Philadelphia, 1922), foreword and *passim*; Ahmed Zéki Pasha, “Une seconde tentative des Muselmans pour découvrir l’Amérique”, *Bulletin de l’Institut d’Égypte*, II (1920), 57 ff. The latter study deals with reported attempts by the Moslem rulers of Guinea in the fourteenth century.

¹⁴ *Legendary Islands of the Atlantic* (New York, 1922), p. 153. The same writer, “Antillia and the Antilles”, *Geog. Rev.*, IX (1920), 109-24, expressed the opinion that “The Antillia of 1435 was really, as now, the queen of the Antilles”. In “The Problem of Mayda, an Island appearing on Medieval Maps”, *ibid.*, pp. 335-46; Babcock held that Mayda really existed and conjectured that Bermuda, C. Cod, or C. Breton might be the original.

¹⁵ G. R. Crone, “The Origin of the Name Antillia”, *Geographical Journal*, XCI (1938), 260-61. Crone shows that what Babcock took for an authentic island is probably

Senhor Jaime Cortesão, an ardent champion of Portuguese priority in all Atlantic navigation, alleges that his countrymen reached Newfoundland in 1452, a contention endorsed by nearly all scholars of his nation.¹⁶ He explains the lack of direct evidence in support of this and other pre-Columbus Portuguese voyages on the basis of government secrecy. He earlier maintained with some reason that the rulers of Portugal deliberately destroyed or concealed maps and records that would have tempted foreigners to encroach on the nation's African discoveries.¹⁷ The same policy is supposed to have prevailed regarding the nebulous American voyages. Cortesão also insisted that a pre-Columbus discovery of South America should be inferred from the Treaty of Tordesillas in 1494, arguing that King John's insistence on placing the Line of Demarcation 370 leagues west of the Cape Verdes could be explained only by some prior knowledge on his part of the Brazilian littoral.¹⁸ The principal new idea in his latest work is a doubtful identification of Pero Vasques de la Frontera, mentioned in the *Pleitos de Colón*, with Pedro de Velasco, a Portuguese pilot to whom Columbus owed some of his knowledge of the Atlantic, and who accompanied Diogo de Teive on a westward voyage in 1452.¹⁹ Cortesão's ingenuity

the pillars of Hercules moved westward and that the legend "newly reported islands" refers to the newly discovered Azores.

¹⁶ The Portuguese have lately advanced many far-fetched claims for their voyagers, particularly regarding pre-Columbus discoveries of America. Their contentions are reviewed by two German scholars, Egmont Zechlin, "Das Problem der vorkolumbischen Entdeckung Amerikas", *Historische Zeitschrift*, CLII (1935), 1-47, and R. Hennig, "Die These einer vorcolumbischen portugiesischen Geheimkenntnis von Amerika", *Historische Vierteljahrschrift*, XXX (1936), 548-92. Zechlin rather inclines to the Portuguese claim; Hennig somewhat contemptuously rejects it. Georg Friederici, *Der Charakter der Entdeckung und Eroberung Amerikas durch die Europäer*, Volume II (Stuttgart, 1936), which also reviews early Portuguese activity, did not become available in time for use in this study.

¹⁷ Cortesão, "Do sigilo nacional sobre os descobrimentos", *Lusitania*, I (1924), 45-81. On similar lines see G. H. Kimble, "Portuguese Policy and its Influence on Fifteenth Century Cartography", *Geog. Rev.*, XXIII (1933), 653-59.

¹⁸ "Le traité de Tordesillas et la découverte de l'Amérique", *Atti del XXII congresso internazionale degli Americanisti* (Rome, 1926), II, 649-83. Supporting this contention is Jordão de Freitas, "O descobrimento pre-Colombino da América Austral pelos Portugueses", *Lusitania*, IX (1926), 315-27.

¹⁹ "The Pre-Columbian Discovery of America", *Geog. Jour.*, LXXXIX (1937), 29-42. In attempting to prove this Portuguese discovery, Cortesão offers no cartographical evidence but mentions three reported voyages: (1) Teive and Velasco in 1452; (2) Teles in 1475; and (3) Dulmo and Estreito in 1487. Not one of these men is recorded in documents as having made a discovery. Cortesão is seemingly refuted by Crone, "The Alleged Pre-Columbian Discovery of America", *Geog. Jour.*, LXXXIX (1937), 455-60. A Portuguese version of Cortesão's work appears as *O viagem de Diogo de Teive e Pedro Vasquez de la Frontera ao banco de Terra Nova em 1452* (Lisbon, 1933).

in wringing new meanings from old documents is countered by the lack of positive evidence in his favor. The greatest admirer of Portuguese seafaring prowess should hesitate to accept arguments based in part on the absence of documents.

Sofus Larsen of Copenhagen reshapes familiar data in an attempt to show that Danes visited North America about 1472-74.²⁰ He points to an apparent Portuguese-Danish liaison for discovery purposes, originally stimulated by Prince Henry. Eanes de Zurara describes the participation of the Dane, Vallarte, in a Portuguese voyage to Senegal in 1448.²¹ This had a counterpart, Larsen thinks, in the presence of João Vaz Corte-Real and Alvaro Martins Homem with the expedition of Didrik Pining and Hans Pothorst, piloted by Joanes Scolvus, which sailed to Greenland and perhaps Newfoundland some twenty-five years later. A Portuguese document credits Corte-Real and Homem with the discovery of "Terra de Bacalaos" ²² in 1473 but omits the details.²³ Indications exist that King Christian of Denmark undertook the Pining-Pothorst venture at the wish of Alfonso of Portugal. Later documents, mostly cartographical, vaguely connect the name of the pilot Scolvus with the region of Labrador. Larsen, after laboring heroically to bridge gaps, concludes that one expedition accounts for it all and that Corte-Real and Homem went as official observers to witness the Danish discovery. The theory of a voyage to Newfoundland on this occasion is strengthened by the fact that in the next generation Corte-Real's sons sailed there, perhaps following directions furnished by their father. The Larsen thesis, while in some respects plausible, is vulnerable because of both chronological discrepancies and the lack of concrete data.

From these examples it will be seen that recent efforts to establish pre-Columbus discoveries have proved no more convincing than older ones.²⁴ The inherent probability is that some such voyages took place,

²⁰ *The Discovery of North America Twenty Years before Columbus* (Copenhagen and London, 1925). Larsen's case is examined and rejected by Giuseppe Caraci, "Una pretesa scoperta dell'America vent'anni innanzi Colombo", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXVII (1930), 771-812.

²¹ *Chronica do descobrimento e conquista de Guiné*, ed. by Carreira (Paris, 1841), pp. 441-49.

²² A name applied to Newfoundland soon after the discovery of America.

²³ Ernesto do Canto, *Os Corte-Reais* (Ponta Delgada, 1883), p. 395; Armando Cortesão, *Cartografia e cartógrafos portugueses dos séculos xv e xvi* (Lisbon, 1935), I, 310.

²⁴ All such attempts, old and new, are summarized by Zechlin, *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLII, 1-47. Somewhat different is Alberto Magnaghi's study of the ill-fated Vivaldi enterprise, "Precursori di Colombo? Il tentativo di viaggio transoceanico dei genovesi fratelli Vivaldi

but no specific instance thus far advanced seems able to stand the test of criticism. All cases presented to date have wishful thinking as their main ingredient, and the whole matter may be summarized now, as a hundred years ago, in the words—possible but not proved.

Attempts to provide Columbus with any but a Genoese origin have failed utterly, and in the judgment of serious scholars the subject is closed. Only one such effort ever attracted widespread attention—the campaign by Celso Garcia de la Riega of Pontevedra to prove that the discoverer was a Galician Spaniard. Don Celso said that documents existed at Pontevedra attesting the presence there in the fifteenth century of families named Colón and Fonterosa,²⁵ and that several of these Colóns bore given names corresponding to those of individuals in the Columbus family. Beginning in 1899, he strove to convince the public that Columbus was of Galician birth, though he did not entirely eliminate Genoa, for he explained that the family migrated there when Cristóbal was a small child.²⁶ The reasons for this departure, Don Celso said, were obscure and evidently required concealment, and so Columbus refrained in later life from ever naming his true birthplace. An elaborated edition of his work was published in 1914. It included photographic reproductions of several Pontevedra documents, though the originals had meanwhile been examined by two paleographers, Serrano Sanz and Eladio Oviedo y Arce, both of whom pronounced them falsified.²⁷ This, however, had failed to stop the “Colón Español” excitement, which spread into Spanish America. Rómulo Cárba refused to be converted and pronounced the question an enigma.²⁸ Enrique Sanfuentes y Correa of Chile leaned strongly to the Genoese side.²⁹ Others, less reticent, came to the aid of the Pontevedra

nel 1291”, *Memorie della Reale società geografica italiana*, XVIII (Rome, 1935). Magnaghi reverses previous ideas by showing that Ugolino and Vadino Vivaldi intended to reach India by crossing the Atlantic along the parallel of the Canaries, thus anticipating Columbus by 201 years. Had the voyage gone as planned, the discovery of America must have resulted in 1291. But the ships were wrecked off the Moroccan coast and the men sold into slavery.

²⁵ Columbus's mother was named Susanna Fontanarossa.

²⁶ *Cristóbal Colón ¿Español?* (Madrid, 1899).

²⁷ Serrano Sanz, of the University of Zaragoza, and Oviedo y Arce made separate investigations and reached identical conclusions. Their findings are summarized by Angé de Altolaquirre y Duvalé, “¿Colón Español? Estudio histórico-crítico”, *Boletín de la Real sociedad geográfica*, LXIV (1924), 3-89.

²⁸ *Origen y patria de Cristóbal Colón* (Buenos Aires, 1918).

²⁹ *Cristóbal Colón* (Santiago, Chile, 1918).

champion, though their assistance was of doubtful value.³⁰ In Spain Ricardo Beltrán y Rózpide was the only historian of note to be affected, and he was not a blind convert to the new school. With no particular thesis to sustain, he simply used internal evidence to demonstrate that Columbus could not with certainty be declared an Italian, and his examination of the sources was of some value.³¹ Angel de Altolaguirre y Duvalé, Spain's leading Columbian, remained conservative, declaring that the Pontevedra documents were worthless and that the whole affair would come to nothing.³² Undaunted by this powerful opposition, a number of minor Spanish writers repeated García de la Riega's argument *ad nauseam* and produced a host of worthless books.³³ Finally, to end the controversy, the Royal Spanish Academy of History appointed a committee of scholars above suspicion to make a thorough investigation of the documents used by Don Celso, who in the meantime had died. In 1928 the commissioners reported their unanimous finding, namely, that the records were falsified, that the falsifications were recent and all the work of one person, and that in consequence the Pontevedra documents could not serve as the basis of any serious historical work.³⁴ The maxim *De mortuis nihil nisi bonum* seems to have been applied in their case, as they left the forger unnamed. The academy's hope of terminating this particular debate has apparently been fulfilled, for since 1928 no "Pontevedra" writings have appeared. Three years later the city of Genoa published an elaborate collection of all the docu-

³⁰ For example, Manuel Tejerizo, *La patria de Colón* (Havana, 1919), who went beyond García de la Riega and denied any connection between "Colón", discoverer of America, and "Colombo", of the Genoese notarial archives. Also, Enrique Zas, *Si . . . ¡Colón Español!* (Havana, 1924), who made a senseless attack on Altolaguirre y Duvalé because that distinguished historian refused to accept Don Celso's arguments.

³¹ *Cristóbal Colón y Cristóforo Colombo* (Madrid, 1921), and "Cristóbal Colón ¿Genovés?", *Bol. R. Soc. Geog.*, LXV (1925), 247-89. It is alleged that Beltrán, just before his death, professed knowledge of a document proving Columbus of Portuguese origin (A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, I, 231). If so, the secret died with him.

³² "¿Colón Español? Estudio histórico-crítico", *Bol. R. Soc. Geog.*, LXIV (1924), 3-89.

³³ Examples are A. Valero y Bernabé, *La patria del Almirante* (Madrid, n. d.), Alonso de Bustos y Bustos, *La patria de Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, n. d.), and Prudencio Otero Sánchez, *España, patria de Colón* (Madrid, 1922). These are all "Pontevedra" books, presenting the same argument.

³⁴ "Informe sobre algunos de los documentos utilizados por Don Celso García de la Riega en sus libros 'La Gallega' y 'Colón Español'", *Boletín de la Real academia de la historia*, XCIII (1928), 56. The reference to *La Gallega* concerns a work published in 1897, devoted to the thesis that the *Santa María* was really *La Gallega*, built and owned in Pontevedra.

ments which attest Columbus's Genoese origin.³⁵ The evidence, viewed in its entirety, is overwhelming, and in the words of Almagià, echoed by Altolaguirre, should lay the question to rest forever.³⁶

Recently, however, the Catalan and Portuguese schools of Columbus nativity have stepped into the breach vacated by Pontevedra. Luís de Ulloa, of Lima and Barcelona, facetiously dubbed the "maestro of Catalanization", insists that Columbus was Catalan and furthermore says that his Catalan "Colom" was also the Joanes Scolvus of Larsen's work.³⁷ The name Scolvus appears to have been variously misspelled, one version being Kolonus. Instead of regarding this as a simple error, Ulloa sees proof that the obscure pilot was the renowned discoverer of America. He likewise declares that the true discovery took place in 1477 and was merely repeated by the Catalan voyager in 1492. The date 1477 is adopted to coincide with the supposed visit of Columbus to Iceland, where, according to Ulloa, he joined Pining and Pothorst in the capacity of pilot. Larsen, who arranged the voyage to suit the schedule of Corte-Real, places it somewhat earlier, but Ulloa, who brooks no opposition, insists on a postponement. After this pre-discovery of America, Colom changed his name from Joanes to Xristoferens, to cover traces of a previous piratical career, and sought royal aid for another expedition. He refused to make known his first journey in order to secure his own future by gaining New World concessions from a powerful government.³⁸ Finally, under the secrecy of

³⁵ Città di Genova. Commissione Colombiana, *Cristoforo Colombo: Documenti e prove della sua appartenenza a Genova* (Bergamo, 1931).

³⁶ Almagià, "Cristoforo Colombo cittadino genovese", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXIX (1932), 164-69; Altolaguirre, "Colombo", *Bol. Acad. Hist.*, C (1932), 27-34.

³⁷ *Christophe Colomb, Catalán* (Paris, 1927); *El pre-descubrimiento hispano-catalán de América en 1477: Xristoferens Colom, Fernando el Católico y la Catalunya española* (Paris, 1928). Ulloa's Catalan works include *Cristófor Colom fou Català: La veritable gènesi del descobriment* (Barcelona, 1927) and *Noves proves de la Catalanitat de Colom* (Paris, 1927). For a scathing review of the Ulloa thesis see Magnaghi, "El inicuo Vespuccio", *Rivista geografica italiana*, XXXVI (1929), 101-104; the title was inspired by some accusations hurled at Vespucci by Ulloa.

³⁸ In an article, "La genèse de la découverte de l'Amérique d'après des documents récemment retrouvés: La pré-découverte faite par Colomb en 1477", *Géographie*, XLIX (1928), 252-80, Ulloa goes further than in any of his books. He here claims that Scolvus, or Colom, son of a Catalan corsair, went to Greenland with Pining and Pothorst, left their company and voyaged in his own ship down the United States coast, visited Florida, explored Española, and sailed directly across the Atlantic to Europe. Columbus thus himself becomes the "unknown pilot" so often discussed. The "documents récemment retrouvés" turn out to be nothing startling; in fact they seem to have little bearing on Ulloa's subject.

the confessional, he informed Father Juan Perez at La Rábida of his past and thus enlisted the aid of the powerful priest, which proved so efficacious. The Catalan nationality is deduced from such stray items, as the form of the name (Colón=Colom or Colomo), the coat of arms later adopted by the admiral, Catalan-sounding titles bestowed on American territories (Jamaica=Jaume), and traces of the influence of Raymond Lull on the geographical ideas of Columbus. Ulloa's Catalan crusade, begun and sustained almost unaided, has aroused by no means the interest once felt in the Galician movement because documentary evidence, even forged, is lacking and because the exposure of one fraud has bred increased skepticism regarding other novel theories.³⁹

The Portuguese claims⁴⁰ are on a par with those of Catalonia and perhaps even surpass them in originality. Two recent works have demonstrated to the satisfaction of Portuguese enthusiasts that Columbus was of Lusitanian birth.⁴¹ Foreigners have paid little attention to such pronouncements, which display merely a certain adeptness at warping evidence in the interest of nationalistic prejudice.

The failure of all efforts to expatriate Columbus re-establishes the conclusions reached long ago by Henry Vignaud concerning his early life and career.⁴² It is unlikely that these will ever again be seriously

³⁹ The lengths to which such "reasoning" can go are illustrated by the Catalan, R. Carreras i Valls, who adopts John Cabot as a compatriot (*La descoberta d'Amèrica: Ferrer, Cabot i Colom*, Reuss, 1928). Carreras finds a document showing that in 1512 there entered Barcelona, in command of a merchant ship, one *Joan Cabot Catalan e Barcelones* and is instantly convinced that here is Henry Tudor's voyager, despite strong evidence that the discoverer Cabot was drowned in 1498. The lone document is the basis of a book which Ulloa heads with a preface, "En marcha hacia la verdad histórica". Magnaghi, commenting on the book in an article, "La «Catalanità» di Caboto", *Cultura*, VIII (1929), 216, writes, "noi stessi, del resto siamo subito costretti a riconoscere che nella *lucha* la *verdad* finisce per aver lo peggio, e che il Señor Carreras la riduce a sua mercè".

⁴⁰ Summarized by A. Cortesão, *Cartografia*, vol. I, ch. 4.

⁴¹ Pestana Junior, *D. Cristóbal Colón ou Symam Palha na história e na cabalha* (Lisbon, 1928), and G. L. Santos Ferreira and Antonio Ferreira de Serpa, *Salvador Gonsalves Zarco [Cristóbal Colón]* (Lisbon, 1930). Pestana Junior attains perhaps a new mark in originality by adding that Columbus remained loyal to Portugal through life and was the agent of King John II, even in the discovery of the Indies, the object of which was to distract Ferdinand and Isabella while the Portuguese rounded the Cape and reached India. In fact John even helped to finance the expedition!

⁴² *Études critiques sur la vie de Colomb avant ses découvertes* (Paris, 1905). Vignaud was greatly indebted to Alberto Salvagnini, "Cristoforo Colombo e i corsari Colombo suoi contemporanei", *Raccolta Colombiana*, pt. II, vol. III (Rome, 1894), 129-248. Since these biographical details are generally known, they may be briefly summarized:

1451 Born at Genoa.

1474-75 Voyaged to the Levant with di Negro and Spinola.

questioned. Several of the traditional occurrences associated with the youthful Columbus are now known to have been utterly impossible. These include the mythical voyage to Iceland,⁴³ the expedition to Tunis in the service of René of Anjou,⁴⁴ and the alleged exploits as a corsair.⁴⁵ In view of the repeated expositions of the absurdity of these imaginary episodes, it is surprising that belief in them still exists in some quarters. At one time it was difficult to explain the legends other than on the assumption that the admiral later circulated falsehoods concerning his own youth. It now appears more likely that he was the innocent victim of biographers intent upon enchancing his reputation. The list of possible culprits seems to be reduced to Ferdinand Columbus, Las Casas, and Luis de Colón, with Ferdinand now virtually eliminated.

The unsolved mystery of the Toscanelli correspondence still confronts the Columbus investigator. Henry Vignaud labored for twenty years to prove it an outright forgery and failed to convince most scholars.⁴⁶ His arguments, however, caused a widespread belief that Toscanelli wrote the Latin letter to a third party, probably Fernam Martins of Lisbon, and that Columbus, somehow securing the docu-

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- 1476 Arrived in Portugal after the sea battle off C. St. Vincent.
 - 1477 Visited England (not Iceland).
 - 1478 Settled in Lisbon. Employed by the Centurione.
 - 1479 Revisited Genoa for the last time. Appeared in the lawsuit described in the Assereto document.
 - 1479-81 Lived at Porto Santo. Married Filippa Monis de Perestrello. Voyaged to Guinea, probably once.
 - 1483-84 Negotiated with the Portuguese government regarding a discovery voyage. Rejected.
 - 1485 Appeared in Spain.

⁴³ Magnaghi, "I presunti errori", pt. 2, *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82.

⁴⁴ This story can be disproved on both scientific and chronological grounds.

⁴⁵ A few writers cling to the ancient belief that Columbus was once a pirate and a companion of the noted French marauder, Guillaume de Casenave, or "Coulon le vieux". This is untrue, and the apparent claim of Ferdinand that his father was related to Coulon is probably a forgery. A recent reversion to the pirate theory is that of Sebastiano Crinò, *Sprazzi di luce riguardante la questione di Colombo corsario* (Rome, 1930). Crinò, in an earlier study, "Leggenda e storia sulla nazionalità di Cristoforo Colombo e sulla scoperta dell' America", *Rivista Marittima*, LVIII (1925), had expressed a contrary view. For this discrepancy Crinò is taken to task by the merciless Magnaghi, "Pirata ad ogni costo", *Cultura*, XI (1932), 538-54, and again, "Chi si rivede", *ibid.*, XII (1933), 411-18. Magnaghi, one of the ablest living Italian scholars, wields a pen as stinging as that of the late Henry Harrisse.

⁴⁶ *La lettre et la carte de Toscanelli sur la route des Indes par l'ouest* (Paris, 1901), an English version appearing as *Toscanelli and Columbus* (London, 1902); *Histoire critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb* (2 vols., Paris, 1911); *Le vrai Christophe Colomb et la légende* (Paris, 1921).

ment, used it either in the formation of his plan or in support of his arguments at the Portuguese and Spanish courts. Altolaguirre reasoned that Toscanelli wrote the letter to Martins and that Columbus acquired it, kept his possession a secret, and appropriated the idea contained therein.⁴⁷ Later, when Ferdinand prepared his father's biography, he found the letter in his papers. He included it in the *Historie* but placed the admiral's name above it as the recipient, pretending that the Florentine scientist had sent Columbus a duplicate of the previous one to Martins. Carlos Malheiro Dias, the most scholarly Portuguese investigator of the subject, is in substantial agreement with Altolaguirre.⁴⁸

The Italians have partially abandoned the view of Gustavo Uzielli, champion of "Toscanelli, iniziatore della scoperta dell' America", but still insist that the aged scientist both drew a map and wrote to Martins. Their present contentions, as voiced by Almagià on several occasions, are that Columbus made his plans alone but that meanwhile the learned Toscanelli had thought out the project more concretely and embodied it in the map and letter. Both fell into the hands of the discoverer, whose opinions they confirmed and to whom they were helpful.⁴⁹ Norbert Sumien, who was intimate with Vignaud and a partial collaborator in the first Toscanelli work, apostatized after his friend's death and declared his belief that the Latin letter was basically genuine.⁵⁰ A learned Latinist himself, which Vignaud was not, he agreed that the text discovered by Henry Harrisse in 1871 was too corrupt in spots to be the work of a learned man. It seemed to him that the original had been mutilated by some accident. A reconstruction in more polished Latin convinced him that a clumsy attempt to restore the destroyed portions accounts for the textual deficiencies.⁵¹ Sumien

⁴⁷ *Cristóbal Colón y Pablo del Pozzo Toscanelli* (Madrid, 1903).

⁴⁸ *História da colonização portuguesa do Brasil*, I (Porto, 1921), lxix-cxii.

⁴⁹ Almagià, "Nuovi studi Colombiani", *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, VII (1936), 454-67; "La nuova storia della scoperta dell' America", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXXIV (1937), 171-82; "Ciò che è definitivamente acquisito", *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, V, 256-67; and *I primi esploratori*, pp. 62 ff. The older view is still represented by Cesare de Lollis, *Cristoforo Colombo nella leggenda e nella storia*, edited by Almagià (Rome, 1931).

⁵⁰ *La correspondance du savant florentin Paolo dal Pozzo Toscanelli avec Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1927).

⁵¹ On the other hand, Dr. José Gonzalo Alfonso, the Buenos Aires Latinist, explains the faulty style as follows: "La supuesta epístola fue ideada en español y por una persona de habla española". Quoted by Cárbia, *La investigación científica y el descubrimiento de América*, p. 39.

agreed with most scholars in regarding the so-called second Toscanelli letter as spurious and a mere résumé of salient points in the first.⁵² These opinions have met with more widespread approval than any previously advanced. While complete agreement on the subject may never exist, the prevalent view is that Toscanelli did write the Latin letter to Martins and that he probably never heard of Columbus.⁵³ The whole matter is perhaps less basic than was once supposed, for past historians doubtless exaggerated the influence of the Florentine upon the Genoese.

The greatest uncertainty exists regarding the education, scientific preparation, geographical conceptions, and maritime proficiency of Columbus. Cecil Jane was inclined to think him illiterate as late as the time of the first voyage.⁵⁴ He points out that statements in the *Historie* and by Las Casas respecting the admiral's early schooling have been found most unreliable. There are no undisputed autographs of his antedating 1492. We have no extant version of the journal of the first voyage in Columbus's handwriting, and the style of the transcription provided by Las Casas suggests that the original was written by a clerk, not from dictation but from general directions. The same could apply to the letter to Santangel describing the discovery. In his negotiation with Ferdinand and Isabella, Columbus let Father Juan Perez handle the last part for him, the part involving reading and writing.

⁵² "Un pastiche que Christophe Colomb a fait de la lettre d'envoi et de la lettre à Martine, pour pouvoir montrer et accrediter la carte de Toscanelli sans avoir à en faire la provenance réelle, sans avoir surtout à révéler le détour qu'elle avait fait avant de venir en sa possession". *La correspondance*, p. 61. Almagià agrees: "essa non contiene, del resto, nessun elemento nuovo e ci apparirebbe come una lettera ben povera ed insulsa, se fosse da considerare come una risposta ad una ulteriore richiesta di delucidazione sul progetto". *I primi esploratori*, p. 63.

⁵³ Account must be taken of Cárbia's emphatic denial of any letter by Toscanelli (*La nueva historia del descubrimiento de América*). Cárbia thinks that Las Casas invented the Latin letter appended to the *Historia rerum*, as well as the Spanish version in the *Historia de las Indias*, and in composing it did no more than to garble and reword the proposal of Hieronymus Munzer to John II in 1493 for a westward voyage. The attribution of authorship to Toscanelli was a random step; any well-known scientist of the period would have served the purpose. Las Casas, according to Cárbia, intended to help the Colón heirs in their litigation with the crown, when the admiral's deeds were being minimized. So he rewrote his *Historia de las Indias*, giving a different version of the Columbus enterprise. Since it was desirable to show that Columbus had consulted a learned man in preparing for his life work, the pseudo-Toscanelli letters were invented. The Cárbia thesis is interesting, but it seems wisest to suspend judgment until the appearance of a promised three-volume work which is to expound it fully.

⁵⁴ "The Question of the Literacy of Columbus in 1492", *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X (1930), 500-16.

But in later years he wrote so voluminously as to occasion comment and even ridicule; a plausible explanation is that he was vain of his new accomplishment and anxious to make a display of learning.⁵⁵ Many have noted the peculiar fact that nearly every book Columbus owned seems to have been read after 1492.⁵⁶ This is negative evidence, and Jane, though strongly inclined to the theory of Columbus's illiteracy, wisely refrained from insisting on it. A wholly unlettered discoverer, however, would comport with his opinion that it is idle to seek any definite scientific basis for the first voyage since it was a feat belonging in the field of religious mysticism rather than in that of science.⁵⁷ Though Jane's opinion is worthy of consideration, it will scarcely gain general acceptance. The religious motive may serve as an important key to the character and career of Columbus, but it cannot furnish the sole explanation. In the opinion of various competent authorities, Columbus had the essentials of his craft as a navigator⁵⁸ and also possessed the "sens marin",⁵⁹ a gift which is innate but which can be augmented by study and experience. His first voyage and return show evidence of careful planning and a somewhat trained mind; his ability to cope with wind and tide was often remarkable.⁶⁰ The errors formerly attributed to him in the handling of nautical instruments have been satisfactorily explained.⁶¹ For years Columbus had served the

⁵⁵ If Columbus became literate after 1492, it would explain why all his writings are in Castilian or Latin and why he never used his mother tongue in corresponding with Italians, a point on which the "Colón Español" enthusiasts based so much. The simple truth may be that he never learned to write Italian. Columbus was always reluctant to sign his name. Jane suggests that he began with an X and developed it to the familiar cipher which has caused so much speculation. The most important part of the mysterious cipher may be the simple X, which Columbus might have preferred to an immature signature.

⁵⁶ E. G. R. Taylor, "Idée fixe—the Mind of Columbus", *Hispanic Am. Hist. Rev.*, XI (1931), 300.

⁵⁷ *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, vol. I (London, Hakluyt Society, 1930), Introduction, "The Objective of Columbus", pp. xv-cl. The opinion of Jane is that the objective of the first voyage was not precise, that Columbus had a definite conception of a religious mission and a vague one of lands to be discovered across the ocean.

⁵⁸ Jean Charcot, *Christophe Colomb vu par un marin* (Paris, 1928); Magnaghi, "I presunti errori", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82; George E. Nunn, *The Geographical Conceptions of Columbus* (New York, 1924); Almagià, "Ciò che è definitivamente acquisito", *Bull. Internat. Com. Hist. Sci.*, V, 256-67.

⁵⁹ Charcot's expression, and he is a distinguished polar explorer.

⁶⁰ Nunn, *Geographical Conceptions*, ch. 2.

⁶¹ Magnaghi, "I presunti errori", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXV, 553-82; *id.*, "Ancora dei pretesi errori di Colombo nella determinazione delle latitudini", *ibid.*, LXVII (1930), 497-515.

Centurione in fairly responsible positions; he had traveled far more widely than the average man of his day, even before 1492; and, above all, he could impress learned people. It is hard to picture him as either an illiterate or a religious visionary.

The most debatable Columbus question relates to the aims and geographical concepts held by the admiral at different periods of his life. Vignaud insisted that the objective of the first voyage was the discovery of Antillia and other islands believed to lie westward in the Atlantic, and he was much interested in the story of the unknown pilot, or Alonso Sanchez de Huelva.⁶² Only after reaching the West Indies, according to Vignaud, did Columbus give much thought to Marco Polo's Cipangu or Cathay, though thereafter he was to concern himself chiefly with Asia. While the pilot story cannot be taken seriously, and while the whole Vignaud argument seems too extreme, many now believe that the Atlantic islands were the primary objects of the 1492 voyage and that Asia was but secondary and in the background.⁶³

Charles de la Roncière of the Bibliothèque nationale, the historian of the French navy, offers a modified version of the Vignaud theory. His contentions are based chiefly upon the now famous anonymous portolan with an inset world map, which he found in the Bibliothèque in 1924 and which he believes to have been made by Columbus.⁶⁴ Though others had previously inspected the map without attaching any particular importance to it, La Roncière insisted and still insists that it was drawn by the discoverer or under his direct supervision between 1488 and 1492. A fair reproduction of the African coast to the Cape of

⁶² See especially *Toscanelli and Columbus*, and *Histoire-critique de la grande entreprise de Christophe Colomb*. For a very positive account of the shadowy Sanchez see William G. Nash, *The True Story of the Discovery of America* (London, 1924). Nash, after much vilification of Columbus, insists that Sanchez must be enthroned as the discoverer of America and that Columbus stole his glory.

⁶³ Some remain uninfluenced by Vignaud's work. Edmond Buron, translator (into French) and editor of the *Ymago Mundi* by Pierre d'Ailly (3 vols., Paris, 1931), in his introduction expresses belief that Columbus had the *Ymago* in his hands by 1480 and that this inspired him to seek the East by a westward voyage. For a résumé by Buron of his views see "La part de Pierre d'Ailly dans la découverte de l'Amérique", *Géographie*, LVI (1931), 3-21. Nunn, "The Imago Mundi and Columbus", *Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL (1935), 646-61, differs with Buron, maintaining that the *Ymago* had little if any influence on the first voyage. Almagià, "Pietro d'Ailly e Cristoforo Colombo", *Riv. Geog. Ital.*, XXXVIII (1931), 166-69, calls Buron's claim a trifle exaggerated, "un po esagerata".

⁶⁴ *La carte de Christophe Colomb* (Paris, 1924). Reproductions of the map appear in this work and also in *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, Vol. III.

Good Hope and the absence of any trace of the New World would at first glance appear to make the dating of the map a schoolboy exercise, but experience has shown that in renaissance cartography the obvious does not always suffice. As for the Columbus characteristics of the map, the draftsman appears to have shared some of the geographical misconceptions of the discoverer⁶⁵ and evidently made use of the *Ymago Mundi*, which La Roncière rather inconsistently calls the "Livre de chevet de Colomb".⁶⁶ There is a representation of Antillia,⁶⁷ accepted by La Roncière as the major objective of the first voyage. Similarities of expression and of geographical content exist between legends on the portolan and postils by Christopher and Bartholomew Columbus in books which they annotated. La Roncière finds reason to suppose that the map was drawn either at Granada or Santa Fé at the time of the Capitulations; this leads him to believe that it was used in explaining the projected voyage to the Catholic sovereigns. Even if this map could be definitely established as the work of Columbus, the question of whether Antillia or Asia was the goal of the first expedition would not be altogether settled. It would seem to follow, however, because no large land body is depicted on the world map between Europe and the Far East, that the Columbus enterprise had two parts, first the search for islands and later the voyage to Asia. Marked differences exist between this map and reconstructions of the Toscanelli map by Wagner and Kretschmer, based on Behaim, and hence acceptance of La Roncière's claims would strengthen the Vignaud case.

A few scholars, chiefly French, have accepted the La Roncière map as the work of Columbus, but the majority have rejected it.⁶⁸ They hold that the finder has greatly exaggerated the importance of a map which differs in no fundamental way from others of the period. La Roncière returned to his arguments on several occasions but lost rather

⁶⁵ Such as confusing the Faroe Islands (Frisland) with Iceland. This presupposes that Columbus's statements about Iceland are not forgeries.

⁶⁶ "Le livre de chevet et la carte de Christophe Colomb", *Revue des deux mondes*, V (Sept. 15, 1931), 423-40. The inconsistency lies in the fact that if Columbus had been guided by the *Ymago* to the extent that La Roncière assumes, he would not have conceived a western voyage chiefly in terms of Antillia.

⁶⁷ Though in too northerly a position to coincide with the route Columbus actually took.

⁶⁸ Albert Isnard, "La carte prétendu de Christophe Colomb", *Revue des questions historiques*, CII (1925), 317-35; CIII (1925) 297-321; Altolaguirre, "La carta de navegar atribuida a Cristóbal Colón", *Bol. R. Soc. Geog.*, LXV (1925), 325-41; Cesare de Lollis, "La carta di Colombo", *Cultura*, IV (1925), 289-97; Nunn, "A Reported Map of Columbus", *Geog. Rev.*, XV (1925), 688-90.

than gained supporters.⁶⁹ Several who were at first enthusiastic turned skeptical on closer examination of the portolan.

Evidence in favor of the Antillia thesis recently appeared in an unexpected quarter. Professor A. Deissman, while engaged in research at Istanbul in 1929, found a fragment of a Turkish world map, evidently made about 1513.⁷⁰ It is the work of one Piri Re'is, a Mediterranean corsair, and there is reason to believe that a portion of the transatlantic section was copied from a map made by Columbus after his first voyage. Piri Re'is and his uncle, Kemal Re'is, captured seven Spanish ships off Valencia in 1501, and it was doubtless on that occasion that the Columbus map, or a copy, fell into Turkish hands. Legends written by the piratical cartographer say that Columbus was Genoese, an interesting confirmation if additional proof were needed, and also that he had read a book "which states that the western sea has an end, that on the side of the sunset there are coasts and islands and many kinds of mines, and also a mountain of precious stones".⁷¹ On the whole, Piri Re'is furnishes confirmation of the Vignaud theory, but it is also worthy of note that the island of Haiti on the Piri Re'is map resembles Martin Behaim's Cipangu in contour. This interesting Turkish document may have something important to add to our knowledge of Columbus, but it must be used with extreme caution since its compositor had no personal connection with the American voyages and acquired his limited information at second hand.

Proceeding from the earlier to the later geographical beliefs of Columbus, we find ourselves on much firmer ground. The progress of the voyages themselves, studied in connection with the admiral's numerous writings, furnishes the best key. An interesting series of monographs by the American Columbiist, George Emra Nunn, has greatly contributed to the clarification.⁷² The first two voyages, between which but a few months elapsed, did not suffice to give the discoveries definite shape in Columbus's mind. On the third expedition, however, Columbus encountered the South American mainland, which

⁶⁹ "Une carte de Christophe Colomb", *Rev. Quest. Hist.*, CII (1925), 27-41; *La découverte de l'Afrique au moyen âge*, Vol. III.

⁷⁰ P. Kahle, "Impronte Colombiane in una carta turca del 1513", *Cultura*, X (1931), 775-85; *Die verschollene Columbus-Karte in einer türkischen Weltkarte von 1513* (Berlin, 1933); "A Lost Map of Columbus", *Geog. Rev.*, XXIII (1933), 621-38.

⁷¹ The *Ymago Mundi*?

⁷² *The Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept* (Philadelphia, 1929); *The Columbus and Magellan Concepts of South American Geography* (Glenside, 1932); *The Mapped monde of Juan de la Cosa* (Jenkintown, 1934).

he identified with Marco Polo's "greatest island of the world", lying southeast of Asia, "with a general contour of the Ptolemy-Marco Polo-Behaim type".⁷³ On the fourth expedition, coasting Central America, Columbus heard of the Pacific Ocean, which to him became the *Sinus magnus*, or Indian Ocean, of Ptolemy. His theory at that time called for a passageway through the land strip of Central America, but the remainder of the voyage failed to reveal such a strait. Then the Columbus brothers, who held the same ideas, changed their minds and thought that South America was a vast peninsula connected with Asia instead of an island, a somewhat enlarged version of the one which appears on the Behaim globe. The map constructed by Bartholomew about 1506 is a fair representation of their views at the time of the admiral's death.⁷⁴ Magellan adopted this hypothesis and in seeking the strait far to the south was inspired by the Behaim concept of a tremendous peninsula attached to Asia, which he believed he would round by coasting South America. The idea of the southern continent as an appendage to Asia did not cease with Magellan's voyage, since the Pacific was at first considered to be Ptolemy's *Indicum mare* with an eastward extension even greater than was previously suspected. The globe gores attributed to Johann Schöner and commonly dated 1523 show an attempt to reconcile Magellan's discoveries with Columbus's ideas.⁷⁵

It seems furthermore that Columbus was not so far behind some of his contemporaries in appreciating the nature of his discoveries as was once supposed. Jane shows that on the second voyage, despite the solemn oath required of the seamen, he did not necessarily feel sure himself that Cuba formed part of the Asiatic mainland.⁷⁶ Meanwhile Nunn dispels the belief that Juan de la Cosa knew of Cuba's insular character in 1500 by proving that his world map bearing that date is

⁷³ Nunn, *Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept*, p. 4, and *Columbus and Magellan Concepts*, p. 37.

⁷⁴ John Bigelow, in his article, "The So-Called Bartholomew Columbus Map of 1506", *Geog. Rev.*, XXV (1935), 643-56, raises some objections to this map as a guide to Columbus geography, holding that the version we have is a revision made by one Alessandro Zorzi some twenty years later. No great attention seems to have been paid to Bigelow's contention.

⁷⁵ Nunn, "The Lost Globe Gores of Johann Schöner", *Geog. Rev.*, XVII (1927), 476-80; Edward Heawood, "The World Map before and after Magellan's Voyage", *Geog. Jour.*, LVII (1921), 431-46.

⁷⁶ "The Opinion of Columbus concerning Cuba and the 'Indies'", *Geog. Jour.*, LXXIII (1929), 266-70.

really a revision made not earlier than 1508, when the truth had been demonstrated by Ocampo.⁷⁷

Barring a few scattered documents, we know little of the years Columbus spent in Spain before 1492. Nothing is known of his second sojourn in Portugal, which was probably brief, except that he evidently revisited Lisbon in 1488 and witnessed the return of Bartolomeu Dias from the Cape of Good Hope. Almagià suggests that Columbus then learned of the Toscanelli letter to Martins and procured it for himself.⁷⁸ Jose de la Torre y Cerro has recently produced some new and interesting documents concerning the family of Beatriz Enriquez de Harana, mother of the admiral's second son, Ferdinand. His explanation of the amorous episode makes it appear less discreditable to Columbus than some have supposed was the case. The character of Beatriz, who seemingly bestowed her favors too freely, was not such as to win the lasting devotion of either her famous lover or their son.⁷⁹

Cecil Jane, at his death, left an unfinished study of the negotiations with the Catholic monarchs.⁸⁰ Like many other scholars, he distrusted Columbus's own accusations, as contained in Las Casas's works and sundry letters, regarding the reasons for delay and opposition to his plan. Those unacquainted with the sources are unaware that this whole subject is obscure and that the encrustation of legend and fable has nearly obliterated what real information exists. Full details of the conferences and negotiations culminating at Santa Fé will never be known, but Jane has dispelled the ancient and vulgar belief that the years of waiting were due to the ignorance and perversity of the Castilian court. Columbus suffered from a persecution complex, a fact which no one who reads his letters can doubt. The most logical explanations of the delay are the obvious ones: the war with Granada and the hard bargain Columbus was determined to drive.

The part played by the Pinzon brothers in the discovery has been magnified, particularly by Spanish writers, since the resurrection of

⁷⁷ *The Mappemonde of Juan de la Cosa*. Nunn's study reveals the extant version as a revision made not earlier than 1508, whereas the map legend preserves the date 1500, the year of the first draft.

⁷⁸ *I primi esploratori*, pp. 62 ff.

⁷⁹ *Beatriz Enriquez de Harana y Cristóbal Colón* (Madrid, 1933).

⁸⁰ *Select Documents illustrating the Four Voyages of Columbus*, Vol. II (London, Hakluyt Society, 1932), Introduction, "The Negotiations with Ferdinand and Isabella", pp. xiii-lxxv. Enough was written to show the nature of Jane's opinions. Professor E. G. R. Taylor supplements the unfinished introduction with an excellent brief study, "Columbus and the World Map", pp. lxxvi-lxxxiv.

the *Pleitos de Colón* and their acceptance as important historical documents. Rómulo Cárbia at present goes so far as to insist that the *Pleitos* are the only true sources, which must supersede Las Casas and the admiral's own writings.⁸¹ They consist largely of the testimonies of seamen and other participants in the early voyages, some of them companions of Columbus. Many of the statements are strongly ex parte, coming from witnesses produced by the crown in its suit with the Colón heirs, when the object was to belittle the achievements of Columbus and exalt the role of Martín Alonso Pinzon. While it is certain that the latter and his brothers were useful at Palos in securing crews for the *Santa Maria*, the *Niña*, and the *Pinta*, it may be suggested that the line of reasoning which awards them and Juan de la Cosa the real management of the expedition has gone entirely too far.⁸² Martín Alonso's conduct on the voyage can by no explanation be construed as commendable, while the incident of the mutiny aboard the *Santa Maria*, in which the Pinzons seemed to overshadow the commander, has probably been misunderstood and exaggerated.⁸³

Attempts to produce a full list of names of those who sailed the three ships were made by Martín Fernandez de Navarrete, Fernandez Duro, Nicolas Tenorio, and Vignaud, no two lists being exactly the same. These earlier efforts have now been rendered obsolete by Miss Alicia B. Gould y Quincy, an American scholar resident in Spain, who has made the most exhaustive and certainly the most accurate study of all. She has corrected the work of her predecessors and utilized every type of evidence. The list she gives is beyond doubt the most satisfactory one that can be produced.⁸⁴

⁸¹ At the Twenty-sixth International Congress of Americanists at Seville in October, 1935, Cárbia threw the meeting into an uproar by proposing a resolution to the effect that "a new history of the discovery of America should be undertaken on the basis of the elements of information contained in the *Pleitos de los Colón* . . ." and that Ferdinand Columbus's work should be declared apocryphal and that of Las Casas unreliable. He distributed a lithograph entitled *El problema del descubrimiento de América desde el punto de vista de sus fuentes*. Almagià, "La nuova storia della scoperta dell' America", *Boll. R. Soc. Geog. Ital.*, LXXIV (1937), 172. Verbal reports of the meeting that have reached the present writer agree with Almagià's statement that Cárbia created a sensation.

⁸² This seems to arise largely from a patriotic Spanish impulse to deprive the Genoese foreigner of credit.

⁸³ Charcot maintains it was not serious, merely the conventional sailors' grumbling to be encountered on every long voyage (p. 141). The intervention of the Pinzons and Martín Alonso's threat to hang a few seamen was probably not the grim affair that a too literal interpretation of the document would suggest. Allowance should be made for Andalusian humor.

⁸⁴ "Nueva lista documentada de los tripulantes de Colón en 1492", *Bol. R. Acad. Hist.*, published in eight instalments, Vol. LXXXIV (1924), to Vol. XCII (1928).

Charcot devotes a large part of his *Christophe Colomb vu par un marin* to the navigation problems presented by the first voyage. With some qualifications his work is good, and the author is within his rights in ridiculing the attempts of landlubber historians to deal with a seaman's subject. Many of them, Vignaud included, have made themselves ridiculous by betraying their ignorance of sea life and the intricacies of navigation. For his part, Charcot finds that the reputation of Columbus stands up quite well when his conduct is submitted to a mariner's test. If Charcot, however, has the advantage of being a navigator, he has the corresponding disadvantage of being no historian. This leads to an uncritical utilization of sources, a fault which draws him to some probably erroneous conclusions and deprives the study of the definitive value it might otherwise have had.⁸⁵

At least five Bahama islands have been suggested as the landfall of Columbus, some as the result of hasty judgments and others following careful study. Those considered are Cat, Watling, Grand Turk, Mari-guana, and Samana islands. It is now impossible to prove which, if any, of the five was Guanahani, but opinion has generally favored Watling. Lieutenant Commander R. T. Gould, R. N., in what he modestly terms a restatement of an old problem, reviews the evidence and confirms the majority in their choice.⁸⁶ The sources bearing on the subject are scattered and few; the description of San Salvador would ill fit any of the Bahamas today; yet there are probabilities to consider, and these point to Watling. Both the British Admiralty and the United States Navy inclined to Commander Gould's opinion. Glenn Stewart, in his interesting check of the route followed by the fleet from San Salvador to Nipe Bay in Cuba, takes Watling as his point of departure.⁸⁷

The career of Columbus after the first voyage is hardly in the controversial category save for some points already noted regarding his

⁸⁵ Charcot consistently gives Las Casas the preference when his statements conflict with the *Pleitos*, a procedure not always justified whatever the faults of the *Pleitos*.

⁸⁶ "The Landfall of Columbus: An Old Problem Re-stated", *Geog. Jour.*, LXIX (1927), 403-29. Read before the R. G. S., Feb. 14, 1927.

⁸⁷ "San Salvador Island to Cuba: A Cruise in the Track of Columbus", *Geog. Rev.*, XXI (1931), 124-30. This should be read in conjunction with Gould's paper. A similar piece of reconstruction for the second voyage is that of Lucius Hubbard, "Did Columbus discover the Islands Antigua and St. Martin?" *ibid.*, pp. 584-94, in which Hubbard decides that Columbus saw neither island. Professor Samuel E. Morison bases his book, *The Second Voyage of Christopher Columbus from Cadiz to Hispaniola and the Discovery of the Lesser Antilles* (New York, 1939), on sailing experience on the Columbus route. He differs with Hubbard in some respects.

writings and geographical opinions. Most of the research in the Columbus field has been concentrated on the period before 1493. Important contributions are to be expected in the somewhat near future. Columbists will eagerly await the forthcoming work by Cárbia which is to present his revolutionary ideas more fully. Almagià promises a critical study of the *Historie*. Miss Gould y Quincy is known to have accumulated new material on the Pinzons, and it is to be hoped that the current Spanish difficulties will not long retard her useful work.⁸⁸

The definitive biography of Columbus seems relegated to the indefinite future. Recent "lives" of the great navigator are frankly popular in tone. The true Columbian, with a knowledge of the problems and pitfalls awaiting him, shrinks from the biographer's task and confines himself to monographs. The problem of Columbus calls for the efforts of a superscholar, versed in many fields of learning other than history. With the possible exception of Humboldt, the past produced none answering this description. If the future yields one such, willing to devote a lifetime to a single topic, there may someday be a universally accepted history of the discovery of America.

CHARLES E. NOWELL.

Fresno State College.

⁸⁸ This study was completed before the appearance of Professor Morison's "Discovering the Greatest Discoverer", *New York Times Magazine*, Oct. 9, 1938. This is an excellent brief study of Columbus's career and furnishes a common-sense refutation of the extravagances of some recent detractors.

THE FATE OF CONFEDERATE ARCHIVES

EXECUTIVE OFFICE

WHEN Richmond was evacuated by the Confederate government, the archives of the Executive Office were carried away under the immediate supervision of the chief clerk, Micajah H. Clark. At the same time General Lee's confidential dispatches to Jefferson Davis were removed from the executive mansion in the top of a trunk belonging to Davis's secretary, Burton N. Harrison, who had already left the city for the purpose of escorting Mrs. Davis to Charlotte, North Carolina. When the government reached Abbeville, South Carolina, and prepared to dissolve, the boxes of executive records were opened and many of the loose papers destroyed, the intention being to retain only the most valuable. It was found necessary, however, to leave the remaining papers behind in the care of Mrs. H. J. Leovy, the wife of a prominent attorney of New Orleans. The president's letter and message books were transported to Washington, Georgia, where Clark deposited them in "a safe place" after sewing them up in his blankets. Harrison's trunk, containing Lee's confidential dispatches, also had to be left behind at Washington, entrusted to a Mrs. M. E. Robertson, wife of the cashier of a bank and Davis's hostess at that place.¹

Two days later Davis separated from his wagons near Sandersville, Georgia, in order to find and protect the party of Mrs. Davis. The wagons, in charge of Clark and Quartermaster Watson Van Benthuyssen, proceeded on to Florida carrying Davis's baggage. At Archer, Florida, Clark's party learned of Davis's capture and disbanded, after turning over one trunk and two chests to the wife of former Senator

¹ Harrison to Davis, May 24, 1867, Dunbar Rowland, *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist: His Letters, Papers and Speeches* (10 vols., Jackson, Miss., 1923), VII, 547-53; Micajah H. Clark, "The Last Days of the Confederate Treasury", *Southern Historical Society, Papers*, IX (1881), 542-44; Clark to Harrison, Feb. 20, 1866, Harrison Papers, Library of Congress; Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866, copy in the library of Rollins College, Fla. The two Clark letters are two versions of the same report. The letter of February 14, which contains the fuller account, was presumably not sent but used in drafting the letter of February 20. For the story of the retreat and dissolution of the Confederate government consult A. J. Hanna, *Flight into Oblivion* (Richmond, 1938), which is based upon much fresh material. The writer is indebted to Professor Hanna for assistance on several important points.

David L. Yulee. This baggage was placed in storage at Waldo, Florida, but Union officers soon got wind of what had happened and compelled Mrs. Yulee to reveal its location. The two chests were found to contain private papers of Davis, notably correspondence with Mrs. Davis and various of his relatives. Also included, however, were some official papers, such as the opinions of his cabinet on the terms of agreement of April 18 between Johnston and Sherman. All of the papers were forwarded post haste to Washington, where those of an official character became part of the War Department collection of Confederate archives. Some of the private papers seem to have stuck to the fingers of Stanton and thus ended up among the Stanton Papers in the Library of Congress; the others were returned to Davis in 1874.²

After turning Davis's baggage over to Mrs. Yulee, Clark returned north to look after the safety of the records which had been left behind. At Washington, Georgia, the presence of Union troops deterred him from any attempt to remove Davis's letter and message books. Passing on to Abbeville, therefore, he spent five days destroying papers from the files left with Mrs. Leovy. That lady declined, however, to let him carry away the remaining papers. In the meantime Mrs. Davis seems to have been informed of the safety of one of these groups of records, for in her appeal to Horace Greeley, written on June 22 from Savannah, she referred to the availability of "important documents" which would serve to disprove some of the charges against Davis. After she was allowed to remove to the vicinity of Augusta, she sent to Washington for the letter and message books, and sometime before the middle of December they were carried into Canada in the trunk of her sister, Margaret Howell.³

These records were deposited in a bank at Montreal, where they were examined early in January, 1866, by George Shea, representing Horace Greeley in the movement to insure a fair trial for Davis. After

² Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866; Rowland, VII, 384-85, 403-405, IX, 450-51, and, for items among the Stanton Papers, VI, *passim*; Jefferson Davis, *The Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government* (2 vols., New York, 1881), II, 700; C. Wickliffe Yulee, *Senator Yulee of Florida* (Jacksonville, 1909), pp. 29-30; *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. I, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 651-53, 672. This last compilation is cited hereafter as *O. R.*, references being to Series I unless otherwise indicated.

³ Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866; Mrs. Dunbar Rowland, *Varina Howell, Wife of Jefferson Davis* (2 vols., New York, 1927-31), II, 464-65; Varina Davis, *Jefferson Davis, Ex-President of the Confederate States of America: A Memoir by His Wife* (2 vols., New York, 1890), II, 798; Douglas Southall Freeman, *A Calendar of Confederate Papers* (Richmond, 1908), p. 457.

being released, Davis himself went to Canada and during his sojourn there reviewed the records with the thought of writing a history of the Confederacy. At a later date they were brought back to the United States and used by him in preparing his *Rise and Fall of the Confederate Government*.⁴

The papers left behind with Mrs. Leovy at Abbeville were conveyed by that lady in a coffee sack to her home in New Orleans and thence to her country place at Pass Christian. There they were recovered by Harrison upon his release from prison and shipped to New York, where Harrison settled down to learn and practice law. His trunk, left behind at Washington, Georgia, was also sent to him at New York by Mrs. Robertson. For several years the trunk and box were kept in a warehouse.

In 1870 Harrison was induced to entrust both to the care of another southern lawyer, then residing in Brooklyn, Colonel Charles C. Jones, with the understanding that the latter might examine the papers for his own amusement. Jones, who had some reputation as a historian and larger ambitions in that direction, was unable to resist temptation. In 1876 he published one of Lee's dispatches to Davis. This came to the attention of Davis, who had just begun work upon his history, and in 1877 he sent his assistant, Colonel W. T. Walthall, to retrieve all the papers supposed to be in Harrison's keeping. Jones failed to return Lee's dispatches, claiming that they had not been among the papers entrusted to him. He claimed, further, that the letter he had published had been borrowed from an unnamed person in Richmond, although Harrison said that he had seen that letter earlier among the papers in the top of his trunk.⁵

The available evidence leaves little doubt that Jones had removed the whole series of Lee's dispatches. Immediately afterward he returned to his native Georgia, where he soon achieved considerable renown as a historian. As such he found a patron in the Georgia magnate and scholar, G. W. J. De Renne. Eventually Jones sold Lee's dispatches to the latter's heir, W. J. De Renne, also a historian and collector. In 1915 they were published by Douglas S. Freeman, but without his being able to trace their provenance beyond purchase from a "well-known Southern writer". Until very recently the dispatches formed part of the collection of the Wymberley Jones De Renne

⁴ Varina Davis, II, 796-98; George Shea in So. Hist. Soc., *Papers*, I (1876), 321; Rowland, VII, 488-89, VIII, 238.

⁵ Harrison to Davis, May 24, 1877.

Library at Wormsloe, Georgia. In 1938 that library was purchased by the University of Georgia, but at the time of writing it is an unsettled question whether Lee's dispatches are included in the purchase.⁶

The other records which Harrison had deposited with Jones were returned to Davis through Colonel Walthall and used in the writing of Davis's apologia. After his death they were placed by Mrs. Davis, along with the letter books and other papers, in the Confederate Memorial Hall at New Orleans, where all have since remained.⁷

STATE DEPARTMENT

The archives of the Confederate State Department were sent away from Richmond prior to the evacuation. Some of the records were removed at an early date to the Danville Female College, and others were sent away a few days before the evacuation in charge of William J. Bromwell, disbursing clerk of the department. In accordance with instructions, Bromwell picked up the materials at Danville and transported all the records to Charlotte, North Carolina, where the containers were placed in packing cases marked with his own initials and stored in the courthouse. In view of the possibility of a Union raid, he arranged with a Mr. A. C. Williamson for the latter to remove them to the country in case of danger.⁸

This was probably done, for Stoneman's cavalry threatened Charlotte not many days afterward. Moreover, Bromwell later referred to their having been "spirited away by private parties".⁹ In any case the records were recovered by Bromwell after the war and brought to Washington, where they were offered for sale (1868) through Colonel John T. Pickett, a former Confederate practicing law in that city. They were finally sold to the Treasury Department in 1872 under circumstances which have become well known. Eventually, by two trans-

⁶ Rowland, VII, 546-47, VIII, 375, 503; *Dictionary of American Biography*, X, 165; Azalca Clizbee, comp., *Catalogue of the Wymberley Jones De Renne Georgia Library at Wormsloe* (3 vols., Wormsloe, 1931), II, xiii; Douglas Southall Freeman, ed., *Lee's Dispatches* (New York, 1915), pp. xxv-xxxvii. A letter of Professor E. M. Coulter, University of Georgia, to the writer, Dec. 20, 1938.

⁷ Rowland, I, vii, VII, 550; *Confederate Veteran*, VI (1898), 547-48, VII (1899), 299-300. The records in Davis's possession which related to military operations had been copied for the *Official Records*, Davis having given his consent in 1878 (Rowland, VII, 238).

⁸ Bromwell to Judah P. Benjamin, Apr. 5, 1865, John T. Pickett Papers, Library of Congress.

⁹ Affidavit by Bromwell, Sept. 3, 1872, John T. Pickett Papers.

fers made in 1906 and 1910, they were deposited in the Library of Congress.¹⁰

The story of Bromwell's wife having carried the Confederate great seal out of Richmond in her dress on the night of the evacuation seems to have become confused with the story of the records, so that the usual version has the records concealed in a barn near Richmond at the time of the evacuation. This is certainly an error. The barn which insists upon intruding itself into the story was probably the place of concealment chosen by the citizen of Charlotte who had proposed to remove the records "to the country" in case of danger.

The great seal was surreptitiously presented by Pickett, in 1872, to Lieutenant Commander T. O. Selfridge, U. S. N., who represented the government in verifying the authenticity of the records prior to purchase. In 1911 the accessioning of Colonel Pickett's personal papers by the Library of Congress placed the chief of the Manuscripts Division, Gaillard Hunt, in a position to demonstrate that Selfridge must have the seal, whereupon the latter admitted possession and agreed to its sale for deposit in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.¹¹ Much ado has been made about this great seal, although it was not received from the English makers until the very end of the war. Throughout the war the seal actually used was the provisional seal, bearing the words "Confederate States of America, Provisional Government" in concentric circles and in the center a simple scroll carrying the words "Constitutional Liberty".¹² Secretary of State Judah P.

¹⁰ The most important published account of the history of these records, sometimes unfortunately designated as the "Pickett Papers", is an article by Judge Walter A. Montgomery, "What became of Seal of Confederate States of America?" *Richmond Times-Dispatch*, Oct. 15, 1911. Additional information on the circumstances of their purchase by the government is contained in James Morton Callahan, *The Diplomatic History of the Southern Confederacy* (Baltimore, 1901), ch. 1, and Gaillard Hunt, "The Great Seal of the Confederacy", *Harper's Weekly*, Sept. 21, 1912, p. 24. The purchase was made from funds provided in the Sundry Civil Expenses Act of June 10, 1872, *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVII, 350. The transfer to the Library of Congress is recorded in the *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1907, p. 139, 1911, p. 25.

¹¹ William B. Smith, "Recovery of the Great Seal of the Confederacy", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XLI (1916), 23. Of writings on the great seal not otherwise cited, Pickett's pamphlet entitled *Sigillologia: Being Some Account of the Great or Broad Seal of the Confederate States of America* (Washington, 1873) and Thomas J. Semmes, "Seal of the Southern Historical Society and the Great Seal of the Confederate States of America", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XVI (1888), 416-22, alone possess much interest.

¹² See the impressions among the State Department papers in the Library of Congress. On the cutting of this and other Confederate seals see Julius B. Baumgarten in *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XXXIII (1905), 188-89.

Benjamin apparently disposed of this seal at the end of the war by dropping it in the Savannah River as the president's party crossed on a pontoon bridge at Fort Charlotte Plantation, South Carolina.¹³

WAR DEPARTMENT

The principal archives of the Confederate War Department were carried away from Richmond by railroad on the night of the evacuation and transported to Charlotte. When the government moved south from that place they had to be left behind in charge of the venerable adjutant and inspector general, Samuel Cooper, who found himself incapacitated for further retreat. Cooper referred the matter of their disposition to General Joseph E. Johnston, who turned them over to Sherman's successor, General Schofield, in order to insure their preservation. They were brought to Raleigh, whence they were shipped to Washington via the coast under the usual pressing instructions from Stanton. There were eighty boxes—enough for two carloads—but some of the boxes contained other material than records, such as captured flags.¹⁴

By no means all the important records of the War Department were included. The principal records of the Quartermaster's Department, in 128 boxes, were captured at Lynchburg, whither they had been removed some weeks previous to the evacuation.¹⁵ Records of the Exchange Bureau are reported to have been turned in at Richmond by its chief, Robert Ould.¹⁶ Two boxes of Engineer Bureau records obtained in some manner by the chief engineer of the Department of Virginia were also turned in there, and a few boxes of papers were collected from the offices of the chief paymaster. Otherwise practically

¹³ Walter L. Miller, "Last Meeting Place of the Confederate Cabinet", in George M. Vickers, ed., *Under Both Flags* (Philadelphia, 1896), p. 234; William E. Earle to Quitman Marshal, Dec. 22, 1888, *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Quarterly*, IX (1908), 55; *O. R.*, atlas, plate CXLIII.

¹⁴ Rowland, VII, 533; Mrs. Susan Leigh Blackford, ed., *Memoirs of Life in and out of the Army in Virginia during the War between the States* (2 vols., Lynchburg, 1894-96), II, 276; Stephen R. Mallory, "The Last Days of the Confederate Government", *McClure's Magazine*, XVI (1900), 103; *O. R.*, vol. XLVI, pt. III, pp. 1158, 1161, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 443, 483, 490-91, 497, 510, 519-20, 533, 842, 848, 853; *New York Herald*, May 27, 1865; *Baltimore Sun*, May 22, 1865. The seal of the Confederate War Department was apparently obtained some weeks later from a safe in the vault of the mint at Charlotte. Cilley to Carter, July 24, 1865, War Records [Office], 23rd Army Corps Papers, The National Archives.

¹⁵ J. B. Jones, *A Rebel War Clerk's Diary at the Confederate States Capital* (new ed., 2 vols., New York, 1935), II, 437-55; [Rebel] Archive Office (abbreviated hereafter as R. A. O.), letters received, J, Nos. 20 and 22, The National Archives.

¹⁶ *New York Times*, Apr. 6, 1865.

nothing was obtained at Richmond in the way of archives of the War Department proper, although many local military records were gathered up, notably from the prisons, hospitals, and the offices of the provost marshal, medical director, and departmental commander.¹⁷

There is little doubt that valuable War Department records, which could not be removed, were destroyed by the fire which swept through the city on the morning of the occupation. It has been definitely reported that the records of the Surgeon General, Commissary General, Signal Office, and Army Intelligence Office were thus destroyed.¹⁸ Practically all of the offices occupied by the department, in the so-called Mechanics' Institute and its immediate vicinity, were burned.¹⁹ In the lack of positive evidence, however, it cannot properly be assumed that the missing records of any office were destroyed in this manner. We know, for example, that large quantities of papers from these and other government offices were piled in the streets and intentionally set afire on the evening of the evacuation. For the most part, however, the materials so disposed of were of quite secondary value, such as vouchers, unissued bonds, and unsigned notes.²⁰ On the whole, intensive study of the evacuation greatly impresses one with the way in which the government was able to remove its important archives, either previous to the evacuation or on the night of that event.²¹

¹⁷ R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 11-18, 20-25.

¹⁸ Deering J. Roberts, "Confederate Medical Service", in Francis Trevelyan Miller, ed., *The Photographic History of the Civil War* (10 vols., New York, 1911-12), VII, 238; Samuel E. Lewis, "Dr. Samuel P. Moore, the Surgeon-General of the Confederate States", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XXIX (1901), 274; Rowland, VII, 350, VIII, 181, 278; Charles E. Taylor, "The Signal and Secret Service of the Confederate States", *Confederate Veteran*, XL (1932), 341; W. A. Crocker, "The Army Intelligence Office", *ibid.*, VIII (1900), 119.

¹⁹ "Map of a Part of the City of Richmond Showing the Burnt District, Published by William Ira Smith, Proprietor *Richmond Whig*, Apr., 1865", photostat in the Library of Congress, Map Division; *An Official Guide of the Confederate Government from 1861 to 1865 at Richmond* (Richmond, n. d.). The last is an anonymous compilation, apparently published since 1900, which is not very reliable for office locations at the time of the evacuation. Verification of locations at that time is a very involved matter.

²⁰ Jones, II, 466; W. L. Timberlake in *Confederate Veteran*, XX (1912), 119; Joseph R. Haw in *ibid.*, XXXIV (1926), 450; Mrs. Burton Harrison, *Recollections Grave and Gay* (New York, 1911), pp. 211-12; *New York World*, Apr. 8, 1865. The unburned portions of these piles of papers and the contents of the unburned government offices, after being scattered by the rummaging Richmond mob, fell prey to a horde of souvenir hunters as soon as the city was occupied by the Union forces (*Richmond Whig*, Apr. 27 and 28, 1865; Charles A. Page, *Letters of a War Correspondent* [Boston, 1899], pp. 330, 334). That documents deserving publication in the *Official Records* were thus lost is shown by the series of items published in the *New York Tribune*, Apr. 10, 1865; *Philadelphia Press*, Apr. 11, 1865; and *New York World*, Apr. 27, 1865.

²¹ The common impression that the government "escaped" in a single train is in-

The War Department offices whose principal records remain inadequately accounted for are: the Engineer Bureau, Ordnance Bureau, Niter and Mining Bureau, Office of Foreign Supplies, and Bureau of Indian Affairs.²² Various bits of evidence make it seem unlikely that the engineer and ordnance records were all left behind in Richmond to be burned in the fire. Lee's chief engineer has written that the Engineer Bureau records were "said to have been removed" and that some or all of the maps fell into private hands.²³ There is also a telegram of Beauregard's reporting Engineer Bureau records as abandoned at Greensboro, North Carolina, in an open car.²⁴ A few Engineer Bureau records were certainly recovered, quite possibly at Greensboro.²⁵ In the case of the ordnance records it is known that Ordnance Department personnel and property were transported in one of the trains that left Richmond on the night of the evacuation.²⁶ It is also reported that the

correct. The Danville railroad moved many government trains out of Richmond after the necessity for evacuation became known (Mrs. Blackford, II, 276-77; John Leyburn, "The Fall of Richmond", *Harper's Magazine*, XXXIII [1866], 93; John S. Wise, *The End of an Era* [Boston, 1902], pp. 414-15).

²² On the organization of the War Department toward the end of the war see *O. R.*, ser. 4, vol. III, pp. 943-45. Records of the Bureau of War and the Office of the Adjutant and Inspector General constituted the major portion of the archives recovered at Charlotte (*ibid.*, ser. 1, vol. XLVII, pt. III, p. 520). The records of the Bureau of Conscription were apparently associated with those of the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office, to which the paperwork functions of the Bureau of Conscription had been transferred when that bureau was abolished by orders of Mar. 29, 1865 (*ibid.*, ser. 4, vol. III, pp. 1176-77; Report of the chief of the R. A. O., Jan. 18, 1866).

²³ T. M. R. Talcott, "Reminiscences of the Confederate Engineer Service", *Photographic History of the Civil War*, V, 270. A small collection of maps preserved by the chief of engineers, J. F. Gilmer, is on deposit in the Confederate Museum at Richmond (Freeman, *Calendar*, p. 486).

²⁴ *O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, p. 862. The account given in Alfred Roman, *The Military Operations of General Beauregard* (2 vols., New York, 1884), II, 410, according to which the records at Greensboro were those later delivered up at Charlotte, can hardly be reconciled with the contemporary evidence. The main body of War Department records had been at Charlotte at least a week when Beauregard sent his telegram (*O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, p. 842). The Greensboro-Charlotte railroad had been broken by Stoneman earlier (*ibid.*, vol. XLIX, pt. I, pp. 333-34). Beauregard's recollection of the pillaging of carloads of records at Greensboro is probably correct, however, the confusion being with respect to the time or identity of the records.

²⁵ Trains carrying the stores and other property captured at Greensboro, etc.—including stationery—began to arrive at City Point at about the same time that the two boxes of Engineer Bureau records were turned in at Richmond as already mentioned (*New York Herald*, May 16, 1865). Quantities of stationery were associated with several of the major bodies of abandoned records.

²⁶ Mrs. Amelia Gorgas, "The Evacuation of Richmond", *Confederate Veteran*, XXV (1917), 110; Joseph R. Haw, "The Last of C. S. Ordnance Department", *ibid.*, XXXIV (1926), 450.

chief of ordnance exerted himself to re-establish the offices and functions of his bureau at Danville, to which place machinery for the manufacture of rifles had been removed a month or so before.²⁷ General Gorgas himself has stated that the labors of his bureau closed practically at Charlotte.²⁸ What became of his records can only be surmised.

In an account which constitutes one of the more important sources for the history of the government's retreat an anonymous staff officer states that the records of the War Department were destroyed by installments "at every point on the road", the inference from the context and known circumstances being that the principal destruction took place at or near Charlotte.²⁹ Another witness reports that a great many valuable papers belonging to the Confederate States were destroyed at Fort Mill, between Charlotte and Chester.³⁰ Since most other *fonds* of records are otherwise fairly well accounted for, it is not improbable that the records destroyed were the missing records of the War Department bureaus previously mentioned.

Fort Mill was the first stopping place of the government on the retreat from Charlotte, and it was near the ferry by which the Catawba was crossed. The railroad bridge over the river had been destroyed earlier by Stoneman's cavalry, so that it was not practicable to transport much in the way of freight into South Carolina.³¹ In evacuating Richmond the government had already shown itself ready to burn records it could not carry away, particularly such as related to its business transactions.³² Preservation of the records of the Bureau of War and the Adjutant and Inspector General's Office was obviously important for history, as history was then conceived, while the records of production and procurement agencies such as the Ordnance Bureau, Niter and Mining Bureau, and Office of Foreign Supplies contained little that was glorious or interesting in the battle-dazzled eyes of contemporaries and much that might be embarrassing with respect to business relations and

²⁷ Mallory, *McClure's*, XVI, 104; Haw, *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV, 450.

²⁸ Rowland, VIII, 332.

²⁹ New York *Herald*, July 23, 1865. For other parts of this account see the issues of July 4, 30, 31, and Aug. 20, 1865. The writer's knowledge of the records destroyed or abandoned was not exact, obviously because he was no more than a casual observer of their fate in the midst of general distress.

³⁰ Mrs. Eugenia C. Babcock in *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy* (2 vols., Columbia, 1903-1907), II, 144.

³¹ Haw, *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV, 452; New York *Herald*, July 4, 1865; *O. R.*, vol. XLIX, pt. I, p. 556.

³² See note 20 above.

property.³³ General Gorgas, the chief of ordnance, is known to have lingered behind for some days when the government moved into South Carolina.³⁴ Like some other officials, he omits mention of the fate of his records in his postwar commentaries.³⁵ The writer therefore suspects that the Ordnance Bureau records, and probably records of other War Department bureaus, were destroyed at Charlotte or Fort Mill.

NAVY DEPARTMENT

It is generally supposed that the records of the Confederate Navy Department were destroyed in the fire at Richmond.³⁶ Since the secretary of navy occupied quarters in the War Department building, which was burned, it is doubtless true that some Navy Department records were thus destroyed. But since the important records of the president, congress, and all the other cabinet officers were removed from Richmond, it is very improbable that those of the secretary of navy were left behind. Captain William H. Parker, who reported in person to Mallory on the afternoon of April 2, records that "everything was being packed up for carrying off about the departments", while Admiral Semmes states that Mallory "still had the officers and clerks of his department around him" at Danville.³⁷ These are indications that the Navy Department moved in much the same manner as the other departments.

One witness definitely states that the Navy Department records

³³ The records which had been transported earlier to Chester, South Carolina, as hereinafter explained, probably escaped destruction because the government did not pass through Chester in its retreat.

³⁴ Haw, *Confederate Veteran*, XXXV (1927), 16.

³⁵ Rowland, VIII, 308-36. This account of Confederate ordnance operations purports to have been prepared from "notes written chiefly soon after the close of war", which would seem to imply that the records were no longer available.

³⁶ Such is the impression conveyed by the *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, ser. 1, vol. I, p. vii, ser. 2, vol. III, preface, p. 15. The Confederate materials in this compilation were mainly obtained from the State Department papers in the Library of Congress and records in private hands which were originally accumulated elsewhere than at Richmond. Only a few scattered papers of the Navy Department came into possession of the Union army in 1865 (R. A. O., letters sent, Book I, pp. 209, 215, letters received, J, No. 22; Office of the Secretary of War, Military Book No. 56, Executive, p. 203 [The National Archives]). In 1926 two boxes of records were reported to have been discovered in the State, War, and Navy Building (*New York Times*, Jan. 31, 1926; *Confederate Veteran*, XXXIV [1926], 124). Actually, the Navy Department had known of these records but had found few if any to be of a nature suitable for publication in the *Official Records, Navies*. How they were acquired is not known (letter of Captain D. W. Knox, Navy Department, to the writer, Jan. 19, 1939).

³⁷ William Harwar Parker, *Recollections of a Naval Officer, 1841-1865* (New York, 1883), p. 350; Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat* (Baltimore, 1869), p. 817.

were destroyed at Charlotte.³⁸ The writer is inclined to credit this statement, although some other statements of the witness about the destruction of records seem to show an imperfect knowledge.³⁹ The navy yard at Charlotte was the logical depository for the Navy Department records after their removal from Richmond, and the abandonment of this last important naval establishment meant the end of the Confederate naval administration beyond any shadow of doubt.⁴⁰ Reasons for the destruction of the Navy Department records can be found in the attitude of the North toward Confederate naval activities, and it is perhaps not without significance that Mallory makes no mention of the records in his account of the government's retreat written in 1865.⁴¹ There are indications that he was particularly bitter in defeat and inclined to liquidate the Confederacy by destructive measures.⁴² In the opinion of the writer, destruction of the Navy Department records at Charlotte fits into the whole picture of the collapse better than any other supposition.⁴³

TREASURY DEPARTMENT

The more valuable records of the Confederate Treasury Department were removed from Richmond by rail on the night of the evacuation together with the gold and silver of the government and the Richmond banks, all under guard of the corps of midshipmen commanded by Captain William H. Parker, C. S. N. The convoy proceeded to Charlotte, where the treasure was placed in the mint. Within a few days, however, the approach of Stoneman's raiding cavalry caused Parker to

³⁸ Anonymous staff officer in the New York *Herald*, July 23, 1865.

³⁹ See note 29 above. His account reports the destruction of State Department records at Salisbury and of Post Office and Treasury records at Chester. He was not with the president's party at Salisbury and merely passed through Chester on his way south, but he was actually with the government at Charlotte.

⁴⁰ A report of the burning of the Charlotte navy yard may have originated in the burning of records at the yard. New York *Herald*, May 8, 1865.

⁴¹ McClure's, XVI, 100-107.

⁴² Cf. Parker, pp. 366-68; Kathleen Bruce in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 225; and the reference to the destruction of naval stores brought to Chester from Charlotte in *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II, 144.

⁴³ Frank Moore, ed., *The Rebellion Record* (11 vols., New York, 1861-68), XI, 528, contains a curious report that the Confederate naval records for 1861 and 1862 were among the contents of some canal boats captured at Buchanan, Virginia, in June, 1864, by Colonel W. W. Averell. The latter's official report (*O. R.*, vol. XXXVII, pt. I, p. 147) makes no mention of such records, but the story is a plausible one. Grant's arrival before Richmond at the beginning of June made it necessary for the Confederate government to think of evacuation, and Buchanan was at the head of the James River and Kanawha Canal, which would naturally be used for the removal of freight.

move southward in search of greater safety. Traveling partly by rail and partly by road, the convoy passed across South Carolina to Augusta. From there it retraced its route to Abbeville, South Carolina, in order to avoid capture by Wilson's cavalry in western Georgia. At Abbeville it encountered the president's column and was relieved of its charge.⁴⁴

After crossing the Savannah, the troops of Davis's escort demanded the distribution of the treasure. To meet this demand the silver coin, and gold coin in amount equivalent to the silver bullion, was distributed, after which most of the troops dispersed. In the lack of a proper escort the remainder of the treasure had to be disposed of in various ways at Washington, Georgia.⁴⁵ The Treasury Department archives also had to be left behind at that place, where they were seized a little later by the Union cavalry. It appears, however, that only fourteen boxes of records were found.⁴⁶ It is to be noted, therefore, that Captain Parker has reported throwing away "books, stationery, and even as we heard the worst news, Confederate money". He adds: "One could have traced us by these marks and formed an idea of the character of the news we were in receipt of."⁴⁷ It is to be noted, also, that the comptroller's records are reported to have been left behind at Abbeville.⁴⁸ In such manner a good many Treasury Department records seem to have been scattered and mayhap lost along the route of the treasure convoy.⁴⁹

A little earlier the fugitive Treasury Note Bureau had been raided at Anderson, South Carolina, by a brigade of Stoneman's cavalry on the trail of Davis. Such records as were found—probably minor ones—seem to have been destroyed or scattered to the winds.⁵⁰ This bureau

⁴⁴ Parker, pp. 348-69; John W. Harris, "The Gold of the Confederate States Treasury", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XXXII (1904), 157-63; John F. Wheless, *ibid.*, X (1882), 138-40; Walter Philbrook in *New York Times*, Jan. 6, 1882; Robert Gilliam, "Last of the Confederate Treasury Department", *Confederate Veteran*, XXXVII (1929), 423-25.

⁴⁵ Clark, pp. 545-56; Rowland, VIII, 113-15; Hanna, pp. 90-92; Otis Ashmore, "The Story of the Virginia Banks Funds", *Georgia Historical Quarterly*, II (1918), 171-97. An executive fund which had been withdrawn earlier at Greensboro, North Carolina, was retained and carried to Florida by Clark and Van Benthuyzen (Hanna, pp. 115-16).

⁴⁶ R. A. O., letters received, W, No. 45; O. R., vol. XLIX, pt. II, pp. 998, 1017, 1032-33.

⁴⁷ Parker, p. 358.

⁴⁸ Rowland, VIII, 64-65. One of the comptroller's record books is in the Library of Congress, being one of the items transferred from the United States Treasury Department in 1920.

⁴⁹ The records of the Produce Loan Office were vaguely reported by its chief to have been "lost or destroyed at the time of the evacuation of Richmond" (A. Roane to Hugh McCulloch, July 27, 1865, John T. Pickett Papers).

⁵⁰ Mrs. Louise Ayer Vandiver, *Traditions and History of Anderson County* (At-

had been removed from Richmond to Columbia in 1864. On the approach of Sherman it was again moved, partly to Anderson and partly to Richmond. The Richmond section was sent off to Anderson a day or so before the evacuation, arriving about the middle of April.⁵¹

Considerable quantities of Treasury Department records were soon recovered at Richmond. The bulk of these were accounts of quartermasters and commissaries which had been on deposit in the Second Auditor's Office and were found boxed up ready for removal. A part of these records had been burned in the streets, but there remained about 157 boxes and barrels. Since almost all the offices of the Treasury Department escaped the fire, a few other records of some value were also recovered, notably the registers of note issues. Along with these records was obtained the seal of the Treasury Department.⁵² Along with the Post Office Department records, recovered as hereinafter explained, were obtained some of the records of the Third Auditor's Office, which had to do with that department.⁵³

The Treasury Department records recovered by the army at Richmond and in Georgia were forwarded to Washington and, for the most part, have since remained in the custody of the War Department. It is practically certain that no significant transfer was made to the United States Treasury Department.⁵⁴ Nevertheless, it is clear that the United States Treasury Department was in possession of a considerable quantity of Confederate Treasury Department records soon after the

lanta, 1928), pp. 235-36, 239-41; *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 373; D. H. Russell, "Last Issue of Confederate Money", *Confederate Veteran*, XXII (1914), 131.

⁵¹ Ernest A. Smith, "The History of the Confederate Treasury", *Southern History Association, Publications*, V (1901), 197 n.; *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, I, 275-86, II, 180-91; Jones, II, 426.

⁵² R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 11-14, 16, 20, 24; Jones, II, 466. The offices of the secretary, treasurer, and register were located in the United States Customs House on Bank Street. Other offices were located as follows: the Comptroller's Office, in Arlington House, 6th and Main Streets; the First Auditor's Office, in Clifton House, 14th and Ross Streets; the Second Auditor's Office, in the Monumental Hotel, 9th and Grace Streets; the Third Auditor's Office, in Goddin's Hall, 11th and Bank Streets; the War Tax Bureau, in Richmond House, Ross and Governor Streets; the Produce Loan Office, in the same building (W. D. Chesterman, *Guide to Richmond and the Battle-Fields* [Richmond, 1884], pp. 61-62; *Official Guide*, pp. 2-3). Of all these buildings only Goddin's Hall was burned.

⁵³ Report of the chief of the R. A. O., Jan. 18, 1866.

⁵⁴ Archives Branch, War Department: List of "Property and Papers Turned over to Other Departments and to Individuals", 1865-1882, The National Archives. Only a few cotton and sequestration papers seem to have been transferred to the Treasury Department.

war.⁵⁵ How these records were acquired cannot be determined for sure until certain archives of the United States Treasury Department have been subjected to intensive study and reconstruction. It can be said to be highly improbable, however, that any appreciable part of the collection was received by treasury agents from army officers in the field, for the army had stringent orders to forward all captured records to the War Department and took care to comply with these orders.⁵⁶ It is quite certain that the records in question were not part of the so-called "Pickett Papers".⁵⁷ It is definitely known that the Texas Cotton Bureau records were purchased in 1873,⁵⁸ and it is not improbable that some of the other records were acquired by purchase. Funds for this purpose were not available, however, until 1872, so that purchase can hardly account for the records in custody before that date.⁵⁹ The only satisfactory supposition seems to be that these records were collected by the treasury agencies established in the Southern states after the war. Since a good many of the records were from the archives of Richmond offices, it may be surmised that much of the collecting was done along the route of the fleeing treasure convoy.

In 1920 certain valuable record books from the Treasury Department collection were transferred to the Library of Congress,⁶⁰ but the

⁵⁵ The commissioners of claims wrote in July, 1872, as follows: "During the brief space of fifteen months, in which the commissioners of claims have been examining claims against the government, they have found the papers captured at Richmond, and now in the Treasury Department, under the head of 'rebel archives' of very great value". (*Senate Executive Documents*, 51 Cong., 2 sess., No. 7, p. 6). Their statement that the records were captured at Richmond was apparently an erroneous assumption, for the inventories of records recovered at Richmond do not account for the materials in the collection (*cf.* R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 11-14, 16, 20, 24, and Claude Halstead Van Tyne and Waldo Gifford Leland, *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the United States in Washington* [2d ed. rev., Washington, 1907], p. 75).

⁵⁶ O. R., ser. 3, vol. IV, pp. 1258-59; ser. 1, vol. XLVI, pt. III, pp. 896, 944, 1093, vol. XLIX, pt. II, p. 1032.

⁵⁷ The report of the commissioners of claims already cited, which was made at the time of the purchase of the "Pickett Papers", certified that the latter were records of the Confederate State Department corresponding exactly to the original inventory made in March, 1865.

⁵⁸ R. A. O., letters received, R, No. 38.

⁵⁹ The appropriation of June 10, 1872 (*U. S. Statutes at Large*, XVII, 350), amounted to \$150,000, of which \$75,000 were expended for the "Pickett Papers". The Texas Cotton Bureau records were purchased from the same appropriation, as were also certain military records of the Trans-Mississippi Department simultaneously purchased for the War Department.

⁶⁰ *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1921, p. 35; Curtis W. Garrison, *List of Manuscript Collections in the Library of Congress to July, 1931* (Washington, 1932), pp. 199-200.

major portion of the collection remained in the Treasury Department, where unfavorable conditions of storage eventually resulted in confusion and inaccessibility. Along with associated Federal materials, however, some of these records have recently been transferred to the National Archives, and the others will probably be transferred in due course. Since the Confederate records preserved by the War Department have already been transferred, it may be expected that the bulk of Confederate Treasury Department archives known to be extant will soon be concentrated in that depository. A few record books, sometimes of first importance, remain scattered in other depositories.⁶¹

POST OFFICE DEPARTMENT

The most important records of the Confederate Post Office Department were sent away from Richmond in charge of the chief of the Contract Bureau, Henry St. George Offut, and turned over by him to the postmaster at Chester, South Carolina.⁶² A considerable quantity of Post Office Department records was eventually recovered at that place, where they were found abandoned in the cars at the depot. They had probably been run down from Charlotte after Stoneman's capture of Salisbury on April 12. Since it was not until the end of May that a Union officer was sent to Chester, the records were subject to pillage during a considerable period and much scattered about.⁶³

In March, 1866, the War Department transferred all Confederate Post Office Department records to the United States Post Office Department.⁶⁴ In 1896 most of the bound volumes were received back from the Justice Department.⁶⁵ What happened to the records in the meantime is pretty much of a mystery and seems at one time to have

⁶¹ A letters received book for 1862-63, not further identified, formerly in the New York State Library (H. L. Osgood, "Report on the Public Archives of New York", American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1900, II, 110), is believed to have been destroyed by fire in 1911 (letter of Edna L. Jacobsen, New York State Library, to the writer, Jan. 20, 1939).

⁶² John H. Reagan, *Memoirs, with Special Reference to Secession and the Civil War* (New York, 1906), p. 197; Affidavit of Henry St. George Offut, Apr. 6, 1891, mentioned by Van Tyne and Leland, p. 95, and now in the General Accounting Office.

⁶³ O. R., vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 564, 610, 631, 659; *South Carolina Women in the Confederacy*, II, 144; Ruger to Campbell, June 1, 1865, 23d Army Corps records, Book VII, The National Archives. Apparently all of the records were not collected by the officer sent to Chester, for when that town was garrisoned in July records of the Post Office Department were again reported as being at that place (McQuiston to Schofield, July 21, 1865, War Records [Office], 23d Army Corps Papers, The National Archives).

⁶⁴ R. A. O., letters sent, Book I, p. 153.

⁶⁵ Record and Pension Office, letters received, No. 452631, The Adjutant General's Office.

been pretty much of a mystery even to the Post Office Department, for in 1871 it suggested that the captured Confederate Post Office Department records be transferred to it from the War Department, probably much to that department's amazement.⁶⁶ It is obvious that the records were used for the defense of the government against claims, in which activity the Post Office Department, Treasury Department, and Justice Department were all concerned, so that the records may have been bandied about. In 1906 the residue of the original capture was turned over by the Post Office Department to the Library of Congress.⁶⁷

In 1892, with the authorization of Congress, the Postmaster General purchased six record books of the Confederate Post Office Department which had been offered for sale by an anonymous person through attorneys.⁶⁸ According to an affidavit made by Offut and affixed to one of the books, these had been among the records abandoned by him at Chester.⁶⁹ The books were deposited with the auditor for the Post Office Department, in whose office they were found by Van Tyne and Leland.⁷⁰ That office has since become part of the General Accounting Office and now has in its possession only one of the books purchased in 1892.⁷¹ The others have long since been lost.

CONGRESS, ETC.

Many of the more valuable records of the Confederate Congress under the permanent constitution were recovered at Chester along with the Post Office Department records. The journals of both houses and most of the engrossed acts were included, together with other papers.⁷² An appreciable amount of material was also gathered up in the capitol at Richmond, including bills, resolutions, messages, petitions, depart-

⁶⁶ R. A. O., letters received, P, No. 21.

⁶⁷ *Report of the Librarian of Congress*, 1907, p. 139.

⁶⁸ *U. S. Statutes at Large*, XXVI, 1079, XXVII, 148; *Sen. Ex. Docs.*, 51 Cong., 2 sess., No. 7.

⁶⁹ See note 62 above. Suspicion that the anonymous vendor was F. G. De Fontaine, mentioned hereafter as having appropriated records at Chester, is strengthened by the fact that one of the attorneys was from New York, where De Fontaine resided. One of the books was of such value as a defense against claims that its sale to the government was not likely to endear the vendor to Southern claimants and their sympathizers.

⁷⁰ *Guide*, pp. 94-96.

⁷¹ Item 2 as listed by Van Tyne and Leland. Item 1, which was not part of the purchase of 1892 but a transfer from the War Department, is still in custody. The office also has a letter book of the Confederate first auditor not listed by Van Tyne and Leland.

⁷² *O. R.*, vol. XLVII, pt. III, pp. 610, 631; Hale to Orr, May 30, 1865, Ruger to Campbell, June 1, 1865, and Ruger to Cox, June 3 and June 5, 1865, 23d Army Corps records, Book VII; Report of the chief of the R. A. O., Jan. 18, 1866.

mental reports and estimates, copies of battle reports, etc.⁷³ As for the records of the Provisional Congress, they were recovered by General Wilson's command from one of the classrooms of the University of Georgia upon the information of Howell Cobb, their proper custodian.

The latter records had had an interesting history during the war. To Cobb, as president of the Provisional Congress, had been given the responsibility of causing a certain number of copies of the journals to be made in lieu of publication. The work had been entrusted to the former clerk of the Congress, but he had died. The records were then shipped to Georgia for completion of the work by one John C. Whitners, but various difficulties prevented. When Sherman invaded Georgia, they were moved from Atlanta to West Point, Georgia, and thence to a plantation near Chehaw, Alabama, where they came close to capture. Thence they were moved to Augusta, then into South Carolina to escape Sherman on his march to the sea, and finally back to Athens, Georgia, where they were delivered up to General Wilson.⁷⁴

At a time and for reasons not now known the engrossed acts of the Confederate Congress were sent by the War Department to the Capitol, whence they were deposited in the Library of Congress.⁷⁵ The other congressional records remained in the War Department.

The congressional records captured at Chester were not entirely intact when recovered, for there has been one case of important materials turning up in private hands. Some years ago the library of Duke University acquired the official register of the acts of the Confederate Congress and a considerable number of engrossed acts and resolutions. For many years these records had been in the family of Dr. D. S. Ramseur of Blacksburg, South Carolina, having been purchased from a Professor Turner of a military school at Shelby, North Carolina, soon after the war. They were said to have been found "near Charlotte". Probably they were originally pilfered from the cars at Chester.⁷⁶

An instance of how such records were acquired is on record. When the archives were run down to Chester in April, 1865, a former war correspondent of some prominence, F. G. De Fontaine, was publishing

⁷³ R. A. O., letters received, J, Nos. 17 and 18.

⁷⁴ O. R., vol. XLIX, pt. III, pp. 998-1000, 1032-33; R. A. O., letters received, W, Nos. 44 and 45; New York *Herald*, July 3, 1865.

⁷⁵ *Handbook of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress* (Washington, 1918), p. 72. It may well be that the engrossed acts were consulted in connection with the project for publication of the *Journal of the Congress of the Confederate States of America, 1861-1865* (*Sen. Docs.*, 58 Cong., 2 sess., No. 234; 7 vols., Washington, 1904-05):

⁷⁶ Duke University Library, *Bulletin*, No. 3 (1930), p. 6; *Confederate Veteran*, XXI (1923), 274.

a newspaper in that town. According to his story, the quartermaster in charge, in abandoning the records, practically told him to help himself. At any rate De Fontaine went to the depot with a cotton truck and succeeded in carrying off a whole load of stationery and records. Among the records obtained were the provisional and permanent constitutions, the Indian treaties, patent drawings, and a volume containing the official record of opinions of the attorney general.⁷⁷

According to De Fontaine, the Indian treaties were turned over in 1865 to General Albert Pike, former Indian commissioner, from whom they were immediately stolen.⁷⁸ The permanent constitution was sold in 1883 to Mrs. G. W. J. De Renne and has since been associated with the Wymerley Jones De Renne Georgia Library.⁷⁹ At the time of writing it is reported to be in a New York bank with the University of Georgia holding an option for its purchase.⁸⁰ The provisional constitution was purchased in 1884 by W. W. Corcoran of Washington, D. C., for presentation to the Southern Historical Society. It is now in the Confederate Museum at Richmond.⁸¹ The volume of opinions of the attorney general was sold in 1897 to the New York Public Library.⁸²

It is not impossible that other valuable records were included among the materials obtained by De Fontaine and that these were not later mentioned by him for the reason that he had sold them to persons who

⁷⁷ New York *Sun*, Mar. 26, 1883. A variant story, having some errors which were developed in the course of transmission, is given by Ben C. Truman in the *Confederate Veteran*, XVI (1908), 77. According to this version De Fontaine was badly in need of paper for his newspaper and was told by Secretary of Treasury Trenholm to obtain some of the stationery at the depot. This is quite plausible, for Trenholm, being ill, had resigned and left Davis's party at Fort Mill, and his subsequent presence at Abbeville indicates that he probably passed through Chester (Reagan, p. 209; James M. Morgan, *Recollections of a Rebel Reefer* [Boston, 1917], p. 243). De Fontaine's newspaper had been published at Columbia until the burning of that town, whereafter he seems to have resumed publication at Chester (*Charleston News and Courier*, Dec. 12, 1896; Mary Chesnut, *A Diary from Dixie* [New York, 1905], p. 377). This would account for the mistaken locale in Truman's story.

⁷⁸ New York *Sun*, Mar. 26, 1883.

⁷⁹ *Catalogue of the Wymerley Jones De Renne Georgia Library*, I, xv, II, 620.

⁸⁰ Letter of E. M. Coulter to the writer, Dec. 20, 1938.

⁸¹ W. Gordon McCabe, "The Original Confederate Constitution", *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XLI (1916), 35.

⁸² New York Public Library, *Bulletin*, I (1897), 341. The papers of the attorney general, and of General Braxton Bragg as military adviser to the president, were associated with the executive records left behind at Abbeville and later recovered for Jefferson Davis insofar as they had not been systematically destroyed (Clark to Harrison, Feb. 14, 1866).

did not wish their possession of the items to be generally known. De Fontaine certainly wrung the monetary value out of the two constitutions—while piously regretting that there was no Southern historical society rich enough to purchase them. Eventually, according to his own statement, few of the items originally obtained remained in his possession, most of them having “found their way into the hands of other persons, who are deeply interested in their preservation”.⁸³ In this connection it may be repeated that the records acquired by Duke University and the Post Office Department records bought by the government in 1892 probably had fallen into private hands at Chester.

In his last years De Fontaine undertook to prepare a book which he entitled “Missing Records of the Confederacy”. After his death in 1896 his widow sought to have this published, but her own death apparently prevented, and the manuscript has since been lost to view. Inasmuch as many valuable records of the Confederacy seem to have met their fate at or near Chester, it may have contained information of prime importance.⁸⁴

This article necessarily limits itself to the capital archives, but considerable information is also available on what happened in 1865 and afterwards to the records of Confederate civil and military establishments located away from Richmond, to the records of foreign missions, of army commands, and of the several Confederate states.⁸⁵ Much information on the present location and identity of Confederate records has been accumulated by the Survey of Federal Archives and the Historical Records Survey, although this information has not as yet been co-ordinated. Nevertheless, as a result of the professional archival study now being devoted to both the history and heuristic of Confederate archives it may reasonably be expected that the historical study of the Confederate government and its manifold relations to Confederate life will soon be provided, for the first time, with something approaching an adequate basis of archival knowledge.

The National Archives.

DALLAS D. IRVINE.

⁸³ New York *Sun*, Mar. 26, 1883.

⁸⁴ *Confederate Veteran*, V (1897), 109, 585; *Charleston News and Courier*, Dec. 12, 1896; *Dictionary of American Biography*, V, 196.

⁸⁵ Because of their special importance, it may be mentioned here that the records of General Lee's headquarters were destroyed in the burning of a wagon train near Paineville, Virginia, during the retreat to Appomattox (Rowland, VII, 535; Andrew A. Humphreys, *The Virginia Campaign of '64 and '65* [New York, 1883], p. 376; George L. Christian, “General Lee's Headquarters Records and Papers”, *So. Hist. Soc., Papers*, XLIV (1923), 229; *O. R.*, vol. XLVI, pt. I, pp. 1301, 1304).

NOTES AND SUGGESTIONS

FRÉMONT AND THE NORTH AMERICANS*

INTEREST in the Republican party has tended to obscure the fact that John C. Frémont ran for President in 1856 not only as the Republican but also as the North American or antislavery Know Nothing candidate. The background of this second nomination throws light on the story of the formation of a united antislavery party and furnishes an excellent commentary on the methods of the Frémont managers.

The North American party dates from June, 1855, when the Know Nothings first divided along slavery lines; it achieved a regular organization in February, 1856, just after the South (or National) Americans named Fillmore for the Presidency.¹ The formation of the Republican party cost it many adherents, but in spite of this it was an important force in antislavery politics all through the spring of 1856. The North Americans, far from planning to enter the presidential contest alone, intended to make common cause with the Republicans.² They did not desire, however, to be swallowed by the Republican party, and they hoped that by setting their convention for June 12, five days before the Republicans were to meet, they could dictate the choice of an antislavery presidential candidate.³

This threat was apparent to Republican leaders.⁴ Particularly con-

*In the summer of 1937 Professor Allan Nevins read by request the manuscript of a longer version of this article, entitled "The Frémont Nomination of 1856", which Dr. Harrington had submitted for publication in the *American Historical Review*. Mr. Nevins in his recently published *Frémont, Pathmarker of the West* has incorporated a considerable amount of Dr. Harrington's material here published as well as parts of his longer manuscript not yet published. Mr. Nevins's impression that this material had been published was mistaken, and the reference on page 427 of his *Frémont* to an article by Dr. Harrington on "Frémont and the Nomination of 1856" is incorrect. Acknowledgment to Dr. Harrington will be made in a new edition of Mr. Nevins's book.—Ed.

¹ See the *New York Tribune*, Feb. 27, 1856, for a good account of the North American organization.

² This is made clear in speeches of North Americans, *ibid.* A small minority was opposed to co-operation; a few others desired immediate fusion.

³ S. M. Allen to N. P. Banks, June 12, 1856, Banks MSS., Essex Institute, Salem, Massachusetts (property of Mrs. Harold Page). The letters to and from Banks which are cited hereinafter are from this collection. *New York Herald*, June 2; and the Boston correspondence, *New York Evening Post*, June 10, 1856.

⁴ Horace Greeley to Schuyler Colfax, May 6, June 1, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS., New York Public Library; Isaac Sherman to Banks, May 24.

cerned were the Frémont managers, who had the Republican situation well in hand early in the spring.⁵ If the North Americans nominated some one other than Frémont and the Republicans ratified the nomination, the Pathfinder would of course be lost. If in the same circumstances the Republicans named Frémont, there would be two antislavery tickets, and the Californian's chance of election would be small. If the North Americans nominated Frémont on June 12,⁶ foreign voters would turn against him, and the Republicans might repudiate him.⁷

To save their candidate, the Frémont managers determined to control and manipulate the North American convention—acting through venal delegates or, as they have been called, “bogus Know Nothings”⁸ and through sincere nativists open to persuasion in their desire for antislavery union. So it was that many Frémont men descended on New York as June 12 neared; so it was that \$50,000 was spent in Frémont's interest during the North American convention.⁹

Unfortunately, Frémont's backers differed as to method. A few, discounting the reaction of the foreign voter, wanted the North Americans to nominate the Californian;¹⁰ some preferred to try to break up

⁵ For Frémont's Republican strength see Greeley to C. A. Dana, Mar. 20, 1856, printed in the *New York Sun*, May 19, 1889; James S. Pike, *First Blows of the Civil War* (New York, 1879), p. 322; Andrew Wallace Crandall, *The Early History of the Republican Party* (Boston, 1930), esp. pp. 164 and 166. On February 2, Ben: Perley Poore wrote, “the Republicans will undoubtedly put up” Frémont. *Boston Journal*, Feb. 6, 1856.

⁶ Despite a rumor that he was Roman Catholic, Frémont was popular with North Americans. John B. Floyd wanted him to head a Democratic-Know Nothing ticket (Allan Nevins, *Frémont, the West's Greatest Adventurer* [2 vols., New York, 1928], II, 475-77). Parmalee, editor of Fillmore's personal organ, the *Buffalo Commercial Advertiser*, considered advising Fillmore to withdraw in Frémont's behalf (Isaac Sherman to Banks, Apr. 4, 1856).

⁷ *Boston Reporter*, quoted, *New York Day Book*, June 20, 1856; *New York Evening Post*, June 13, 1856; *New York Tribune*, June 11, 1856; Isaac Sherman to Banks, June 10, 1856; S. M. Allen to Banks, June 12, 1856 (quoting Thurlow Weed). Historians, following James Ford Rhodes, have overstated German pro-Frémont feeling. Rhodes based his judgment on quotations in the *Evening Post* (June 13, 16, 18, 1856), a strong Frémont paper. The *New York Abend-Zeitung* (*Evening Post*, June 16, 1856) said that Frémont was suggested “first of all” by “the German press” i.e., the *St. Charles, Missouri, Democrat*, Feb., 1856; but see the *New York Evening Post*, Jan. 28, 1856, for several earlier, non-German notices. Germans preferred Frémont to McLean, a stronger nativist, but were hardly enthusiastic for him before his nomination.

⁸ Greeley's phrase, to Colfax, June 1, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS.

⁹ Thurlow Weed, Edwin D. Morgan, Preston King, E. C. Spaulding and many more were noted by the *New York Herald*, June 16, 1856; the amount of the expenditure is stated in a letter of S. M. Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856.

¹⁰ Allen to Banks, June 13, 1856; Boston correspondence, *New York Evening Post*, June 12, 1856; *New York Herald*, June 11, 13, 1856.

the convention;¹¹ others wanted to persuade the delegates to hold over until the Republicans met.¹² A fourth plan hinged on Speaker N. P. Banks's popularity with the nativists and his loyalty to Frémont.¹³ Isaac Sherman wrote as follows to Banks about this plan on May 24:

Would it not be well to have the K. Nothings nominate you on the 12th of June for President and some Whig like Gov. Johns[t]on of Penn for Vice President and then you decline the moment the Republican convention at Philadelphia has nominated Fremont? Could we not have an understanding of this kind which would . . . give the K. Nothings the nomination of the Vice President? . . . I know that your devotion to Col. F and the cause will prompt you to make any personal sacrifice or I should not make these suggestions to you.¹⁴

This plan had evident advantages: Frémont could win both the Republican and the North American nominations without offending non-nativist Republicans or causing North American voters to feel that their convention had been manipulated. Even before the Speaker had grudgingly given consent that his name be used,¹⁵ a Banks boom had started among the North Americans—managed by ex-Governor William F. Johnston of Pennsylvania, Lieutenant Governor Thomas H. Ford of Ohio, and George Law of New York, all Know Nothings aware of and in accord with the objective outlined in Sherman's letter.¹⁶ Banks's hesitancy made some nativists suspect a trick and caused

¹¹ *Ibid.*, June 11, 13, 1856; Allen to Banks, June 12, 1856.

¹² *New York Day Book*, June 13, 1856; *New York Tribune*, June 11, 1856; *New York Evening Post*, June 13, 1856; O. B. Matteson to Banks, June 11, 1856; Greeley to Colfax, June 1, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS.

¹³ George S. Boutwell (to Banks, July 13, 1856) called Banks "the discoverer of Frémont as a Presidential candidate"; see Nevins, II, 475-78; Charles T. Congdon, *Reminiscences of a Journalist* (Boston, 1880), pp. 152-53; John Bigelow, *Retrospections of an Active Life* (5 vols., New York, 1909-13), I, 141-42; Ruhl Jacob Bartlett, *John C. Frémont and the Republican Party* (Columbus, 1930), p. 14; letters in the Banks MSS. For North American enthusiasm for Banks see Edward Joy Morris to Greeley, May 21, 1856, Morris Personal Papers, Library of Congress; Greeley to Colfax, Apr. 24, 1856, Greeley-Colfax MSS.; William Durrin to Banks, Apr. 24, 1856; *New York Evening Post*, Apr. 21, 1856.

¹⁴ Banks MSS.

¹⁵ *Boston Journal*, June 12, 1856; Law, Johnston, and Ford to Banks, Sherman to Banks, June 10, 1856, and draft of a reply.

¹⁶ See the *New York Herald*, June 13, 1856; the speeches of Ford and Johnston, *New York Tribune*, June 14, 17, 1856; and I. Sherman to Banks, June 11, 1856, as evidence that these three men were working for Frémont while booming Banks. Their Banks activities are seen in Sherman to Banks, June 10; Allen to Banks, June 13; H. H. Day to Banks, June 12; and Law, Johnston, and Ford to Banks, June 10, 1856. The lesser leaders of the boom, Day, Allen, and Z. K. Pangborn, were men of limited political experience who really wanted Banks, not Frémont, made the antislavery nominee.

Frémont leaders to fear that the Speaker would withdraw his name prematurely, but the Banks drive continued as June 12 approached.¹⁷

Though still divided among themselves, the Frémont men were in control when the North Americans were called to order. Those favoring dilatory tactics had their way at first; on June 12 and 13 the delegates did little more than make speeches and discuss a letter from the Republican National Committee asking co-operation with the Republican convention. On June 14 balloting began. Frémont influence was apparent: Banks had 43 votes, Frémont 34, and some of the 44 other votes were cast in the Pathfinder's interest.¹⁸ After two more ballots the convention adjourned until Monday, June 16, the day before the Republicans were to meet.

The Frémont men, however, had blundered. Had they forced Banks's nomination on Friday or Saturday, their wirepulling might have passed unobserved; by postponing action, they aroused suspicion.¹⁹ As a result, on Monday a handful of conservative nativists who "believed the Convention to be under influences hostile to American principles" bolted and nominated a separate ticket—Commodore Stockton and Kenneth Raynor.²⁰ The Frémont managers could delay no longer. Banks and Johnston were nominated, a platform was adopted, and a committee was appointed to confer with the Republicans; then the North Americans adjourned until June 19.²¹

The news of Banks's nomination strengthened Frémont at Philadelphia. Many of the assembling Republicans knew why Banks had

¹⁷ Allen to Banks, May 31; Sherman to Banks, June 10, 1856.

¹⁸ Ford and Johnston, apparently desiring to put Banks's nomination off until June 16 (see James M. Stone to Banks, June 14, 1856) voted for McLean. Stockton had 19, McLean 14, Johnston 6, Chase 5. *New York Tribune*, June 16, 1856.

¹⁹ "The trickery of the whole performance is too apparent to be interesting", wrote an Albany journalist; a Boston correspondent observed: "There are long heads at work to prevent, if possible, the injury to Mr. Fremont which a first nomination by this convention would inflict. At the same time, they seek for the American vote for their candidate". Quoted, *New York Day Book*, June 20, 1856.

²⁰ The *New York Commercial Advertiser*, June 17, 1856, gives the best and most sympathetic account of the reasons for the bolt. The *Boston Journal*, June 17, 1856, says that only a dozen left; all but four being New Jersey men; one bolter later said he would not have left had he known Banks would be nominated. The organization of the bolters' convention is amusingly described in the *New York Times*, June 17, 1856; it contained men who had not been delegates to the regular convention.

²¹ *New York Tribune*, *New York Times*, June 17, 1856. Banks was named on the tenth ballot, 53-24 (McLean)-18 (Frémont), with many delegates absenting themselves or refraining from voting. Johnston was nominated on the first ballot. Law was made chairman of the conference committee; there were sixteen other members, including Ford.

been nominated; others were aware that Banks, now in Philadelphia, was predicting Frémont's nomination by the Republicans and intimating that he would support his friend.²² The Frémont leaders were so plainly pleased and confident that they were not disposed to notice the North American conference committee. The Republican convention, Frémont-dominated, refused to treat with that committee until the first (informal) ballot had been taken. After that, when Frémont's nomination was assured and there was no longer any danger of seeming subservient to the North Americans, the matter was taken from the table and referred to the Committee on the Platform. Immediately, however, before a conference could be arranged with the North American committee, a formal ballot was taken, and Frémont was made Republican candidate for President.²³

There remained the vice-presidential nomination, which many Republicans were willing to give the North Americans; and for five hours on that night of June 18 the question was threshed over by the conference committees. Nothing came of the discussions; Banks would not accept a nomination, the Pennsylvania Republicans would not have Johnston, and Ford, formally proposed by the North Americans, was unacceptable to the Republican delegates from Ohio.²⁴ In the end the Republicans passed over the North Americans altogether and, on June 19, named William Dayton as Frémont's running mate.²⁵

Naturally the North Americans were offended and aired their resentment when their convention reassembled; there was talk of backing Fillmore, the Southern Know-Nothing candidate, or Stockton.²⁶ Frémont's managers, however, had not yet exhausted their resources. A group of skeptical North Americans were persuaded to visit Frémont at the Californian's Ninth Street residence in New York during the evening of June 19; and they came away satisfied. The Republican nominee, who had talked to North Americans in very guarded terms

²² *Boston Journal*, June 17, 1856; *New York Tribune*, June 18, 1856; James M. Stope to Banks, June 14, 1856.

²³ See the *New York Tribune*, June 19, 1856, for a detailed account of the convention's reception of the North American overtures. Banks received one vote in the informal balloting.

²⁴ *Ibid.*, June 19-21, 1856. The Pennsylvania and Ohio Republicans who objected to Johnston and Ford were McLean and Chase men whom the Frémont leaders desired to please.

²⁵ Desire to placate the North Americans is seen in the vote cast for Banks (third, with 46, on informal ballot), Ford 7, Johnston 2.

²⁶ *New York Tribune*, June 20, 1856, esp. the report of the Law committee. The Republicans had also ignored platform suggestions of the North Americans.

a week before,²⁷ who had considered sending Ford a letter that would have ruined him with the nativists,²⁸ now gave the promises necessary to secure the support of the North Americans present. He said that he expected Banks to withdraw in his favor but satisfied his guests on points of principle and, personally or through friends, gave assurances that Dayton would be withdrawn in favor of Johnston.²⁹ On leaving, the North American conferees hastened to round up votes. In spite of what had passed, this was not so hard a task, for they had the assistance of Horace H. Day, who, as backer of the Banks movement, had been paying the board bills of a large number of delegates for some days past.³⁰

The next day saw the outcome. When the North Americans assembled, S. M. Allen sought the floor. Obtaining it, he accomplished everything in one swoop—withdrew Banks's name and moved the nomination of Frémont for President and Johnston for Vice-President.³¹ The motion prevailed, and the convention adjourned *sine die*. Frémont was pledged at last.

Commenting on the whole affair, Allen wrote, "this is a strange matter, and has turned out strangely".³² Politicians as astute as George S. Boutwell could not figure out how the result had been achieved, and the average citizen had good reason to be puzzled.³³ For Frémont all

²⁷ New York *Tribune*, June 16, 1856, including a statement of three of the four present. S. M. Allen wrote Banks, June 12, 1856, that Frémont's "answers were quite unsatisfactory to some of them—All he said on Americanism was that 'he sympathized with them and should not appoint foreigners to office.'"

²⁸ Frémont to Ford, June 15, 1856, John Bigelow MSS., New York Public Library. Frémont noted on the back of the letter that it was "retained under advice of Mr. Isaac Sherman & other friends". Nevins (II, 482-83) indicates that F. P. Blair was consulted, but to judge from a letter from Frémont to Blair, June 17, 1856 (Bigelow MSS.), he was not.

²⁹ Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856; Day to Banks, July 4, 1856; Z. K. Pangborn to Banks, June 25, 1856. Pangborn said Frémont's nomination by the North Americans could never have been secured "but for Col. Fremont's frank conversation . . . with a few of us and the pledges given, that Mr Dayton's name should be withdrawn from the ticket and that of Gov. Johnston substituted".

³⁰ Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856. This was the price Day, a rubber manufacturer, was willing to pay to become a power in politics. He paid the bills of all of the New England and New York delegates and most of those from Pennsylvania, Ohio, Illinois, and the territories.

³¹ New York *Tribune*, June 21, 1856. Allen had Banks's authority to withdraw his name. The Speaker composed a long letter of declination, but it reached New York after the convention had adjourned. Draft and Law to Banks, June 23, 1856.

³² Allen to Banks, June 21, 1856.

³³ Boutwell to Banks, July 7, and Jno. Bullard to Banks, August 12, 1856.

was well. Stockton decided not to run,³⁴ Johnston was persuaded to withdraw in favor of Dayton,³⁵ and thus Frémont obtained the support of the overwhelming majority of the antislavery Know Nothings without antagonizing the foreign voters.³⁶ Though the Pathfinder could not defeat Buchanan, the North Americans never reorganized.³⁷ The Republican organization stood consolidated, the only antislavery party in the field.

FRED HARVEY HARRINGTON.

The University of Wisconsin.

³⁴ He accepted at first (*New York Tribune*, June 30, 1856), but electoral tickets were never put in the field.

³⁵ Roy Franklin Nichols, "Some Problems of the First Republican Presidential Campaign", *American Historical Review*, XXVIII (1923), 492-96.

³⁶ There continued to be some dissatisfaction among North Americans (William Gleason Bean, "Party Transformation in Massachusetts . . . 1848-1860", MS. doctoral dissertation, Harvard University Library; Law to Banks, June 23, 1856), but even those who complained backed Frémont.

³⁷ Louis Dow Scisco, *Political Nativism in New York State* (New York, 1901), pp. 182-83, says the national Know Nothing party was broken at the New York convention.

DOCUMENTS

WASHINGTON AND THE PITTSBURGH ROUTE, 1768

A hitherto unpublished holograph letter of George Washington was recently found by the writer in the Thomas Gage Manuscripts in the William L. Clements Library. Dated May 17, 1768, it was sent to John Blair, president of the council and acting governor of Virginia after the death of Francis Fauquier on March 3, 1768. Aside from the value which attaches to any new Washington item, this letter throws light upon an unsuspected phase of Washington's concern with the West, and it corrects an assumption which has been made concerning his interest in the running of the Indian boundary line of 1768.

It was the impending settlement of this line that gave rise to the letter. The document is largely self-explanatory. The Virginia frontiersmen obviously feared that the new boundary might leave a portion of the road from Fort Cumberland to Fort Pitt in the Indian country. If this should happen and if all settlers west of the line were removed, the frontiersmen would encounter hardships unless they were permitted to maintain supply stations along the route. They especially desired easy communication with Fort Pitt in order to compete with Pennsylvania traders traveling over Forbes's Road. It is likely that William Crawford, agent for Washington on the latter's lands in southwestern Pennsylvania, was one person who brought the matter to Washington's attention, for he was at Mount Vernon during most of the period from April 1 to April 6. On April 2 and 3 Crawford visited Williamsburg, and he may have discussed the problem with Blair.¹ At the time Washington did not know that Lord Hillsborough, in accordance with a report of the Board of Trade of March 7, 1768, had instructed Sir William Johnson to run the boundary southwestward from the Susquehanna to Pittsburgh and thence down the Ohio to the mouth of the Kanawha.

Washington's letter to Blair was based on the assumption that Gage would have some share in the delineation of the boundary. Blair wrote as follows to Gage on June 17, 1768, referring to this letter:

This Report from the Board of Trade [of March 7, 1768] I perceive relates principally to Pennsylvania, but as it mentions Virginia, as giving us

¹ John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Diaries of George Washington, 1748-1799* (4 vols., Boston, 1925), I, 264.

room to extend our Settlements farther to the Westward, than hitherto with safety, I must suppose that Sir William [Johnson] must settle our Boundary by it. I observe it gives the Ohio for a Boundary from Kittowing down as low as the mouth of the Conohway; how much of that may relate to Virginia I am yet to learn. I had a Letter lately from Col. Washington in behalf of our Frontiers about Fort Cumberland praying me to interceed with your Excellency that if the Lands are ceded to the Indians that three or four Stations on the Road to Fort Pitt, at proper distances might be permitted for the accomodation of Wagons and droves of provisions to Fort Pitt, which he says Pensylvania takes great care of in their Roads. If I find the Letter now mislaid, I will send it you; but if by this new Line those Lands are still retain'd to us there will be no need of this caution of Col. Washington's.²

Fortunately Blair found Washington's letter and enclosed it in his own to Gage, thus insuring its preservation amongst the Gage Manuscripts.

Probably Washington and Blair had previously discussed the effects of the proposed boundary, for the former was at Williamsburg from May 2 to May 6.³ After receiving the report of the Board of Trade on the subject, Blair, as his letter indicates, considered the apprehensions of Washington and the frontiersmen to be probably groundless. Certainly Gage's reply should have quieted their fears. He confirmed Blair's opinion in these terms:

I can have no concern in the matter contained in M^r Washington's Letter, as the Boundary Line takes in the Tract of Land he mentions, it will therefore remain with the Province to Judge, whether such Stages, as he proposes, to be left on the Route to Fort Pitt, will be Beneficial, or not, to the Community.⁴

From this passage in Gage's letter Clarence E. Carter concluded that Washington was attempting to use influence so that the line might be drawn to include lands in which the latter was interested.⁵ It is clear, however, that Washington was not asking special consideration for his lands in this letter, although he possessed a claim to three thousand acres in southwestern Pennsylvania, staked out for him in 1767 by Crawford.⁶ Washington had pre-empted these lands in spite of the Proclamation of 1763 because he thought it would not be enforced.⁷ Possibly he

² Gage MSS. ³ *Diaries*, I, 267-68.

⁴ Gage to Blair, July 15, 1768, Gage MSS.

⁵ Carter, ed., *Correspondence of General Thomas Gage, 1763-1775* (2 vols., New Haven, 1931-33), II, 86, n. 56. Carter seems to have confused John Blair with James Blair, the Anglican commissary. See Volume II, index.

⁶ Archer Butler Hulbert, ed., *Washington and the West* (New York, 1905), pp. 143-45; Charles H. Ambler, *George Washington and the West* (Chapel Hill, 1936), ch. 8.

⁷ Washington to William Crawford, Sept. 21, 1767, John C. Fitzpatrick, ed., *Writings of George Washington*, II (Washington, 1931), 467-71.

felt that a new line would have no greater consequence. His action in writing the letter printed below was probably dictated by loyalty to the Old Dominion and by the desire to serve his friends.

JOHN R. ALDEN.

University of Michigan.

WASHINGTON TO JOHN BLAIR

May 17th 1768⁸

Hon^{ble} Sir:

At present the Road from Fort Cumberland to Pittsburg is very thickly Inhabited—so much so at least—as to render the communication easy & convenient for Travellers, & for the transportation of Provisions &c^a from the Frontiers of this Colony to the last mentioned Garrison, and to the Settlers that now are, or may hereafter be fixed on the Ohio; but if the People on the other side of the Alligany should be totally removed, the difficulties of that communication of consequence becomes augmented, and Our Frontier Inhabitants (by odds the most contiguous, and best adapted for the purpose of furnishing the Kings Troops with Provisions & such like things) subjected to Inconveniencies the Contrary of which the People of Pennsylvania enjoy in the greatest degree by having Garrisons established all along their Road: So sensible are our Frontier People of this, that several of them in talking to me upon the subject, did request, that I woud lay the matter before your Honour; hoping that, by means of your Representation, Stages might be permitted (I mean some of the Inhabitants suffer'd to remain only) at three or four different places along the Road (that Our Assembly levied money towards the opening of) to the end that Travellers, drivers of Cattle, Hogs, Pack Horses &c^a might be accomodated with halting Places and Provision, to sustain themselves and Cattle in a March so tedious, & often incommoded by the swelling of many large Waters which they are compeld to cross. To this request I promised compliance, in full assurance, that if the matter appeard in the same light to your hon^r, it does to me, you woud readily lay the Circumstances of it before his Excellency Gen^l Gage, whose powers, I apprehend, can regulate these matters; & who, I am persuaded, in consideration of the benefits which his Majesty's Troops will derive from ready Supplies to his Garrisons, woud chearfully come into a measure of this kind; which, from its nature, can give no offence to the Indians, nor any one else, unless there be People in the world, so selfish, as to aim at a Monopoly of those advantages which may follow a Trade to Pittsburg & the Country round it.—I hope I shall stand excused for the liberty I have taken in laying this affair before your Hon^r.—With great respect I remain

Y^r Hon^{rs} Most Obed. H^ble Serv^t
G^o WASHINGTON

⁸ Probably written at Mount Vernon.

AN IMPERIAL UNDERSTATEMENT

The Emperor Francis, fleeing from the scene of the *Dreikaiser-schlacht* at Austerlitz, wrote a hasty but considerate note of warning to his wife, Maria Theresa, who had recently gone to Olmütz to make a pilgrimage to a holy mountain and pray for victory.¹ This note is exactly reproduced below both as to content and size. In translation it reads: "A battle was fought today which did not turn out well. I pray you consequently to withdraw from Olmütz to Teschen with everything that belongs to us. I am well. Your tenderest Francis. From Austerlitz, December 2, 1805."² Despite Francis's desire not to alarm her, Maria Theresa realized the seriousness of the situation. "God, how did this happen?" she wrote him on the following day, "Do not lose courage, all may yet right itself. God will not desert us."³

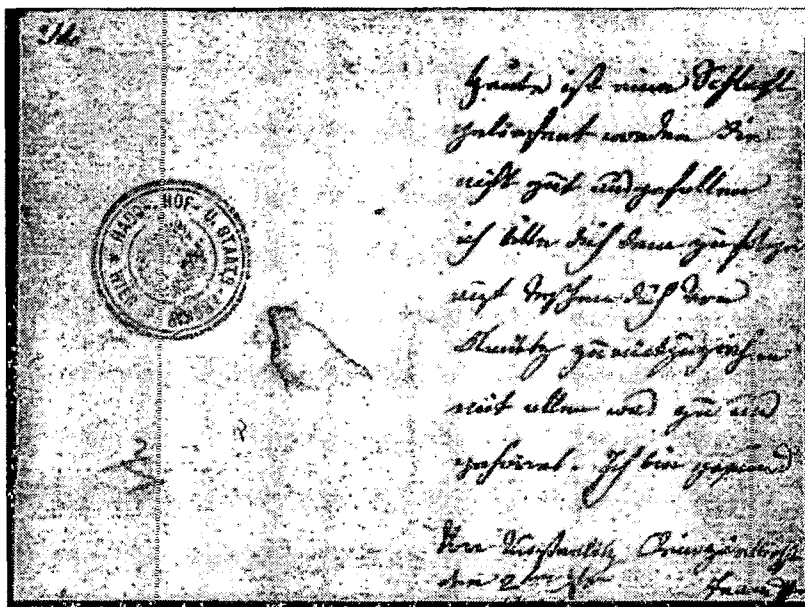
WALTER CONSUELO LANGSAM.

Union College.

¹ E. Wertheimer, *Die drei ersten Frauen des Kaisers Franz* (Leipzig, 1893), p. 60.

² Vienna, Haus-Hof- und Staats-Archiv, Haus-Archiv, vol. 266, f. 71.

³ Quoted in Wertheimer, p. 64.



REVIEWS OF BOOKS

GENERAL HISTORY

A History of Social Philosophy. By CHARLES A. ELLWOOD, Professor of Sociology, Duke University. (New York: Prentice-Hall, 1938. Pp. xiv, 581. \$2.60.)

THIS book is designed primarily for students of sociology, but its subject, as a phase of intellectual history, has an interest for historians as well. The author has brought together sketches of the lives and writings of almost fifty theorists from Socrates to Lester F. Ward, criticizing their contributions from the standpoint of a cultural sociologist—with the conviction, namely, that society must be interpreted in terms of man's entire cultural past. He therefore takes issue with what he considers the "one-sided" views of Marx, the racial and geographical determinists, and others. Accordingly one might expect more attention to historical circumstances than Professor Ellwood bestows; his belief, however, is that "social thinking has developed, not so much upon the basis of the general conditions of civilization as upon the basis of traditions in social thinking and the genius of exceptional minds".

The book contains few unfamiliar names. A professed history of social philosophy, however, might grant at least passing reference to a number of figures who are strikingly absent. To vault from Adam Ferguson to Herbert Spencer without a side-glance at Malthus, Godwin, or even Bentham is hardly excused by the statement that England produced no first-rate social philosopher in the interval. We would also gladly exchange Professor Ellwood's Paul von Lilienfeld for some notice of Thorstein Veblen. Even the "passional" theories of Fourier, pointing (in spite of their fantastic expression) toward modern social psychology, perhaps deserve a line or two.

The author lets slip several unguarded statements which doubtless say more than he intends: "Culturally the Middle Ages were a period of profound reversion toward barbarism, especially in southern Europe, where Greek and Roman learning for a time almost disappeared. As northern Europe had never had any high culture, we can hardly speak of reversion there"; Voltaire was "a literary man, and . . . on account of this, as well as on account of his time and place he almost necessarily lacked profundity"; Adam Smith considered mercantile regulations "altogether unwise" (he supported the Navigation Act, however, in the interest of national defense). Certain other errors of omission and commission should be corrected. Herbert Spencer, for example, limited his defense of private property to movables; land, he thought, properly belonged to the community. James

Harrington is mentioned only as a Utopian; his doctrine that political power depends on the possession of property—which better than anything else would justify his inclusion in a work of this kind—is omitted.

On the whole this book conveniently summarizes many salient ideas of a group of notable thinkers from 400 B. C. to about 1900. Although Professor Ellwood's own opinions are clearly in evidence throughout, his statement of the views of others seems to be impartial so far as it goes. The style, though hardly vivid, is terse, unpretentious, and happily free from most of the trying terminology which many social scientists think it necessary to employ.

New York University.

DONALD O. WAGNER.

Quantulacumque. Studies presented to Kirsopp Lake by Pupils, Colleagues, and Friends. Edited by ROBERT P. CASEY, SILVA LAKE, and AGNES K. LAKE. (London: Christophers. 1937. Pp. viii, 367. 21s.)

THIS ably edited and well-illustrated book comprises thirty-five papers in various fields of scholarship. Among the papers on classical and archaeological subjects Bonner's "The Sibyl and Bottle Imps" suggests that a folklore theme plays a part in the legend of the Sibyl confined in an ampulla. Broughton's "Three Notes on Saint Paul's Journeys in Asia Minor" is an excellent contribution to the topography of Asia Minor and the Roman road system there. Miss Halstead's "Paul in the Agora" gives a hypothetical picture of the buildings St. Paul must have seen in Athens and embodies the results of the recent American excavations. Goodenough studies Philo's mystic interpretation of Jewish festivals in "Literal Mystery in Hellenistic Judaism", while Agnes Lake proves, I believe conclusively, in "The Supplicatio and Graecus Ritus" that the *supplicatio* was a native Roman rite, free from Greek elements. Professor Lily Ross Taylor, in "A Sellisternium on the Parthenon Frieze?", rejects Furtwängler's interpretation of the figures on the left in the central relief of the East frieze of the Parthenon. In her opinion the scene does represent the delivery of the peplos: the robe "was to be used as drapery for one of the chairs of the gods" (p. 257).

Father Vincent, in an excellent paper on the origins of Christian architecture, points out that the initial Christian architecture "n'évolua point sur un type de commande". Its first official monuments "dans l'ère constantinienne, eurent une originalité beaucoup plus puissante que la doctrine archéologique reçue jusqu'ici ne leur en attribuait" (p. 55).

As was to be expected in a volume in honor of Professor Kirsopp Lake, many papers deal with Biblical criticism and palaeography, both Greek and Latin. Among these Cadbury's "Rebuttal: A Submerged Motive in the Gospels" and Casey's "Some Remarks on Formgeschichtliche Methode" deal with the application of *Formgeschichte* to the Gospel material. Sanders, with his usual skill, publishes a third century papyrus of Matthew and

Acts, while Hatch, in his paper "A Redating of Two Important Uncial Manuscripts of the Gospels", employing the textual and palaeographical lines of investigation, points out that the Codex Zacynthius was written at the beginning of the sixth century and not, as has been believed, in the eighth, while the Codex Cyprius was copied about 1000.

One interested in Latin palaeography ought not to miss the paper of the master palaeographer, Lowe, dealing with the later history of the Codex Cavensis, one of the oldest manuscripts of the Bible, and scholars interested in textual criticism will find much suggestive material in Pernot's essay, "Que vaut notre text des évangiles?", and in "Remarks on the Prophetologion" by Höeg and Zuntz. The latter especially will be of importance to Byzantinists, since the edition of the *Prophetologion* which the authors propose is to form a part of the *Monumenta musicae Byzantinae*, a field rather neglected.

Space does not permit mention of the other contributions, and the reviewer could not do justice to some of them because of his lack of knowledge of Aramaic, Armenian, Georgian, and Syriac. He hopes, however, to have succeeded in pointing out the unusual wealth of information contained in this volume, worthy of presentation to a great scholar.

Hunter College.

JACOB HAMMER.

The Puritans. By PERRY MILLER, Harvard University, and THOMAS H. JOHNSON, Lawrenceville School. [American Literature Series.] (New York: American Book Company. 1938. Pp. xvi, 846. \$4.00.)

Puritanism and Liberty: Being the Army Debates, 1647-49, from the Clarke Manuscripts, with Supplementary Documents. Selected and edited with an Introduction by A. S. P. WOODHOUSE. (London: J. M. Dent and Sons. 1938. Pp. 506. 18s.)

MUCH has been said first and last about Puritanism, but too little attention has hitherto been paid to what Puritans themselves actually said about themselves. For such neglect there has come to be less and less excuse. Each of these volumes makes available a well-edited body of material illustrating Puritan thought and expression at different but not unrelated points in the Puritan movement.

The first presents writings of the first hundred years of New England in the perspective which has been so authoritatively set forth by S. E. Morison in his studies of the history of Harvard and by Professor Miller himself in his *Orthodoxy in Massachusetts*. In the present volume Professor Miller supplies a closely packed general introduction which gives obvious forecast of a larger work on New England intellectual history. His approach is surely the only sound approach to an understanding of the subject. New England was established under the immediate personal direction of men of learning and intellect, heirs both of the Renaissance and the Reformation,

men reared in the prevailing doctrines of the English Church, in the knowledge of the scriptures and the classics, and in the traditional dialectic of the schools as it had been modified, particularly at Cambridge where most of them were educated, under the influence of Ramus. Professor Miller's account of the Ramean logic in England is especially valuable. The Puritans came to this country intending to set up a theocratic Utopia. They failed to fasten theocracy upon the life of the new world, but in the attempt they transmitted the intellectual culture of their class and time, a desire and respect for knowledge, the habit of reading and of casting thought into words, a scheme of education which assumed the supreme importance of the scriptures and the classics and the usefulness of the art of discourse. One of the first tasks to which the Puritans addressed themselves upon arriving in America was the production of a literature. William Brewster at Plymouth soon began to assemble a library and William Bradford to write a book, one of the most fascinating ever written on American soil. Before a hundred years had passed, there had been put into writing in New England an extraordinary record of spiritual adventure and of colonial enterprise.

It is this literature which is represented by the seven hundred pages of selections here placed before us. They are drawn first of all, of course, from sermons, but also from the chronicles and histories, the letters, journals, and lives, the poetry, and the many tracts and pamphlets in which the Puritan mind poured itself out. Some of this writing, notably the poetry, is very bad. Some of it, especially some of the sermons and diaries, is extremely good of its kind. Little of it fails to reflect the intense vitality of the Puritan spirit and way of life. The selections are classified partly according to form and partly according to subject matter. There is an excellent bibliography which should be useful to students of Puritanism in general as well as of its New England phase.

In *Puritanism and Liberty* A. S. P. Woodhouse supplies a new edition of the short-hand accounts preserved in the Clarke Papers at Worcester College, Oxford, of the debates which, between the autumn of 1647 and the execution of Charles I in 1649, took place among the soldiers and officers of the Puritan army. These have been previously edited by Sir Charles Harding Firth for the Camden Society (1891-1901). Professor Woodhouse supplies a fuller transcription and more intelligible text, based upon a fresh collation of the manuscript with the text of Firth. Spelling and punctuation have been modernized. The editor also supplies nearly three hundred pages of selections from contemporary documents and pamphlets most of which have not hitherto been generally accessible. These illustrate further the revolutionary discussions of which the army debates were but a part. A long introductory essay comments illuminatingly upon the emergence in these debates and in the whirling pamphlets of the time of ideas of political liberty, so familiar in later times, out of religious ideas which now seem strange indeed.

Professor Woodhouse shows how deeply our notions of democracy are rooted in the popular religion of the Puritan age. The elect, the recipients of grace, were free from the consequences of sin, equal before God, set apart from the world but at the same time appointed to make God's word known and his will to prevail in the world. The campaign for the holy community was initiated and always in its more disciplined phases controlled by the ministerial caste. Its undoing, however, was the effect of the ministers' success. The better they did their work of bringing the gospel to the people, the greater grew the number of those who deemed themselves of the elect. On the one hand the holy community flew apart into a multitude of sects deviating in varying degrees from orthodoxy. On the other hand the multitude of saints of all persuasions naturally moved toward the belief that the multitude was saved, that the people were somehow elected by God to be free and equal and to rule not only the congregation of believers but the realm of England. Yet between the theocracy of the Puritan Brahmins and the democracy of the Levellers and agitators in Cromwell's army there were many stages. Men found themselves being swept along strange roads they had themselves chosen farther than they had thought it possible to go, and then having to make a stand against others who had come thus far only to insist that all must go much farther yet. There is no more fascinating chapter in the history of ideas. Professor Woodhouse has done well to bring together in such convenient form so much material for the study of it.

Barnard College.

WILLIAM HALLER.

Die Propaganda Thomas Paines während des Amerikanischen Unabhängigkeitskampfes. Von Dr. RUDOLF BÖHRINGER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin: Junker und Dünhaupt. 1938. Pp. 105. 4.80 M.)

Thomas Paine, America's First Liberal. By S. M. BERTHOLD. (Boston: Meador Publishing Company. 1938. Pp. 264. \$2.00.)

Thomas Paine, Liberator. By FRANK SMITH. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1938. Pp. 338. \$3.00.)

THESE three works testify to the evergrowing literature on the greatest pamphleteer America has yet produced. Although Paine played a prominent role in the American Revolution and the French Revolution and made the most effective answer to Burke's *Reflections on the French Revolution*, respectable historians have, until the last half century, either neglected him or damned him. Their opinion was expressed by Theodore Roosevelt in 1887 when he characterized Paine as a "filthy little atheist". This, however, was before Moncure Conway published his eulogistic two-volume *Life of Thomas Paine* in 1892, followed by four volumes of Paine's writings. Since then Paine has been shown as a founding father of this country and a great international democrat, as well as a deeply religious person. The bicentennial of his birth, in 1937, was marked by national celebrations. Unfortunately

little has been added to our knowledge of Paine since Conway's volumes appeared, and Conway has been used as the main if not the only source by most of the subsequent writers.

Dr. Böhringer's monograph can be quickly dismissed. It is an attempt to show the causes of Paine's great success as a pamphleteer by examining his style of writing. Such studies may be useful pursuits for candidates for the doctor's degree in English, but the mechanical procedures employed inevitably leave the reader as unenlightened at the end as at the beginning.

S. M. Berthold's *Thomas Paine, America's First Liberal*, is a very uncritical eulogistic study. It is substantially a crude summary of Conway's *Life* with two chapters added in the nature of digressions, entitled "Present vs. 18th Century Dictators" and "Paine vs. Rousseau". There is also an appendix devoted to quotations from Paine's works and testimonials of Paine's importance from public figures, including Thomas A. Edison and Elbert Hubbard.

Professor Smith's *Thomas Paine, Liberator* is a book of a different order. The author has not been content with the existing information on Paine. Readers of the magazine *American Literature* are already acquainted with his scholarly articles on the subject. Though Professor Smith is more a student of American literature than of history, he has succeeded in producing by far the best account of Paine since Conway's study. It is not only well organized and well written, but it displays an intimate knowledge of the exciting surroundings in which Paine lived and wrote. The discussion of Paine's youth and early manhood in England is perhaps too sketchy, and the discussion of his activities in the American Revolutionary War period follows well-worn paths; but the reader is more than compensated by the detailed analysis of Paine's later activities in France and England.

Paine emerges from these pages as a great figure, but there is less than usual of the attitude that he was a knight in shining armor continually engaged in fighting to spread democracy throughout the world and ever ready to sacrifice interest for principle. Neither does the author present all of Paine's opponents as having sinister motives. Paine is shown as not always being in liberal political company and as having acquiesced in the policies of political allies, even though they struck at his formal democratic principles.

This is by no means, however, a definitive study of Paine. It is especially deficient in adequate analysis of his underlying economics. Like all the outstanding political figures and writers of his age, Paine based his politics on a clear-cut set of economic arguments, but students of Paine have tended to ignore them or to justify them uncritically.

Professor Smith gives more space to these issues than do other accounts, and he throws out significant leads but fails to develop them. Thus he declares that Paine was no economic radical and that "the idealism of the revolutionary epoch", which his work so effectively embodied, "was in the last

analysis the individualistic idealism of an aggressive middle class seeking to wrest freedom and political power from a stagnant aristocracy". Had Professor Smith followed out these leads consistently, he would not have found it necessary to explain away Paine's defense of the Bank of North America. Paine's *Rights of Man* and his other significant works would have received an emphasis far different from the traditional one. Furthermore, Professor Smith might have been led to give more than cursory attention to Paine's views and activities in the United States after his return from France. As it is, he ignores Paine's imperialistic bias regarding the West and Latin America, and he refers but casually to Paine's great faith in indentured servitude.

The omission of sources used and of an index is regrettable. The book, however, should stimulate further investigations not only into Paine's life and the revolutionary era but into the shifting meaning of the concept of "democracy" since Paine's time.

Columbia University.

JOSEPH DOREMAN.

Archivo del General Miranda. Edited by VICENTE DÁVILA. Fourteen volumes. (Caracas: Editorial Sur-America. 1929-1933. Pp. xiii, 439; xvi, 476; xxv, 462; xxxii, 444; xxx, 465; xxi, 494; xvi, 513; xxii, 467; xxvii, 457; xxvii, 473; xix, 477; xlii, 480; xli, 483; xxxiii, 502.)

DURING investigations which the reviewer carried on in the British Public Record Office in 1902 he found documents which convinced him that an extensive and valuable collection of manuscripts gathered by Francisco de Miranda during a long and romantic career had been sent by British colonial officials from Curaçao to London in July, 1812. These papers had been packed in three black leather trunks and forwarded from La Guayra to Curaçao at the very time when Dictator Miranda surrendered to the Spanish royalists. Diligent search in the archives of the British government disclosed that these precious memorabilia had passed into the hands of Earl Bathurst, then secretary of state for war and the colonies. There is no doubt that the Miranda Manuscripts remained in the custody of the secretariat of war and the colonies for some years. After Bathurst went out of office the manuscripts were transported to his residence in Cirencester, Gloucestershire. In 1922, by the kind permission of a later Lord Bathurst, the writer was allowed to examine this collection, and he immediately identified it as being the long-lost archives of the precursor of the independence of Spanish America. Upon becoming aware of the existence of these archives, which Miranda had bequeathed to his native land, the government of Venezuela purchased them for £3000 and placed them in the custody of the Academia nacional de la historia at Caracas. At the instance of General Juan Vicente Gómez this academy appointed a committee headed by Dr. Vicente Dávila to direct the publication of the documents.

Before Miranda's departure from England for Venezuela in 1810, he

had had his manuscripts bound in leather in sixty-three folio volumes. This collection was composed of three series. A series of twenty-six volumes contained documents dealing with his travels. A second series of eighteen volumes was made up of papers relating to his activities in France during the revolutionary era. A third series of nineteen volumes, several of which bore the designation "Negociations", included documents concerning the revolutionizing of the Spanish Indies.

In the volumes under review there are printed a multitude of manuscripts preserved in the first two series of the Miranda collection. Volumes I to VII inclusive contain diaries, letters, and other documents, which are more or less concerned with Miranda's career in the New World and in the Old from 1750 to 1805. Among these manuscripts are documents regarding his military service in Spain, Africa, and the West Indies; the diary of his tour of the United States (already edited by the reviewer and printed by the Hispanic Society of America); and various letters and diaristic fragments concerning his remarkable tour of Europe, during which he visited England, Holland, Prussia, Austria, Italy, Turkey, Russia, Sweden, Denmark, Switzerland, and France. Volumes VIII to XIV contain documents concerning Miranda's experiences in France during the years from 1792 to 1797. Among the topics illuminated by these papers are his entry into the French military service, his meteoric career during the campaign in Belgium under General Dumouriez, his recall from service and trial for treason before the Revolutionary Tribunal, and his relations with French and Spanish American revolutionaries.

It is scarcely necessary to say that these volumes contain a wealth of material about divers matters of importance in American and European history. Many of the documents relate either to the American Revolution or to the French Revolution. Important though they are, yet they are of less interest to students of Miranda's career as a promotor of Spanish American independence than the third series of these documents, now being published by the Venezuelan government, which deal more directly with his efforts to cut the Spanish Indies adrift from the motherland.

University of Illinois.

WILLIAM SPENCE ROBERTSON.

La storia come pensiero e come azione. By BENEDETTO CROCE. [Saggi Filosofici.] (Bari: Gius. Laterza & Figli. 1938. Pp. viii, 329. 30 l.)

This volume presents Croce's theory of historical knowledge in a more adequate and interesting form than did *History: Its Theory and Practice*. To be sure, the systematic connections between Croce's theory of history and his other philosophic views are less clear in this volume than in its predecessor. This deficiency, however, is more than compensated for by the new wealth of illustrative material which he brings to his exposition. A reader acquainted with Croce's earlier work will find two new points of

emphasis in the present book: first, a greater concern with the metaphysics of historical experience as opposed to the problem of the objectivity of historical knowledge; second, more frequent references to problems of ethics and to political ideals. The latter passages show the *modus vivendi* which Croce has worked out with respect to contemporary social conflicts.

The book is divided into a series of brief essays which are grouped around such problems as "history as thought and as action", "historicism and its history", "certainty and historical truth", "historiography and politics", "historiography and the moral". In these essays, as in his earlier works, no real demonstrations of his contentions are to be found. Croce is one of those philosophers who, starting from a few basic presuppositions, pronounce but do not demonstrate the truth of their views. There are no painstaking analyses of the actual historical enterprise, such as Croce with his immense erudition and his own accomplishments in the field should be able to furnish. One feels that his presuppositions have been gathered solely from previous philosophic disputation and have never been sufficiently tested against the material which they purport to explain. Thus, for example, Croce rejects all causal explanation in history because of his view that causation is "naturalistic"; he never attempts to demonstrate that, in fact, historians do not (or should not) use the concept of causation. That they should not do so is simply an article of Croce's metaphysical faith.

What is the case with regard to causation is likewise the case with regard to Croce's other basic presuppositions. His metaphysical denial that man ever thinks "falsely" fails to conform with even his own critical statements, for example, with those concerning the interpretation of Vico's thought. Such contradictions between Croce's theory and actual historiographical practice are far more evident in this than in his previous work. For this reason, as well as for his more concrete discussions of historicism and the metaphysics of historical experience, historians would be well advised to study this new work.

Swarthmore College.

MAURICE MANDELBAUM.

ANCIENT AND MEDIEVAL HISTORY

An Economic Survey of Ancient Rome. Edited by TENNEY FRANK *et al.* Volume IV: *Roman Africa*, by R. M. HAYWOOD; *Roman Syria*, by F. M. HEICHELHEIM; *Roman Greece*, by J. A. O. LARSEN; *Roman Asia*, by T. R. S. BROUGHTON. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. vi, 950. \$5.00.)

THIS penultimate installment of the *Economic Survey* deserves a hearty welcome. If it exceeds its immediate predecessor in bulk, this is in part because all the countries treated in it were annexed by Rome in Republican

times, so that proportionately more space had to be devoted to the pre-Augustan period than in Volume III. There is also an increase in size because two of the contributors, Mr. Larsen and Mr. Broughton, have included a good deal of political and military history in the introductory chapters of their sections. Comparison of this volume with Volume III brings home to one how great a part chance has played in the matter of surviving evidence. Thus, in Volume III Mr. Van Nostrand was able to give the reader a fairly full account of mining as practiced in Spain. In Volume IV Mr. Larsen and Mr. Broughton do their best with the evidence for mining in Greece, Macedonia, and Asia Minor, but all there is to record about the subject in the three countries fills barely three pages.

Mr. Heichelheim's section on Syria, through no fault of his own, is briefer than the subject deserves, and the general editor apologizes for this. Even so, an astonishing amount of material has been compressed into 130 pages, though it is legitimate to ask what place paragraphs on education and amusements have in an economic history. A very valuable feature is the extensive use that has been made of the Babylonian Talmud and other Jewish sources, and the way in which these at times correct or amplify the Graeco-Roman evidence is exceedingly enlightening. Anyone who is disposed uncritically to sing the praises of the *pax romana* would do well to study pages 231-45 and there to learn what a crushing burden of taxation was placed upon the inhabitants of the Near East.

Mr. Larsen's account of Macedonia and Greece is characterized by the meticulous accuracy and sane judgment that all who know his work have learned to expect of him. For example, in his detailed treatment of the economic life of Delos he not only summarizes admirably the available evidence, but he corrects earlier investigators on a number of points and adds new and instructive suggestions of his own. In general his survey supports the view that although Greece went through a prolonged depression, this was not as extreme as many of the literary sources suggest, whereas the recovery in the late first and early second century was substantial and endured for some time. Seeing that he has given us so much, it may seem greedy to ask for more; but the one general criticism that the reviewer would make of this section is that the third century of our era has been skimmed.

Mr. Haywood's contribution is more vulnerable to criticism. He has handled certain portions of his subject very well, for instance, the commerce in Africa and the group of documents concerned with the imperial estates there. But our information is far too incomplete to justify his categorical assertion (p. 101) that the requirement of a certain number of days' free labor from the tenants of those estates was peculiar to that region. Indeed, Mr. Broughton later in the book (p. 692) suggests that the custom may have existed, for a while at least, in Asia. It may be doubted whether

Mr. Haywood has always made the fullest use of the literary and epigraphic evidence. Thus the slave labor in a mill so brutally portrayed by Apuleius (*Metamorphoses*, 9, 12) deserved mention in chapter 2, paragraph 5, as did, in the previous paragraph or earlier, Suetonius Paulinus's exploration of the territory stretching southwards of the Atlas Mountains (Pliny, *Natural History*, 5, 14), unless we are to assume that the expedition had no economic purpose or results whatever. This, however, is unlikely, as Suetonius brought back information about the flora and fauna of the regions that he traversed. Mr. Haywood refers in passing to *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*, VIII, 18587, but the important inscription, *C.I.L.*, VIII, 2728, is ignored. In fact he says very little about water supply and irrigation, although this was at all times a vital problem in a province like Africa. This omission is the more noticeable because Mr. Heichelheim devotes several pages to the problem as it affected Syria. Finally, one would like to know why Mr. Haywood's section is the only one in the book for which no bibliography is provided.

Mr. Broughton had a peculiarly difficult task, partly because of the copious evidence, partly because of the intricate questions involved. Inasmuch as he has brought together an enormous quantity of information, he may be said to have succeeded in his task. From another point of view, however, it might be argued that he has at times permitted himself to become submerged under the mass of material that he has worked through. In consequence it is not always easy to follow in his pages the main lines of economic development and decline in Asia Minor. Since his contribution, valuable as it is, is essentially a *repertorium* of facts and figures, it at least needed a full index in order to give it the maximum value for students.

Our final criticism—and it is a serious one for a work of this kind—is that none of the four indexes in this volume is in the least adequate, either for proper names or for subjects. Earlier volumes have shown the same weakness. Is it too much to hope that when the *Economic Survey* has been completed a supplementary volume, containing a full and reliable *index generalis* for the whole work, may be published? The undertaking as a whole is good enough to deserve it.

Cornell University.

M. L. W. LAISTNER.

The Mediterranean World in Ancient Times. By EVA MATTHEWS SANFORD, Assistant Professor of History, Sweet Briar College. (New York: Ronald Press Company. 1938. Pp. xxi, 618. \$4.50.)

The Ancient World. By WALLACE EVERETT CALDWELL, Professor of Ancient History, The University of North Carolina. (New York: Farrar and Rinehart. 1937. Pp. xvii, 590. \$3.75.)

PROFESSOR Sanford has set herself the task of presenting "the ancient Mediterranean world as a whole, with emphasis on the controlling factors

in its development at successive periods" (p. iii). To this end she has broken with the traditional tripartite division of ancient history into the ancient Near East, the Greek world, and Rome in favor of what she calls "a more unified plan which has been found practicable in actual teaching" (*ibid.*). Unfortunately this plan, which is to present the fundamental problems of antiquity as a single process, does not make for the lucidity which is so important for the meagerly prepared reader whom the author certainly has in mind; and although the proportioning of the work is in general satisfactory, the treatment of certain phases of the ancient world leaves much to be desired—for instance, that of the Hellenic World. Occasionally the book becomes a veritable labyrinth in which the reader is sure to lose his way. The author's experiment seems to confirm the advantage of the traditional plan.

Obviously, one cannot expect in a book of this type and scope a thorough analysis of the many controversial questions of ancient history. One regrets, nevertheless, that when the author occasionally touches upon a controversy she limits herself to a fleeting casual remark which does not arouse the reader's suspicion of the existence of other points of view. One example will suffice: speaking of the *Constitutio Antoniniana* (pp. 537-38), the author identifies the *dediticii* who remained debarred from Roman citizenship with the "lower classes on the estates of Egypt and Asia . . . and the barbarians settled as *coloni* within the frontiers", without mentioning the complicated controversies aroused by the Papyrus Giessen 40.

The value of such a book depends in great measure on its illustrative material. The illustrations scattered throughout this volume make a very favorable impression, although some changes would be desirable. The selection of reproductions of Cretan art—plates 14-16—could be revised to offer more typical examples; it is regrettable that the author reproduces on plate 36 only the head of the Delphic Charioteer; there is a mistake in the explanation of the Erechtheum on plate 12, where the western and not the northern façade is seen. On the whole, however, the book surpasses others treating similar material by reason of its illustrations, the quality of which is excellent. The suggestions given in the well-classified reading lists are practical and helpful.

Professor Caldwell adheres rigidly to the traditional scheme in explaining the facts and factors in the rise of Western civilization in antiquity. In general his presentation is very well balanced, with the exception perhaps of the concluding chapter, "The Last Century of the Roman Empire (180-305 A. D.)", which is somewhat truncated; such important events as the barbarian invasions and the spread of Christianity, as well as the destiny of the Eastern Empire, are dealt with in a too summary fashion. It is unreasonable to expect absolute accuracy in a textbook, but even the reviewer who revels in tracking down errors could find little to complain of. Caldwell

does not always live up to his promise to explain technical expressions: how many readers, for example, will understand the difference between the barrel vaults and the groined vaults (p. 496)? The selection of the illustrations is quite satisfactory, though their usefulness would be increased if references to them were given in the text. It would be more accurate to speak of placing cinerary urns in *columbaria* than in catacombs (p. 491). In the word *fascias* (pp. 175, 177) the italics should be omitted, or the Latin form *fasciae* should be used. These random minor *corrigenda* do not detract, however, from the intrinsic value of the book.

The University of Nebraska.

MICHAEL GINSBURG.

A History of the Expansion of Christianity. By KENNETH SCOTT LATOURETTE, D. Willis James Professor of Missions and Oriental History in Yale University. Volume I, *The First Five Centuries*; Volume II, *The Thousand Years of Uncertainty, A.D. 500-A.D. 1500*. (New York: Harper and Brothers. 1937; 1938. Pp. xxiv, 412; ix, 492. \$3.50 each.)

THESE are the first two volumes in a projected series of six, in which Professor Latourette has set himself the enormous and unprecedented task of writing the history of the spread of the Christian faith to all parts of the world from the days of the apostles to the present. A third volume will cover the period from 1500 to 1800 A.D., and the remaining half of the work will be devoted to the revival and expansion of Christianity in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.

It would be impossible to find a scholar better qualified than Professor Latourette to undertake so exacting a task. Himself a Protestant missionary in his early life and "still an active participant in Christian missionary enterprises", he has, as he states in his preface, "for more than twenty-five years lived with the pertinent material". At the same time he is a trained historian, bringing modern critical methods into his work and sternly resisting any temptation to appeal to miracle, allegory, or theological metaphysics to solve the manifold difficulties which fidelity to the canons of historical criticism creates for the avowed Christian believer. It is no reflection on the author's integrity that he avoids these difficulties by sticking closely to the factual history of the spread of the religion, eschewing any discussion of Christian dogmas or of the history of the Church in its conflicts with heresy, schism, science, rationalism, and the political powers of the world. Indeed, he is even loath to say that the introduction of Christianity into this or that part of the world was a blessing or that it was due primarily to Christianity that the social level in such a region was raised. He only describes, with great learning and a fascinating style, the process of the penetration of the Christian faith from the Mediterranean basin into the hinterland of Europe, the vast realms of Asia, the dark places of Africa, and the lands beyond the great oceans.

In these first two volumes the author follows a scheme which he presumably means to carry through his work. He undertakes to answer seven questions which he poses in his introduction: What is the essence of Christianity in its manifold forms? Why did it spread so persistently? What reverses did it meet with (in Islam, the defection of western and central Asia, the apostasy of modern Russia)? What methods of propagation did it use? What was the effect of Christianity upon its environment? What was the effect of the environment upon Christianity? How far may the conditions of medieval and modern Europe be ascribed to the spread of the Christian religion? In one or two places Professor Latourette hints that after his present purely descriptive task is finished he may undertake the philosophical synthesis of the scientific and the Christian points of view which he "is convinced" is possible.

We cannot quarrel with Professor Latourette for choosing to confine himself to the processes and the results of the spread of Christianity; nor can we deny his allegation that an appraisal of the "moral and social quality of the effects as they are enumerated and described" would "require many more pages than can be properly crowded into this book"; nevertheless, we cannot avoid the feeling that Hamlet has been left out of the play when the author (I, 242) "contents himself with the rôle of the recorder who endeavours to avoid an estimate of the ethical and social worth of what he observes".

Columbia University.

D. S. MUZZEY.

Istoria Românilor. By CONSTANTINE C. GIURESCU. Volume I, to 1432; Volume II (in 2 parts), to 1601. (Bucharest: Carol II Foundation for Literature and Art. 1935; 1937. Pp. 586; 793.)

THE postwar period has witnessed a remarkable intellectual revival in Rumania, fostered by the keen interest and lavish financial support of King Carol, whose Carol II Foundation for Literature and Art publishes many monographs and new editions under the general direction of Professor Alex. Rosetti of the University of Bucharest. In the field of history Rumanian scholarship could already point to several excellent general works, notably those of Xenopol and Onciul and particularly the voluminous publications of Nicholas Iorga, whose *History of Roumania* was published in English in 1925. But these were felt by the younger school of Rumanian historians to represent too traditional and sometimes too patriotically biased an attitude. Notable among the latter is Giurescu.

In this history of the Rumanians by Giurescu we have a new scientific synthesis of Rumanian history. We can only indicate some of the more valuable features of this monumental work. Each chapter is provided with an excellent bibliography; and even if one does not know Rumanian, the abundant illustrations are mainly self-explanatory and illuminating.

Giurescu was a pupil of the great archaeologist Pârvan, and his treatment of the Dacians rests on thorough field work as well as literary sources; it results in a proud conviction that the Rumanians are the oldest people in southeastern Europe, since their Getan ancestors can be traced back to 1800 B.C., and also that they were the earliest to be Christianized. As regards the vexed question whether the Roman settlers left with the legions in 271-75 A.D., Giurescu points out that the Latin-speaking peasantry remained in Lombardy, Gaul, and Spain under the Germanic invaders, and that the persistence of a Romance language out there by the Black Sea indicates continuity.

The Rumanian plains were a highway for barbarian invasions; Giurescu tabulates the cultural and linguistic contributions from Slav, Cuman, Avar, Hungarian, and Tartar, all of whom left their mark on the life and speech of the Rumanian farmer and shepherd. These chapters give a vivid presentation of medieval *Kulturgeschichte* in the Balkan region. Giurescu has braved obloquy in Rumania by emphasizing that "rumân", which means "Rumanian", is the regular term for a landless serf; the serf who obtains his liberty "scapă de rumănie", i.e., "escapes from being Rumanian"; even the designation "vlah" (Wallach) occurs in documents as an equivalent of "serf", and its Hungarian form, "olah", has been for centuries a Magyar term of opprobrium, like "dago". Nevertheless the fundamental toughness of these descendants of the Romans carried them through. There was a Balkan Bulgarian-Rumanian kingdom from 1197 to 1258, extending from Belgrade and Adrianople to Durazzo and including most of Macedonia, Serbia, Albania, and Thrace; and by 1324 a Rumanian state had already arisen in Transylvania and Wallachia under Basarab (from whom Bessarabia takes its name). Nominally a vovodate under Hungarian overlordship, it followed its own path, as did the sister state, Moldavia, established about 1350 by the Hungarians as a bulwark against the Tartars. Wallachia enjoyed able rulers for over a century, from Basarab to Mircea the Old. They saved their state from the Turkish absorption which swallowed up Bulgaria, Serbia, and eventually Hungary itself. From this point on, sources abound. Giurescu's second volume carries the account in great detail and judicious presentation up to the seventeenth century, and the volumes in press and in preparation will bring the story up to 1919. Giurescu has informed me that he plans to bring out a résumé of the whole in French, German, or English, but hardly before 1943.

The appearance of this bold new synthesis of Rumanian history occasioned violent attacks from the older school, headed by Iorga. Giurescu had pilloried Iorga's *History of Roumania* in his *O Nouă Sinteză a Trecutului Nostru*, Bucharest, 1932, reprinted from the *Revista Istorică Română*, 1931-32. Iorga was savage in his criticism of Giurescu's first volume, and Giurescu replied with an article in the *Revista* (1935), reissued in pamphlet

form, *In Legătură cu "Istoria Românilor"* (1936); this controversy is a valuable and interesting study for the historiographer. Iorga and his adherents have kept up the attacks, both in Iorga's own paper and in the Nationalist *Universul*, the campaign even at times including Professor Rosetti and the Carol II Foundation, but they seem to have quieted down in recent months. It is significant that this dispute caused such widespread public interest, and that the generous printings of the first editions were rapidly exhausted. Anyone will understand it who consults these handsome and authoritative volumes; whoever can read Italian or Spanish and has access to a Rumanian dictionary can enjoy this admirable introduction to the historical development of the leading state in Southeastern Europe.

The City College, New York.

CHARLES UPSON CLARK.

Geography in the Middle Ages. By GEORGE H. T. KIMBLE. (London: Methuen and Company. 1938. Pp. x, 272. 15s.)

MEDIEVAL geography is a fascinating subject, as readers of the great works of Beazley and La Roncière are aware. This little volume is written in a clear literary style, so that it is readable and interesting. At times, however, it is difficult to find the antecedent for a pronoun, and at page 56 the expression, "an interesting sidelight upon the breadth of the writer's outlook", is bewildering. The book is quite attractively printed and illustrated, although most of the medieval maps have had to be so reduced in size that their legends are scarcely legible. The author aims to write the history of geographical thought rather than that of geographical exploration and to bring out "the contribution of the Middle Ages to the advance of geographical studies". He has perhaps covered the literature on the subject as fully and in as much detail as could be expected in a book of this size. One consults the index in vain, however, for such names and topics as Alfonso X, Clavius, Commerce or Trade, Duhem, Francesch des Valers, John of Gmunden, Nicholas of Cusa, Leonardus Qualea, Astronomical Tables, or Tabriz. Some additions to the bibliography might be suggested, notably, *Bibliographie des livres parus de 1912 à 1931 sur les grands voyages et les grandes découvertes depuis le X^e siècle jusqu'à la circumnavigation du monde par Magellan en 1519.*

The arrangement of the text in topical chapters which perforce cut across the chronological sequence occasions difficulties. The introduction of the compass is not discussed until almost the end of the book, and expansion into Africa is considered before expansion into Asia. Some topics like the Antipodes are split up between several chapters. Perhaps because he has forgotten his own order of chapters, the author sometimes introduces a fact for the first time as if it were already familiar. Neither Genoa nor Venice is mentioned in the chapter on the renaissance of geographical studies in Christendom, but for the first time in the following chapter on Africa.

The general background of intellectual history against which the author sets his account of geographical thought and knowledge is one with which I found myself seldom in agreement. His remarks regarding humanism and science and the Greeks and the Renaissance at pages 206-207 are almost entirely wrong. He indulges in a great deal too much unsubstantiated talk about the church stifling thought. His own statements in this regard are inconsistent. At page 87 he says that Roger Bacon "is careful not to offend the susceptibilities of the Church by postulating an antipodal landmass", yet on the very next page he quotes Roger as speaking of land in the southern hemisphere. At page 37 he states: "By the eighth century the Church appears to have largely forgotten its earlier doubts about the shape of the earth and to have accepted the saner opinions of the Ancients." Yet at page 149 he asserts: "Orthodoxy prescribed the acceptance of very definite ideas concerning the shape, movement and peopling of the earth", a statement which he does not prove and which has never been satisfactorily substantiated to my knowledge.

The author also seems too inclined to suggest questionable ideological grounds for what can be much more simply and satisfactorily accounted for by external conditions and opportunities. At page 48 he has himself recognized that "with the vast extension of their empire, the Weltanschauung of the Arabs was necessarily widened". Yet at page 68 he would account for Moslem superiority to Western Europe in geography by the theory that "disinterested research was stifled in western Europe by a theological dictatorship", while the Moslems freely advanced "the cause of every known science". The simpler and truer reason is that, when the Saracens controlled the Mediterranean, not to mention the Red Sea and Indian Ocean, they commanded an area and trade many times greater than little landlocked Western Christendom. When the papacy really reached the height of its power, from Innocent III to John XXII, it sent Giovanni dal Piano di Carpini to the Far East and Dominican missionaries far up the Nile. The quest for the kingdom of Prester John will perhaps seem no more fantastic to future historians than our recent efforts to reach the North Pole. The word "popular" (pp. 97-99) is not appropriately applied to beliefs expressed in Latin for and by the learned.

There are many footnotes, often to the primary sources, but sometimes the references seem to have been taken from other works. Thus at page 205 I suspect that the references in note 2 to Oresme's *Des divinations* and *De configuratione qualitatum* derive from the third volume of my *History of Magic and Experimental Science*, and that in note 3 to Albert of Saxony's commentary on *De caelo et mundo*, from Pierre Duhem. Mr. Kimble has quoted me by name several times (although there is but one reference in his index), and once for a view which I particularly rejected (p. 222, n. 6), so that his failure to do so elsewhere is doubtless uninten-

tional. But I may perhaps point out that at page 82 the quotation marks should include eight lines rather than two; that note 3 on page 99 follows my II, 542, the top of page 151, my III, 557, concerning the *Lumen animae*, and pages 172-73, my III, 396-97. One parallel may be demonstrated in detail:

(Thorndike, II, 975) . . . men have a natural tendency to assert, and craving to hear the sensational, exaggerated, and impossible, and to fly in the face both of reason and experience. People take pleasure in affirming the extravagant and in believing the incredible . . . "Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief," is a good picture of the mental attitude supporting much of magic . . .

(Kimble, p. 98) . . . men universally have a natural tendency to assert, and a liking to hear, things that smack of the sensational, the extravagant and the incredible, and to fly in the face both of reason and experience. "Lord, I believe, help Thou my unbelief," expresses a common attitude of mind . . .

In summary, this book is on the whole a well-written and fairly skillfully, although sometimes carelessly, executed compilation, which has profited by recent advanced works in the field. But it has nothing to offer the reader which may not be found elsewhere, and it retains a number of obsolete obsessions. It has not done full justice to the intellectual life of the Middle Ages, and, so far as one reader is concerned, has merely given a few glimpses which have made him more forlorn.

Columbia University.

LYNN THORNDIKE.

The Open Fields. By C. S. and C. S. ORWIN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 332. \$7.00.)

A Manor through Four Centuries. By A. R. COOK. (*Ibid.* Pp. ix, 194. \$4.50.)

MANY will think after reading the first of these two books that early English methods of agriculture have hitherto fallen too exclusively into the hands of the social historians and that a treatment like this, which adds an expert knowledge of practical farming to a sufficient learning in the subject, lends new life and vigor to the study of an old problem. It is true, as stated by the authors, that there are many questions the historian has not answered—besides those quoted delightfully and appropriately from *Punch* regarding the status of early hedgehogs in a world divested of hedges. No one method of approach can reach all corners, and some shibboleths of the past, some earlier interpretations, need reviewing in the light of these newer suggestions.

The writers omit from their survey the "shadowy" farms of the downlands. They start with the heavy moldboard plowing of the valleys. They see that the fundamental question confronting the early farmer was not how to fit landholding into a social system but how to solve the problem of keeping alive, of wringing "a bare subsistence from the soil". The small

primitive village groups plowed co-operatively the available arable, for few individuals amongst them were sufficiently established to have a whole plow; and the strips, each of which was the amount of land plowed in a day, fell naturally to the contributors to the plow team in turn. This method of cultivation was continued as the group grew in number and needed more land taken in from the waste. Thus the scattering of strips is explained and a reasonable explanation given of the origin of the system. Many scholars have questioned the usual explanation, namely, that the strips were scattered because of an enforced or altruistic desire for equality amongst the early settlers, but they have been overborne by the weight of Maitland's opinion, conjoined with Vinogradoff's, to the neglect of suggestions made by Seebohm and more recently by Dr. Fowler.

Another old problem which disappears before the application of a knowledge of practical husbandry is that of the troublesome balks, land potentially arable supposed to be between the strips. The authors describe with great vividness the actual process of plowing and the turning of double furrows to divide the strips. The true balks, they think, fall into the class of the sikes, the gores, and the headlands and served like them as means of reaching the various strips and as helps in draining superfluous moisture. Lynchets, the terraced hillsides of Seebohm, are removed from any connection with plowing, but no explanation is offered of their origin. The discussion of another matter, the wheeled and the wheelless plows in the development of agriculture, should be noted as raising a question regarding some of the conclusions reached by M. Bloch. Comparatively little stress is laid on assarting and common rights as accessory to agriculture, and the reviewer would raise a question as to the explanation of dens.

The larger part of the book is devoted to a detailed study of the village of Laxton in Nottinghamshire, where open-field cultivation has lingered until the present. The plentiful documentary evidence for the agrarian history of the village is analyzed, and the part played by enclosures and improvements in agriculture is studied. Laxton's agrarian arrangements furnish lively illustrations of the working of the general principles stated in the introductory part of the book and also show that while "Time makyth ancient good uncouth", yet there were excellent virtues possible under the open-field system, especially the sense of social responsibility necessarily developed in groups of cultivators and not necessarily present in those farming individually and severally.

Of very different character is the second volume reviewed here. It is somewhat desultory in arrangement. It is in no way concerned with the manor as such and pays no heed to difficult agrarian problems. It introduces the church of East Peckham and describes it in great detail, suggesting that the profits of the sale of the book will be turned over to a fund for maintaining the fabric. Its greatest value lies in the light that it throws on

the opinions and vicissitudes of fortune of certain county gentry in Kent, from about 1500 onward, especially during Wyatt's Rebellion and the Civil Wars. It centers round the history of Roydon Hall, a family seat in East Peckham, held during a long period by the Twysden family. The account of Sir Roger Twysden, based mainly on family records, is of some interest. His political opinions during the Civil Wars, his life in prison, his numerous writings, the sequestration of his estates, the felling of his beautiful timber, his difficulties in getting redress, all make an interesting and very human story. Details are given, too, of other prominent Kentish people and families like the Wyatts, the Derings, the Finches, the Monins. As Kemble remarked, "The history of the Civil Wars can only be thoroughly understood when we have pled for a wider insight than we possess into the objects and views of the country gentlemen of England at that time as shown in the private records of their families."

Mount Holyoke College.

N. NEILSON.

Medieval Number Symbolism: Its Sources, Meaning, and Influence on Thought and Expression. By VINCENT FOSTER HOPPER, New York University. [Columbia University Studies in English and Comparative Literature.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xii, 241. \$2.90.)

At first sight the reader of this interesting work may naturally ask for the meaning of the term "Number Symbolism" since he will look in vain for any symbols relating to numbers, taking the words as meaning the numerals which were the symbols in common use in the Middle Ages and at the present time. After reading a few pages, however, he will find a justification for the title, namely, the signification of the various names of the several numerical symbols chiefly known in Europe during the period 1000-1400 or even the millennium beginning with the seventh century. With this in mind Professor Hopper calls attention to the value of a study of the number names that were used in the European regions and in Asia and Africa as well. He then considers the numbers used in astrology, in such sciences as were then known, and, especially, in the religious rites referred to in the Hebrew, Latin, Greek, and Gnostic literature, concluding with a chapter on the "Pythagorean Number Theory".

Thus far the work has been concerned chiefly with the premedieval period, and the sixth chapter begins with a study of the significance of the number names in the later eras, and here the reader will find the most noteworthy and most elaborate part of the text. This is set forth in two chapters—"Medieval Number Philosophy" and "The Beauty of Order: Dante"—followed by an appendix on "Number Symbols of Northern Paganism", with an extensive bibliography and index.

A scholar of repute, Professor Hopper has searched the literature of his

subject as set forth by such early writers as Capella (*ca.* 470), Hrabanus Maurus (*ca.* 820), and Isidorus of Seville (also *ca.* 820). Naturally he has then included Petrus Bungus (Bongo), canon of the cathedral of Bergamo. It was Bungus who wrote for the clergy of his day the *Mysticae numerorum significationis liber in duas partes*, a remarkable work (1583, enlarged in a second edition in 1584) which touches upon every number mentioned in the Bible—evidence of narrow-mindedness rather than such a general knowledge as Professor Hopper has displayed.

The author has given us a rich contribution to the development of the significance of number as it has changed through a long era. It is not a history of numbers or of their numerals, nor was it intended to give a sketch of the development of either, but it is a storehouse of abundant material for thought.

Columbia University.

DAVID EUGENE SMITH.

Medieval Handbooks of Penance: A Translation of the Principal "libri poenitentiales" and Selections from related Documents. By JOHN T. MCNEILL and HELENA M. GAMER. [Records of Civilization.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 476. \$4.75.)

STUDENTS of the more general aspects of life in the Middle Ages, as well as medievalists, have much to gain from investigating the history of penance and its relations to the various phases of medieval civilization. (See the writings listed in the reviewer's "Some Neglected Aspects in the History of Penance", *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, Oct., 1938, pp. 293 ff.) Rich materials for such investigation are translated in the volume under review, in which a brief general introduction on the history of penance and the texts is followed by critical introductions and annotated translations for the principal penitential books, related passages in medieval public law, and pertinent conciliar canons. Five appendixes add other relevant documents, general descriptions of the less important penitentials, a detailed list of the manuscripts and their locations, and a selected bibliography.

Highly commendable are the inclusion of several previously unpublished manuals; the establishing of some improved readings; the special introductions on pages 179, 278, 282, 285, 291, 321, 346, 350, and 353; and appendixes III-V. Several of the other critical introductions are well done but make no original contributions.

On the other hand, the book is marred by numerous errors of omission and commission. The general introduction exaggerates the employment of commutations, the lateness in origin of private penance, the uniqueness of Celtic penance, the evidence for authorship of a penitential by Finnian of Clonard, pagan Irish elements in penitential discipline, and the savagery of secular penalties. A number of penitential canons and of passages on penance and excommunication in the secular laws are omitted which are

important for the connections of penance with other areas of medieval life. The introductions to the secular laws are inadequate, as are the discussions of penance and its secular enforcement, the broader aspects of penitential influence, the cultural and other relations of the Irish penitentials, and the textual relations of several others. There are numerous inaccurate statements.

The references and bibliography show no use of many essential works on public and private penance and on the secular laws, on the penitentials of Raban Maur and of Pseudo-Theodore, on the *Pseudo-Roman Penitential*, on Mosaic and other taboos in the penitential canons, on the synodal courts, and on English paganism. Nor is any reference made to two articles on Irish penance and its cultural affiliations by the present reviewer, published in 1933 (*Speculum*, pp. 489 ff., and *Cath. Hist. Rev.*, pp. 320 ff.).

The usually excellent translations and textual work give value to this volume of the Columbia Records of Civilization series, but the portions criticized should be used with caution and carefully checked with other works by specialists.

New York City.

THOMAS P. OAKLEY.

L'Aquitaine carolingienne, 778-987. Par LÉONCE AUZIAS, agrégé de l'Université. [Bibliothèque méridionale, publiée sous les auspices de la Faculté des Lettres de Toulouse.] (Toulouse: Édouard Privat; Paris: Henri Didier. 1937. Pp. xlviii, 587. 75 fr.)

THE author of this book was a wounded, gassed, and decorated veteran of the War of 1914 who had taught history in several *lycées* and was a candidate for the doctorate at the University of Toulouse when he died at the age of thirty-nine from complications resulting from his war service. The present work is, according to its editors, "imperfect and incomplete" (p. xviii) but a "faithful transcription" of the manuscripts of his two doctoral theses, followed by appendixes containing several brief studies likewise left unfinished by his sudden death. The author's text was published without revision but with indications of various lacunae, contradictory statements, and other discrepancies. The reason for this procedure is suggested in the two prefaces, by the author's widow and the editors; to them the unfinished manuscript was the memorial of a tragically interrupted career and therefore to be preserved as the author left it. This explains, although perhaps it does not justify, the many omissions and inconsistencies which are to be found in the bibliography, notes, and text. The lack of much needed maps is noticeable, and there are certain defects of interpretation.

The major portion of the book, comprising the subject matter of the two theses, deals with the history of Aquitaine and its Carolingian rulers from the Moslem invasions to the reign of Hugh Capet. There are also pages of detailed narrative and comment concerning events outside of Aquitaine, such, for instance, as the expeditions of Charles the Great and

his son Pepin in northern Spain, their establishment of the Spanish March, the intrigues of Louis the Pious's sons, the Treaty of Verdun, the ensuing civil wars, the Norse invasions of France, and the transition from the Carolingian to the Capetian dynasty. Such extended treatment of affairs only remotely connected with Aquitaine gives breadth of scope and emphasizes the external forces that affected that region, but this advantage is offset by the inevitable lack of concentration on things Aquitainian. Nowhere, for instance, is there any description of the social, economic, religious, and cultural institutions of Aquitaine. In fact, this work is not so much a history of Aquitaine as a history of the Carolingian Empire from the point of view of Aquitaine. Furthermore, it is a strictly political history, narrated in detailed chronological fashion. As such, it has outstanding merits.

So far as Aquitaine is concerned, this book is more recent and thorough than those of Mabille, Richard, Poupardin, and Lot. It is a work of minute and searching historical scholarship, well-documented throughout. Important controversial points are carefully analyzed, and the author's opinions are convincingly presented. The treatment of Bernard Plantevelue, especially his relations with Charles the Fat (pp. 412 ff.), is, in the opinion of the reviewer, a brilliant piece of historical construction. Less satisfying are the summaries and interpretations with which the various sections close. There are noticeable prejudices, motivated for the most part, it seems, by partisanship for the cause of Aquitainian independence. It must be remembered, however, that many interpretations would have been revised by the author had he lived to complete his work. Unfinished though it is, this is a worthwhile volume, and one's unavoidable disappointments at its shortcomings are overshadowed by regrets that so promising a career should have been cut short.

The University of North Carolina.

LOREN C. MACKINNEY.

Early British Economics from the XIIIth to the Middle of the XVIIIth Century. By M. BEER. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 250. \$3.25.)

MR. BEER's book is more to be recommended for scholars already familiar with the field it covers than for readers who desire a first introduction to, or even a convenient summary of, the materials suggested by its title. The former will not be misled by the author's failure to give an adequate impression of the relation between the ideas developed by British writers and the work of Continental thinkers or by his unconventional ideas concerning the relative importance of certain writers (a dozen lines for the penetrating Cantillon, over ninety for the muddled Vanderlint) or by his unfamiliarity with certain readily accessible secondary sources; and they will be grateful for his interesting chapters on Alexander of Hales and other too-neglected

schoolmen as well as for scattered references to a number of other writers who, if not entirely unknown to specialists, deserve more attention than they have commonly received.

They will be interested, too, in his novel interpretations of certain developments. Of these, two have specially interested the reviewer, as indeed they did the author: his division of mercantilism into two periods, the dividing line being placed, somewhat vaguely, in the second half of the sixteenth century, and his interpretation of the change in policy which justified this division in his eyes. Objection to the first is a matter of emphasis rather than of fact. That English policy in the early period was dominated by crudely "bullionist" notions few will be inclined to deny despite evidence of other points of view; but to imply that the two hundred years of mercantile policy and thought which followed are pretty much of a piece seems to the reviewer misleading. The eighteenth century is as different from the seventeenth as the latter is from the sixteenth.

With regard to the second point the reviewer is even more skeptical. To explain the shift from a policy of holding on to your treasure to a policy of increasing your stock of it—if shift it was—in terms of the breakdown of medieval ideals of "commutative justice" seems far-fetched in the extreme. Not only were these principles worked out with reference to the dealings of individual with individual; there is nothing in them which forbade the individual to get rich—honestly, of course—or to hold his wealth in the form of treasure if he so desired. It may be, and probably is, true that the weakening of medieval attitudes towards wealth and wealth-seeking is subtly reflected in the envious race for national enrichment which ensued, but that is quite another matter.

Harvard University.

A. E. MONROE.

History of Parliament: Register of the Ministers and of the Members of both Houses, 1439-1509. Issued by the Committee of both Houses charged with the Production of the History. (London: H. M. Stationery Office; New York: British Library of Information. 1938. Pp. cxlix, 754. \$10.30.)

THIS second volume of the first installment of the *History of Parliament* rearranges some of the information contained in the first volume (reviewed in this journal, XLIII, 111) and adds to it. The biographies of members are now utilized to draw up lists of men who were present at each of the twenty-six parliaments held during the seventy years under consideration. The added matter comprises lists of some twenty of the king's principal ministers at the time of each parliament, a diary and digest of proceedings drawn largely from the *Rolls*, and a list of constituencies briefly described, with names of members added.

As before, Colonel Wedgwood writes an introduction, and he now indicates some conclusions that may be drawn from the newly arranged ma-

terial. Of the one hundred bishops who were lords in parliament fewer than one third were of noble family. The majority had risen through ability, often having served in administrative posts. Of the abbots of England not one in ten was summoned. Although the close rolls indicate which lords received writs of summons, in the case of only half a dozen parliaments do we know who responded. Nonetheless the surprising fact emerges that among the lay lords known to have been present at one time or another are to be found thirty-six for whom no writs of summons were enrolled on the close rolls. This shakes Colonel Wedgwood's confidence in the accepted theory of the peerage before 1536. That theory insists that there was need of a writ of summons even though a peer had his patent, that the recipients of writs for each parliament were designated by the king, and that the receipt of a writ conferred no right of summons to future parliaments and did not entitle an heir or the husband of a peerage heiress to receive a summons. During the years 1439-1509, however, the evidence, apart from that touching the thirty-six unsummoned lords, is that only one peer was left out permanently after having had a writ, that heirs, except one, received summons though not always promptly, and that the husband of a peerage heiress was always summoned and his son followed him. In 1453 and in 1456 a letter patent confirmed hereditary right and authorized a baron to attend without writ. Colonel Wedgwood concludes, after elaborate analysis of instances, that the growth of peerage "by custom", which Round thought characteristic of a later time, had already begun.

An analysis of the status of members of the Commons is presented, but unfortunately the categories are not mutually exclusive. To adapt somewhat its figures for parliaments about which information is fullest, we learn that in six parliaments, from 1442 to 1453, of the 74 knights of the shire 14 on the average were knights, 32 were J.P.'s, 22 were royal servants, 16 were lawyers, and 3 were "carpetbaggers", *i.e.*, nonresidents of the counties for which they respectively sat. Of the 191 burgesses identified (203 were returned) 102 on the average were resident, 4 were J.P.'s, 41 were royal servants, 34 were lawyers, and 42 were carpetbaggers.

Relying upon such figures, Colonel Wedgwood concludes, from an instructive examination of county and borough elections, that the royal servants, lawyers, and carpetbaggers represented extraneous interests, which utilized nomination boroughs, above all those of a half-dozen counties. "We are still far from the marketable borough of the 18th century, but the lists show that 'interest' was formidable in the 15th century." Yet in the larger towns the "community" of the electors resented "patronage", desiring to choose their own representatives. Important conclusions like these should be tested and refined by a further study of the careers and affiliations of members. Since the lists make further study possible, they are precious grist to the mill of students of representative government in the fifteenth

century, whose debt to Colonel Wedgwood is great. His introduction is stimulating and revealing.

Bryn Mawr College.

H. L. GRAY.

Statuta capitulorum generalium ordinis Cisterciensis, 1116-1786. Edidit D.

JOSEPHUS Mⁱⁿ CANIVEZ. Tomus V, 1457-1490; Tomus VI, 1491-1542.

[Bibliothèque de la Revue d'histoire ecclésiastique.] (Louvain: Bureaux de la Revue. 1937; 1938. Pp. xi, 768; x, 790. 36 belgas each.)

THE nature of the business transacted at the general chapters of the Cistercian Order and the scope of the chapters' authority have been described in reviews of earlier volumes of this important work (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XL, 724-26; XLI, 796-97).

With the passing of time a more effective organization of the work of the general chapters was achieved. In the volumes before us the entries are neatly arranged under ten or a dozen heads which the official secretaries were instructed to list regularly in the same order (VI, 321). Among these heads of business are diffinitions, general and special, confirmations of elections, excused absences, reinstatement of members of the order who have fallen from grace, confirmations of contracts made by individual houses, special commissions, both administrative and judicial, prayers for special persons—the pope, the cardinals, the emperor, and the king of France being always included—and the conferring of spiritual benefits on a long list of benefactors. Preceding the entries for a given year is an imposing array of officers for the year, nearly all of whom were abbots. The amount of business transacted in a three-day session was large, and it grew with the years.

The more effectively the general chapters were organized, the more feeble they became. The years between 1457 and 1542 fall, of course, in a period which was full of evil for European monasticism. The Cistercian chapter records are full of the evidence for this. Attendance fell away to the point where there was no longer a sufficient number of abbots present to fill the offices. In an effort to improve attendance the time of meeting of the general chapters was changed in 1500 from the autumn to the spring of the year. Houses were constantly in arrears in their dues; those members who did bring contributions were admonished to drink no wine until they made their payments to the receivers. The educational work of the order suffered, also. Colleges were still maintained at Paris, Oxford, Toulouse, Heidelberg, Leipzig, and Vienna, but the houses failed to fill their quotas, and the students in attendance were far from orderly or studious (V, 152, 236). The crowning evil of "commendatory abbots" had fastened itself upon the Cistercian Order prior to 1437 and, despite repeated prohibition under heavy penalties, continued to sap the lifeblood of many houses. Slackness of discipline is chiefly evident in the lists of reinstatements, which grow longer and longer, of members who have fallen far below the austere

standards of St. Bernard. Secular princes began to petition for reform, and the order adopted many measures to that end, with little apparent effect.

In 1522 the general chapter forbade its members "to give ear to that perverse doctrine emanating from one named Luther or to read or possess his books" (VI, 593). From that time forward the order sought to inculcate sound Catholic doctrine more effectively through its colleges.

Boston University.

W. O. AULT.

MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated: The Report on the Plate of Brass.

By COLIN G. FINK, Head of the Division of Electrochemistry, Columbia University, and E. P. POLUSHKIN, Consulting Metallurgical Engineer. With a Foreword by Allen L. Chickering, President of California Historical Society, and a Biographical Note on Professor Fink by Joel H. Hildebrand, Professor of Chemistry, University of California. (San Francisco: California Historical Society. 1938. Pp. 28. Plates 49. \$2.00.)

THE California Historical Society, in a special publication (no. 13), announced in April, 1937, the discovery of a plate of brass, with an inscription, which was said to be that set up by Drake at or near the bay of San Francisco in 1579. Unfortunately, the announcement was made and a sum of money subscribed to reward the finder before a careful study of the text, the writing, the orthography, and the material of the plate had been made by qualified experts (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLII, 863-64).

Professor Fink and Mr. Polushkin have now made a detailed study of the composition of the plate and the patina and a minute examination of the engraving of the letters. They have illustrated their text with some excellent photomicrographs. The sum of the conclusions drawn from their examination is that the plate is "old", but they do not say how old. They have failed to account for the high zinc content of 34-39 per cent (English fifteenth and sixteenth century brass rarely contains 30 per cent). They do not enlarge upon the extraordinary fact that carbon was found in the patina. The literature on the subject does not indicate that carbon has ever been found on an ancient copper or copper alloy; a forger, however, might use fire to bring about rapid oxidation. No evidence is submitted that the mineralized plant tissue discovered is not ash. It may even be an inorganic structure often seen on old metals and patinas, which has a similar appearance under the microscope. The authors show that there are sulphides in the patina, whereas these rarely occur on old metal, although they may be expected on forgeries which have been treated on the surface with sodium, potassium, or ammonium sulphide to produce rapidly a black patina.

The theories advanced by the authors to account for a number of curious

features of the plate are ingenious if unconvincing. They explain that the smooth areas next to the grooves may have been made to produce an illuminating effect and to facilitate reading. The parallel lines near the letters are accounted for by "an unusual, homemade mechanical device". The sharpness of some of the grooves is attributed to the "energetic cleaning" to which the plate has been subjected. The numerous indentations, they suggest, were possibly made by Indians who attacked the plate with their stone axes. If the plate is not genuine, it is equally possible that these indentations were made by the fabricator to give an appearance of age and hard usage.

Finally, the authors conclude that "On the basis of the above . . . findings, as well as other data herewith recorded, it is our opinion that the brass plate examined by us is the genuine Drake Plate referred to in the book, *The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake*, published in 1628." Yet they have not brought forward any definite proof to show the exact age of the plate or a scintilla of evidence that Drake or his associates had any connection with it whatsoever.

Princeton University.

EARLE R. CALEY.

Huntington Library.

R. B. HASELDEN.

Theocracy and Toleration: A Study of the Disputes in Dutch Calvinism from 1600 to 1650. By DOUGLAS NOBBS, Lecturer in Political Science in the University of Edinburgh, Sometime Scholar and Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 280. \$4.65.)

It is unusual to see an English scholar exhibit such familiarity with Dutch Calvinism and with the original sources as does the author of the present work. He presents an excellent discussion of this very difficult subject, and he has rendered a service to many students and instructors in our American universities who are not in a position to pursue the Dutch and Latin sources of Dutch Calvinism in the seventeenth century.

Mr. Nobbs first analyzes the views of the orthodox Calvinists, known as the Contra-Remonstrants, who believed with Calvin that church and state must be left free to make their own laws but should assist each other in the enforcement of the same. In their opinion the ruler did not have the right to dictate to the clergy as to what their doctrines and rites should be. The author then discusses the pertinent works of four Arminians, or Remonstrants, including Hugo Grotius, to whose viewpoint he is more friendly than to that of their opponents. In his treatment, however, of Voetius, whom he properly considers the outstanding Calvinist theologian of the seventeenth century, he is very fair. He is of the opinion that Voetius derived his theory of the relation between the local congregation and the classis and synod from such Independents as Parker, Ames, and Jacob, who for a time were exiles in the Dutch Republic. But it is much more likely

that the Independents were affected by the Dutch Baptists, as C. Burrage has shown.

The author does not mention the notorious controversy between Grotius and Professor Sibrandus Lubbertus of the University of Franeker over the relation of church and state. Lubbertus was the most important Dutch Calvinist writer in the period from 1612 to 1625, and in his university a large number of English Puritans were educated, including the first president of Harvard. Mr. Nobbs also ignores Ubbo Emmius, the first rector of the University of Groningen, whose works dealing with the history of the Frisians contain startling views. Emmius was an orthodox Calvinist but expressed independent opinions regarding the rights of the people in the exercise of civil and ecclesiastical government. He and Lubbertus had a tremendous following in the northern provinces and did much for the rise of modern democracy. The two following titles should be added to the excellent bibliography presented by Mr. Nobbs: A. C. J. De Vrankrijker, *De staatsleer van Hugo de Groot en zijn Nederlandsche tijdgenooten* (Utrecht, 1937), and J. J. Boer, *Ubbo Emmius en Oost-Friesland* (Groningen, 1936).

The University of Michigan.

A. HYMA.

The Development of Religious Toleration in England from the Convention of the Long Parliament to the Restoration, 1640-1660: The Revolutionary Experiments and Dominant Religious Thought. By W. K. JORDAN. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. 560. \$5.00.)

IN spite of the many studies in the field of the Puritan Revolution, hitherto no historian has presented in detail the development of toleration in this period. This gap in our knowledge is now being filled by Professor Jordan. So carefully has he studied the years 1640-1660 that he has found material for two volumes. The first, with which we are concerned, is the third in his history of toleration. It traces the efforts made by the Independents and by Cromwell to introduce freedom of conscience and then studies in detail the contributions of the Presbyterians, the Independents, and the Baptists. The thought of the laymen, of the Anglicans, and of the "extremist groups" will be discussed in the last volume of the series.

It is paradoxical that the Baptists, who displayed such uncompromising militancy in proselytizing and placed such high barriers before church membership, should have contributed so much to the development of toleration. Essentially separatist, the Baptist sect, Dr. Jordan points out, nevertheless carried on its tolerant tradition by advocating freedom of conscience for all, even for non-Protestants. It is questionable, however, whether the sect, as a sect, was as far ahead of its time as Dr. Jordan believes, though it must be admitted that its leaders, both Arminian and Calvinist, made tremendous contributions to the development of toleration.

The separatism of the Independents, in itself illiberal in that it implied

the withdrawal of the saints from the company of the reprobates, proved to be the means of spreading abroad ideals of toleration. In their pamphlets and in the debates of the Westminster Assembly (which Dr. Jordan has summarized admirably) they pleaded the cause not only of their own sect but of others. Yet their charity was not extended outside Protestantism. The most valuable part of this section is the discussion of John Goodwin, whose spiritual pilgrimage from Calvinism to Arminianism is traced with sympathy and skill.

The Presbyterian group, like the Independents, as Dr. Jordan points out, also included men of widely diversified attitudes. Nowhere is the difficulty of putting the thinkers of this individualistic age into pigeonholes more clearly seen than in Dr. Jordan's classification of the Presbyterians into "Irreconcilables" and "Moderates". The first group Dr. Jordan blames for the failure to achieve a national church on a broad basis, with toleration for those who could not be included in it. Even the Moderates, however, never strayed far from the illiberal implications of Calvinism. Dr. Jordan, recognizing the failure of the Presbyterians to add to the development of toleration, finds their chief contribution in their "revolt against Arminianism". Yet it must be questioned whether in the first place they did check Arminianism, and whether in the second place, if they had, it would have aided freedom of thought. Calvinism and Arminianism lived side by side in the Church of the Restoration, but quietly (except for the Bull-Tully controversy) now that such rigid Calvinists as Lazarus Seaman and Edmund Calamy had left its ranks. A review is no place for a theological controversy, but it is certainly a disputable point whether the theology of Laud and Cosin had a "corroding influence".

Dr. Jordan has skillfully provided brief biographical sketches of the advocates and critics of toleration, so that men significant in their own day but now overlooked receive their proper recognition. The contributions of ministers, like Thomas Manton, and of laymen, such as John Cook and Samuel Richardson, are appraised, with the result that Roger Williams becomes merely an incident, although an important one, in the history of toleration. Yet Williams's contribution must not be underestimated, for he succeeded in putting toleration into practice. Our age, which sees Protestantism vainly dreaming of reunion, may find comfort in the thought that political liberty, which Dr. Jordan regards as the great contribution of sectarianism, is still intact in a few countries, at least. The author, very correctly, has deduced from his study the responsibility of this age to hold fast to this heritage.

Providence, Rhode Island.

ETHYN WILLIAMS KIRBY.

The Anatomy of Revolution. By CRANE BRINTON, Associate Professor of History, Harvard University. (New York: W. W. Norton and Company. 1938. Pp. 326. \$3.00.)

Six Contemporaneous Revolutions. By ROGER BIGELOW MERRIMAN. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 230. \$2.50.)

BOTH books would be normal academic products if their topic, "revolution", were not allergic to their method. They sum up facts, believing in them as facts; revolutions, however, proclaim what shall be called a fact in the universe, from now on. Mr. Brinton compares four revolutions: the French, Russian, English, and American, as though they were separate entities; and Mr. Merriman calls his book *Six Contemporaneous Revolutions*. In concentrating on the latter volume first, this common belief and its efficiency as well as its limitations will become clear. From 1640 to 1660 political unrest made itself felt all over Europe from the Ukraine to Spain, from Naples to Denmark. Everywhere, the lower estates, as John Knox had called them, tried to challenge the higher. This is one universal movement. In this one revolution Mr. Merriman has singled out six events—in Catalonia, Naples, England, France, Holland, and Portugal—and, after giving their particular histories in brief, with the exception of the English Civil War, he goes on to draw the lines of interplay between them. This chapter is the real contribution of the book. The political equation of the two decades has never been reduced so neatly to binomial relations as here. All the diplomatic negotiations between the six areas of unrest are listed. The student of political history will not even miss the narrative of the English revolution because it has been told so often. And since the over-complex particulars between Dutch and Portuguese, Neapolitan and Catalanian, French and English, etc., etc., are put before us in a straightforward fashion, we may forget that the number "six" conceals from us the common pattern of all and the problem of totality of this movement.

Mr. Brinton has written on the four revolutions which are foremost in an American's memory. He is not unaware of the quandary in which he finds himself as a historian, devoted to particulars, and as an adept of science, operating with abstractions like a "fever curve". He restates several rules. Revolutions are not made by destitute people. The intellectuals desert the old order of things before the revolution occurs. The sequence of moderates and extremists seems unalterable (with the exception of the American Revolution which Mr. Brinton excuses as a peculiar case). Terror and abstract virtue are found everywhere before a Thermidorian reaction. Because these generalities have long been known, beginning in fact with Hobbes and Goethe, the significance of the book is not in any of its positive statements. It lies in the fact that Brinton, who, by the way, does not give credit to the discoverers of these uniformities, asserts that his is the only "scientific" method. This is a relapse to the *more geometrico* superstition of Spinoza. Limiting his "facts" by the "case" method, Brinton fails to see why wars are essential elements in the pattern of 1789 and 1917, preceding the Russian, following the French revolution. Atomizing further, Brinton suggests that the rest of the world got hold of the decimal system

"without benefit of revolution". This is the logical conclusion when the French Revolution is treated as lasting only from 1789 to 1814. In this case the later adoption of the decimal system by other countries does not appear to be the fruit of French suffering.

To me the meaning of revolutions does not disclose itself to the man who thinks that he himself moves outside their orbit. It is not to be found in anything happening immediately after and during the fever but in habits, immunities, and powers developed generations and centuries later. Strangely enough Brinton recognizes this for the Spartans of antiquity (p. 229). From this point of view, the same revolutionary processes that are failures to Merriman and Brinton are to me highly rational and effective. To me revolutions call their particular generation back into the phylogenetic history of Man. Do not the authors owe their own chairs of history to the English, the French, the American revolution? Yet, responsibility for the future of social evolution is excluded from their patterns of scientific thinking. Hence the new barbarians reciprocate and exclude scientific thinking and teaching from *their* future world. The books testify to J. Benda's *Trahison des Clercs*. The academic scientists have imperiled our intellectual freedom. They have watched society instead of watching out for it.

Dartmouth College.

EUGEN ROSENSTOCK-HUESSY.

The Lord General: A Life of Sir Thomas Fairfax. By M. A. GIBB. (London: Lindsay Drummond. 1938. Pp. xv, 304. 12s. 6d.)

WHEN Sir Clements Markham wrote *The Great Lord Fairfax* (1870), Gardiner's *History of the Civil War* had not yet appeared. Miss Gibb, on the other hand, had access to Gardiner's monumental work and to such facts as more recent historians of the Puritan Revolution have unearthed. To anyone who expects a new biography of Fairfax to throw light on recesses of his life that were dark when Markham wrote, seventy years ago, Miss Gibb's book will be disappointing. True, her account of the campaigns in which Fairfax took part is somewhat more informative than Markham's. It gives us a clearer and more distinct idea of exactly what portion of the field Sir Thomas Fairfax occupied at any given time in any given battle. True also, Miss Gibb publishes some interesting examples of Sir Thomas's excursions into poetry, which seem to prove conclusively that in the scope of his talents Fairfax the bard had little in common with Fairfax the soldier and much in common with Fairfax the statesman. It is Fairfax the statesman, however, who piques the curiosity of the historian, and on this phase of his career Miss Gibb's biography, despite the informative morsels in it, is not entirely satisfactory.

Of the critical three years in Fairfax's political life, from 1645 to 1648, Miss Gibb's account is peculiarly conventional, peculiarly lacking in the inquisitiveness that makes for great biography. It may be that there are no

answers to the questions one wants to ask about Fairfax's political course from the time he became lord general: Did he condone or take part in the activities of the army to influence the election of new members to parliament? How much did he actually have to do with the promotion of radical officers like Barkstead, Hewson, Scroop, and Harrison? How soon did he become aware of the efforts of the Levellers to undermine the officers' control of the army? How closely did he associate himself with the activities of the predominant officer group led by Cromwell and Ireton? When such questions and a dozen more dealing with the relations between Fairfax and the factions in the army are answered, it may be possible to write a life of the lord general that is more than a rehash of the military history of the civil war. The job is still to do. Miss Gibb does not answer the essential questions. She does not even ask them.

Queens College.

J. H. HEXTER.

War at Sea under Queen Anne, 1702-1708. By J. H. OWEN, Commander, Royal Navy. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xii, 316. \$7.50.)

ENGLISH historians have long neglected their navy. Our own Captain Mahan, indeed, may be said to have taught his English cousins to appreciate its true significance. Corbett, it is true, thirty-five years ago dealt with the royal navy in the Mediterranean in the seventeenth century, but for its other manifold activities one must, for the greater part, depend upon the co-operative *History of the Royal Navy*, now forty years from the press. Commander Owen has made the first serious attempt to describe English naval achievements in European waters during the War of the Spanish Succession. His failure to include the West Indies might have occasioned greater disappointment had not Professor Ruth Bourne's *Queen Anne's Navy in the West Indies* appeared a few months ago. His brief treatment of the navy's efforts at Cadiz, Vigo, Gibraltar, and Minorca would have been disappointing also had these topics not been recently treated in some detail elsewhere. Even here the reader would welcome a summary, showing how the author differs from others in his interpretation of these events.

The elementary account of the functioning of the navy is well done, but the descriptions of convoy work and of the attack on Toulon are especially good. Marshal Vauban receives much less attention than his work as supervisor of privateering would suggest. The author thinks more highly of Prince George and of George Churchill, Marlborough's brother, than have most historians. He also feels that Sir John Norris has never received his fair meed of praise. In discussing the Cadiz fiasco he refrains from blaming anyone in particular. He seems of two minds as to the Earl of Peterborough's exploits at Barcelona, and he ascribes the failure before Toulon partly to the halfheartedness of Prince Eugene.

The style is clear but not distinguished. The index is excellent, but unfortunately the footnotes are placed for the most part at the close of the volume. Certain citations are a bit cryptic, such as "Board Minutes" for seven volumes of manuscripts.

The author has made a careful study of most of the English sources, published and unpublished. He has ignored, however, the French and Dutch sources, depending largely upon secondary authorities. Yet the Archives de la Marine and the Dépôt de la Guerre are replete with pertinent materials. The manuscript reports of many secret service agents of the period may be found in the British Museum and Record Office. The author might have made more use of the *Calendars of State Papers, Colonial and Domestic*. The *Calendars of Treasury Books* are also available in the Record Office. Contemporary newspapers and pamphlets have likewise been neglected. The older works of Daniel, *Histoire de milice française* (1724), and Quincy, *Histoire militaire du règne de Louis le Grand* (1726), are not cited, nor are the *Mémoires de St. Simon*, which contain much material upon the siege of Toulon and the capture of Barcelona. Secondary works such as Williams's *Stanhope* and Villestreux's *Deux corsaires malouins sous la règne de Louis XIV* would have proved useful. The author also neglected some excellent monographs. Although he has not worked in as many quarries as did M. Charles de la Roncière in preparing his *Histoire de la marine française*, Commander Owen has made a much more careful study of the English sources than any of his English predecessors have done.

Indiana University.

WILLIAM THOMAS MORGAN.

Marlborough: His Life and Times. By The Right Honourable WINSTON S. CHURCHILL. Volume VI, 1708-1722. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. 670. \$2.75.)

WITH this volume Mr. Churchill lays down his pen as one who sheathes an avenging sword. Marlborough, persistently vilified by two of the sharpest, most incessant pens of his own day, Swift's and Defoe's, his memory brilliantly aspersed in the nineteenth century by Macaulay and Thackeray, has now found a sharp, tireless, brilliant pen to defend him. In this vindication Mr. Churchill has been anticipated by G. M. Trevelyan's sympathetic portrait of Marlborough in his *England under Queen Anne*, but in that temperate and humane work there is a charity widely inclusive of mortal frailty.

Mr. Churchill's assumption is that where there is knavery there must be knaves, and where there is heroism there must be a hero. He is baffled by mixtures. Unable to deny that Harley's peace policy was wise, that St. John's diplomacy was able, he is disconcerted that it should be so, as he is disgusted that Marlborough should have humiliated himself—and vainly—

for the sake of his wife's offices, and that he should have reminded Louis XIV of an offer of two million livres, drawing a delicate hairline between accepting the sum as a bribe and accepting it as payment for something he proposed to do anyway. Mr. Churchill's roots are in Victorian England, Marlborough's in the England of Charles II, and there are planes of conduct on which they cannot meet by whatever effort of biographical imagination. Disillusioned no less by the politics of his own age than by those of Marlborough's, Mr. Churchill constantly prefers the large, simple conclusions of the battlefield. On the inevitable transmutation of values by time he observes almost despairingly: "One rule of conduct alone survives as a guide to men in their wanderings: fidelity to covenants, the honour of soldiers, and the hatred of causing common woe" (p. 600). But this, one may protest, is not one rule but three, and Mr. Churchill's refusal to admit that the three monitors may fall out and point in three directions is the root of his wrongheadedness—as it seems to the reviewer—about the ultimate wisdom of the Peace of Utrecht, though there can be little doubt that the playing-fields of Eton and Harrow would justify him.

So much has already been said of this work, as the earlier volumes appeared (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 332; XLIII, 376), that a brief estimate of the biography as a whole will here suffice. Perusal will not exempt a cautious reader from consulting Trevelyan, Feiling, Clark, Leadam, and Morgan, among recent writers, and from turning back to Klopp and Macaulay. But the cautious reader will have incautiously enjoyed Mr. Churchill's six volumes for the very length and leisureliness of the story, for the spontaneity and the free play of wit and malice, for the gift of style, and not least for the inherent interest of the unceasing battle between Mr. Churchill's cynicism and his conviction that man is above the brutes and must act accordingly. Mr. Churchill's view of history is fundamentally aristocratic. For him history is shaped by, is almost identical with, the *gesta* of great men inspired by *noblesse oblige*. The life of Marlborough has been, therefore, apart from family pride, a congenial task. If Mr. Churchill is here and there rasher and more partisan than the professional historian, he has not flouted the professional historian's verities. His experience in public affairs has constantly enriched the interest of his narrative. Without immersing himself to the drowning point in the polemical literature of the age of Anne, he has supplemented a painstaking and reflective study of the most important sources in several languages with hitherto unused material from the Blenheim archives. This latter, while unimportant for establishing facts of the first political or military consequence, is serviceable in rounding out the story and in throwing light on some of the more perplexing episodes of Marlborough's career.

Vassar College.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

The Second Tory Party, 1714-1832. By KEITH GRAHAM FEILING, Student of Christ Church and Sometime Fellow of All Souls College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. vii, 451. \$4.00.)

MR. Feiling's *History of the Tory Party, 1640-1714*, published in 1924, is a stimulating and well-informed essay dealing with the political history of England in the seventy-five years indicated, from the point of view of the followers of such leaders as Clarendon, Danby, Sunderland, Nottingham, and Harley. Later he published a history of *British Foreign Policy, 1660-1672*. Both of these are useful books. When, in 1931, he was invited to give the Ford Lectures at Oxford, the author elected to carry forward his history of the Tory party. These lectures were the basis of the present volume.

Unfortunately, as Mr. Feiling admits, Professor Namier and others had in the meantime demonstrated that "in the modern sense of party" there was no Tory party until after the death of the younger Pitt. Moreover, Mr. Feiling discovered that the mass of materials for the political history of England in the period 1714-1832 is so enormous as to be beyond the capacity of a single man to examine in a lifetime. Nevertheless he decided to retain his title, in order to "link this work" with his earlier study and to "let this book go out, imperfect though it is, in the hope that it may have its use for . . . the genealogy of the party, and the inter-relations between its leaders". These disarming admissions may explain but do not justify the publication of the book in its present form.

Apparently Mr. Feiling has read widely in sources, some of them manuscripts in private hands not heretofore examined. He has used many of the familiar printed materials. Either, however, he neglected or thought it not worth while to consult books published in the United States. The exceptions noted are Bell's *Palmerston* and a citation (p. 414) of "American sources listed in Channing, 'History of the United States'". The bibliography is in the form of indicated abbreviations for the works cited, which the author does not uniformly utilize. As often as not he fails to indicate pages in a volume, volumes in a series, or whether the single term used is the name of an author or a title. Some of the notes are at the foot of the page, others at the end of the volume. In support of a paragraph concerning general aspects of the administration of the younger Pitt (p. 165), a reader is directed to "See especially D. Pulteney's letters, Rutland papers (H. Mss.), and Pitt Mss. P. R. O.; Lonsdale, 184." The note "Holderness to Jenkinson, 24 Nov. 1761, (reference mislaid)" is not very convincing, and it comes at the foot of a page in the text (71) reserved, according to the preface, for "references . . . to manuscript sources which it seemed desirable to identify as making a new point, or change of emphasis". The statement that "the question of authorities" has been dealt with "in a rough-and-ready way" would seem to be entirely justified.

Under these circumstances it is not surprising to find in too many places

inaccuracies of detail and carelessness concerning facts, not to mention judgments from which others would dissent. The cases noted are too numerous to mention in a review. A more serious weakness, perhaps, is the failure of the author to pay considered attention to either of the major terms in his title. Undoubtedly there were political parties of a sort throughout most of the period treated by Mr. Feiling, and the use of the term "Tory" in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, whether by individuals speaking of themselves or by speakers and writers with reference to others, is a matter of interest and importance worthy of investigation, but Mr. Feiling has no contribution to make on this point. The machinery of party organization and the methods of political controversy which later became conventional in English politics were developing in this century of change and flux. Mr. Feiling, however, seems to be only occasionally aware that parties had organizations and techniques of procedure.

Finally, some of the author's efforts to achieve an epigrammatic style are not happy. For example, the association of a single adjective with the name of a public figure, such as "foolish Londonderry", "tearful Goderich", "the buffoon Wetherall", and "coarse Croker", would scarcely seem to be discriminating characterizations.

Duke University.

W. T. LAPRADE.

The English Business Company after the Bubble Act, 1720-1800. By ARMAND BUDINGTON DuBOIS. [Foundation for Research in Legal History, Columbia University School of Law, edited by Julius Goebel, jr.] (New York: Commonwealth Fund. 1938. Pp. xxi, 522. \$5.00.)

THE century following the Bubble Act—that instance of panic legislation which, as Maitland says, "seems to scream at us from the Statute Book"—has been taken to be a blank period in the history of the joint-stock company in Great Britain. The fact that Henry English computed in his *Complete View* that the nominal capital of the companies floated in 1824-25 amounted to close on £500,000,000 is in itself sufficient to show that, despite the Bubble Act, there were joint-stock activities, steadily developing even if underground. The study of this underground working has been accomplished in the most satisfactory manner by Mr. DuBois.

Briefly the problem was how the increasing needs of industry and commerce for capital were to be met. Under the Bubble Act a charter might be obtained, but the path to it was made very difficult, and "bona fide business was driven from Whitehall by the bureaucratic obstructivism of the Crown Officials". The alternative was to get round the act by solving the problem, "when is a company (for business purposes) not a company (*vis-à-vis* the Bubble Act)". This problem was not beyond the ingenuity of the lawyers of the eighteenth century. Accordingly, Mr. DuBois has exercised great industry in tracing out the opinions of the prototypes of the American

"corporation lawyer". This discovery—for it is nothing less—is deserving of the greatest praise. Opinions of counsel, from the nature of the circumstances, are not usually distinguished by lightness of touch, and so one is in danger of giving the impression that this book may be solid but of the heavy type. Nothing could be a greater mistake. Solid, even weighty, it is, but at the same time it is written with brightness and, indeed, very great charm. It begins, true enough, with the opinions in chambers, but it does not forget the quips of counsel or the wit of dinners of the Bar.

In the new field which Mr. DuBois has cultivated so successfully there are many points which are of very great interest, as for instance the "cutting force" of the Bubble Act in limiting the promotion of patents for new inventions. Did it delay the coming of the industrial revolution; or did that revolution come in due season because ways had been found to circumvent the act? The trend towards limited liability receives further illumination. As to the related question of calls on stockholders and shareholders, I think there was a difference between stock and shares in this matter. To some extent the modern share of fixed denomination is misleading. The primitive share expanded as capital was required and sometimes became unwieldy, as for instance in the case of the New River Company, with a consequent division into fractions, as happens in partnerships in shipowning (*e. g.*, a sixty-fourth share in a ship). Articles of association, used as a measure to circumvent the Bubble Act, might be misunderstood if it were thought that this was their original purpose. The Newmills Company (founded in 1681) had not only articles but a memorandum for subscriptions to the capital. The splitting of stock for voting purposes was clearly adopted from the practice which prevailed in parliamentary representation. The relation of the Scottish "seal of cause" to incorporation is an obscure matter which has several ramifications. These and other interesting topics I have followed invariably with the highest appreciation, though not always with complete agreement.

The position relating to stock and share certificates (p. 360) may be clarified, as I chance to have a few specimens. Law was credited with introducing the bearer share. I have one "au Porteur" of the Compagnie des Indes, dated 1785. It bears the impressed seal of the company and still retains a coupon for the seventh dividend, the amount and date of which were to be determined by the administration. Bearer scrip has never been popular in England. Of registered stocks there appear to have been two types. One was of the nature of the modern inscribed stock, where the stockholder or his attorney must attend personally to inscribe the name of the new owner in the official record. That is the type of case referred to by Mortimer in 1760 (*Every Man his own Broker*) where he describes how the purchaser receives a receipt for the completed transfer, which should be kept till the first dividend has been received and then destroyed to avoid

confusion to heirs, thereby indicating that such receipt was not surrendered on a sale being made. Of quite a different type is a parchment, two feet long, relating to the 3 per cent annuities of 1738. This has a printed heading with blanks for the name of the proprietor and the amount of the stock. Then follow successive manuscript entries of interest payments, initialed by the recipient. It is evident that on change of ownership or a conversion operation this type of document was surrendered, since specimens bear an endorsement of transfer on a sale or, in the case of a death, the name of the inheritor.

The University, Glasgow.

W. R. SCOTT.

The Commercial Empire of the St. Lawrence, 1760-1850. By D. G. CREIGHTON. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1937. Pp. vii, 441. \$3.75.)

THE waterway formed by the St. Lawrence River and the Great Lakes is an important part of the mold in which Canada was cast. During the century which followed the conquest of New France, a far-flung commerce depended upon this superb system of rivers and lakes and upon the hinterlands which formed their economic watershed. Professor Creighton's book is a study of this commerce and of how the interests vested in it affected politics and policy. Generally speaking, the two Canadas were not a political success during the period, and the author suggests that a conflict of economic interests, in which the river commerce was a principal combatant, goes far toward explaining why this was so. Primarily this work is not economic history, but an economic interpretation of political history.

Interesting interpretations are based upon an extensive body of material. Among much that is valuable in this study, it is probable that the author's most important contribution is the light which he has thrown upon the causes of the rebellions of 1837. No reader of this book will fail to be grateful to him for his versatile and vital style, even though his fondness for colorful and sweeping adjectives sometimes leads him a short step away from the path of pedantic virtue. He has, too, an obvious gift and taste for vivid character sketches in black and white. Four informative maps are provided; two of these, however, might well have been enlarged or simplified.

When he approaches the policy of the British government during the sixty years which followed the conquest, the author is less sure-footed than at other times. To take one example, the decision to respect the cherished institutions of the French Canadians is run through the mill of adverse criticism and comes out ground exceeding small. It is true that this policy could be carried out only at the expense of that not entirely savory little band of Uitlanders who had come in on the heels of the soldiers and

occupied the strongholds of Canadian commerce. Yet even so, surely the decision has a smack of generosity and tolerance about it which merits a kind word.

The author is perhaps too prone to see an action as the product of a single motive and to minimize the importance of those motives for action that are not economic. Nevertheless this is an extremely good book and a really important contribution to the understanding of Canadian history. The story of the St. Lawrence, in all its fullness, will be written some day; and when it is, Professor Creighton's book will afford much aid and comfort to the historian who writes it. It may be that the historian in question will be Professor Creighton himself.

Yale University.

GILBERT TUCKER.

Foundations of British Foreign Policy from Pitt (1792) to Salisbury (1902) or Documents, Old and New. Selected and edited, with Historical Introductions, by HAROLD TEMPERLEY, Professor of Modern History in the University of Cambridge, and LILLIAN M. PENSON, Professor of Modern History in the University of London. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xxx, 573. \$7.50.)

Britain and the Dictators: A Survey of Post-War British Policy. By R. W. SETON-WATSON, Masaryk Professor of Central European History in the University of London. (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 460. \$3.50.)

IN the first of these volumes Professors Temperley and Penson have done more than to assemble a valuable collection of documents illustrating the policies of nineteenth century foreign secretaries; they have also brought out in their excellent introductions to each section the extent to which these policies reflected a common political outlook. Even in itself, the publication of nearly two hundred documents, including many drawn from official archives and private papers and appearing in print for the first time, is a distinctive service. With a few exceptions, they refer to British policy in Europe and deal with such issues as intervention, guarantees, recognition, balance of power, and British attitudes towards conflicting Continental ideologies.

The principle of selection has definitely been affected by the editors' interest in current situations, but this is only saying that the fundamental problems with which British statesmen have had to deal in Europe recur in a variety of forms. Without deliberately choosing materials to this end, the editors are able to show a striking continuity of ideas behind British diplomacy. What they do not emphasize is that some continuity of policy over the span of a century is possible only when, and because, the formulations are qualified and elastic. The key to British policy lies in the insistence on freedom of action to serve British interests as each individual case may require. The most consistent principle forbade the adoption of principle: Castlereagh's prescription—"This country cannot, and will not, act upon

abstract and speculative Principles of Precaution"—runs like a thread through British policy from Canning and Palmerston to Salisbury's refusal to join the Triple Alliance in 1901. The rule of nonintervention did not forbid action if British interests were directly menaced; the principle of the balance ensured independence of British policy and could be waived by Gladstone in favor of concert. Professors Temperley and Penson have provided an admirable collection of diplomatic materials with their own judicious interpretations; it deserves to be supplemented by a careful study of those British interests and of the conceptions of interest. It is a curious commentary on the forms of British diplomacy that practically nowhere in these documents is there mention of trade or investments as being in the slightest degree involved in the calculations of policy.

Despite its subtitle, there is less of British foreign policy in Professor Seton-Watson's book than of the dynamics of European situations with which postwar British statesmen have had to deal. The central portion of his study is devoted to an analysis of the forces and ideas underlying the major European dictatorships—Russia, Italy, and Germany—and other chapters survey some of the various issues in European diplomacy since the World War. While the material in these pages reflects the extensive personal and documentary knowledge as well as the penetrating insight of the author, it suffers grievously at times from apparent hasty assemblage and consequent lack of synthesis. It may exceed the best in current journalism, but it does not attain the stature of integrated history. Much of it is pamphleteering.

Of the three dictatorships, Professor Seton-Watson finds that Germany and Italy present the more difficult problems for Great Britain. Agreement with Germany he regards as the chief requisite for European peace (p. 409), but agreement must not involve capitulation. Writing before the collapse of Austria, he repudiates any notion of abandoning Central Europe to its fate, not primarily for sentimental or moral reasons (although Professor Seton-Watson is far from consistent on this point) but because of the balance of power principle. In another place he urges that foreign policy should be framed "not only by what we wish but by what is attainable" (p. 402). If this sane maxim be followed, it is difficult to see how Great Britain with her great sea but insignificant land power could have prevented German successes in Central Europe without thrusting the brunt of the early and perhaps most costly fighting onto others.

University of Pennsylvania.

WILLIAM P. MADDOX.

Mémoires du duc de Broglie (Jacques-Victor-Albert, 1821-1901), de l'Académie française. Tome I, 1825-1870. Avec une préface de son petit-fils. (Paris: Calmann-Lévy. 1938. Pp. vii, 380. 45 fr.)

THIS volume is full of interesting anecdote and pertinent information. The first part of it is concerned with what Broglie's parents told him of

conditions during the Restoration. There are many passages of lively interest, especially those describing his father, a liberal noble and *philosophe*, and his relations with an ultraroyalist and Catholic peasantry. This provides an excellent description of the state of mind of the peasantry and small villagers during the reigns of Louis XVIII and Charles X and their gradual conversion to more liberal principles.

With the July Monarchy the personal memoirs themselves really begin, and the pages are filled with comments illustrating the social regime, with its divisions and antagonisms, well worth the perusal of every student of French history. There is considerable behind-the-scenes treatment of the political rivalries, especially that of Guizot and Thiers. To the Broglies Guizot was a paragon of wise and virtuous policies, and, while they were annoyed by the rapid and breathtaking transformations of Thiers, they recognized his ability, and this in spite of the fact that they were hardly welcome in his salon.

The younger Broglie's preparation for public life consisted in his experience as secretary to his father, active participation in the "parlotes" or debating societies formed by the young Parisians during the July Monarchy, and service at the Ministère des Affaires étrangères. This was followed by his appointment as secretary to the famous Monsieur Rossi at Rome, for whom Broglie always cherished respect and affection. The account which the young secretary gives of the situation in Italy and of the early and successful reign of Pius IX is detailed and important. His astonishment at the apparent cessation of political disturbance is equalled only by his amazement at the rapid development of the uprisings which followed the February Revolution. These chapters contain many important relations not the least of which is his explanation and defense of Rossi.

The year 1848 found Broglie deprived of his appointment and excluded from his career. Thereafter his activities were concentrated on literary pursuits, excursions into religious history, and newspaper polemics. In 1851 he seconded his father's efforts to bring about a reconciliation of all the royalists in an effort to curb the ambitions of Louis Napoleon. After this failure he became a member of this group—a group apart, inactive, and yet ever on the alert, waiting for the inevitable collapse of the regime against which, in protest, its members abstained from participation in political life.

This volume is charmingly written. Throughout there is a deprecating tone which comes from the younger Broglie's inherent and recognized modesty but which does not conceal an acute and studious intelligence. As a commentary on the times the volume is of very real value. There is no indication in the preface as to the date when these memoirs were composed.

Yale University.

JOHN M. S. ALLISON.

Germany and England: Background of Conflict, 1848-1894. By RAYMOND JAMES SONTAG, Associate Professor of History in Princeton University. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xvii, 362. \$3.50.)

THIS substantial work, obviously completed and sent to press before the crisis of September, 1938, explains more successfully than the numerous writings of 1939 why the Munich agreement failed to bring "peace for our time". For years after the war the feeling was widespread in both England and Germany that the two peoples, supposedly friendly in the past except during the reign of William II, when the ambitious naval policy of that ruler made them enemies, had a great deal in common, and undoubtedly sincere efforts were made in both countries to remove the causes of dispute and to establish friendly relations. It was this disposition of the English people which enabled Mr. Chamberlain to pursue his policy of "appeasement", and it was this same temper which caused the German people to hail him—rather than their own master—as the savior of peace. Yet in less than six months Anglo-German relations had become as tense as they had been at any time before 1914. Quite without design, Professor Sontag has shown why such a result was to be expected, for what has been happening in the two countries in the last hundred years makes for conflict, not for confidence and friendship. Although his study is confined to the years from 1848 to 1894, the factors which then came into play still remain and have probably been strengthened.

Down to 1871 "Cobdenite" England was disposed to look down on Germany as "the poor relation", as Mr. Sontag aptly calls Part I of his book, which was resented and never forgotten in Germany, where deep jealousy of the rich cousin prevailed. Equally offensive to Germany was the diplomacy of "Palmerstonian" England. But when Germany achieved unification—or what then passed for unification—without the aid of and almost in spite of England, the English did not forget the humiliations imposed on them by Bismarck, who, for the rest of his career, was regarded by most Englishmen as an unscrupulous diplomatist and a dangerous enemy. Bismarck's repudiation of liberalism, his cult of power, his quarrel with the Crown Prince Frederick, and his highhanded methods made him detested and abhorred to a degree that is now but faintly realized.

For Part II Mr. Sontag uses the heading "Natural Allies, 1871-1894". It is true that from time to time Bismarck was pleased to argue that England and Germany were natural allies, and occasionally British statesmen—Beaconsfield at the Berlin Congress, Salisbury in the late eighties, Rosebery for a moment in 1893—were disposed to take the same line. But Mr. Sontag's admirable and dispassionate narrative, which is not a dry diplomatic chronicle but a spirited weaving together of internal and external policies in both countries, reveals that they were anything but "natural allies", and that only when both happened to be piqued at the same time with France or

Russia were they able to achieve some informal co-operation. Each was fearful of being used to pull the other's chestnuts out of the fire. Britain was reluctant to recognize Germany's colonial aspirations; and the latter, to bring London to reason, resorted to methods which often savored of blackmail. There is no doubt that German opinion became increasingly hostile to England and that the English were never able to understand the reasons for this. By 1894 both official and unofficial relations between the two countries had lost even the outward semblance of cordiality.

Not much imagination is required to see that Anglo-German relations since 1933 bear much resemblance to what they were in the days of Bismarck, and not a few of Mr. Sontag's sentences apply pertinently to the present situation (March, 1939). "The English followed Bismarck's lightning transformation of the map and of the German mind with mixed incredulity and disgust. Invariably, they were still trying to understand the move which he had just completed when his next move confronted them with a new inexplicable situation" (p. 79). "Each time Bismarck's trickery became obvious he relied on English military weakness to prevent hostile action, and on the gullibility of the London government for the possibility of renewed deception; each time England acted as he had foretold" (p. 88). To Treitschke, as to Hitler, "Jews, Catholics, socialists, and democrats were the enemies at home" (p. 326). But why go on? Not for a long time has the reviewer read a historical work which so brilliantly illuminates a contemporary situation, and Mr. Sontag is to be congratulated on a dual achievement.

The University of Chicago.

BERNADOTTE E. SCHMITT.

The Elgin-Grey Papers, 1846-1852. Edited with Notes and Appendices by Sir ARTHUR G. DOUGHTY, Late Dominion Archivist Emeritus. Four volumes. [Published by authority of the Secretary of State under the direction of the Acting Dominion Archivist.] (Ottawa: J. O. Patenaudé. 1937. Pp. xx, 1663.)

THE publication of the Elgin-Grey Papers is a concluding generous contribution of the late Dominion archivist at Ottawa to the service of Canadian history. We are once more reminded of the debt which students of Canadian history owe to Sir Arthur Doughty, untiring collector of documents, faithful servant in reminding his government of its duties towards Dominion historiography, and generous helper of all who sought his aid. Ill health compelled Sir Arthur to relinquish at an early stage the task of editing these four volumes; to that may be attributed their two most serious defects—the inclusion, especially in volumes three and four, of much unnecessary material, and the reproduction, in spelling and punctuation, of many trivial flaws in the originals (or the typed copies), which, very markedly in punctuation, are a source of irritation to the reader.

Criticism of formal defects must not, however, be allowed to obscure the high importance of this correspondence for students of Canadian history and British colonial policy. Here, not in official dispatches but in intimate and frank private letters, are the opinions of the governor-general who effectively introduced Canadian self-government and of the colonial secretary who co-operated with him in his work. Between January, 1847, and December, 1854, the Earl of Elgin put into practice what his father-in-law, Lord Durham, had asked for in his *Report*; and down to 1852 he had the astonishing good fortune to have at the colonial office, in Earl Grey, not merely a kinsman but a kindred spirit in political ideas.

The letters illustrate, and quicken our interest in, all the great issues then at stake. Here may be seen Elgin at work, guessing as a novice at the errors of his predecessors and then moving with the ease and certainty of a master to the conclusion that colonial self-government was not a concession weakening to the empire but the secret of its future strength and continuance. In the same way, through the sharp struggle over the Rebellion Losses Bill of 1849 and the Annexation movement of the same year, the correspondence furnishes a unique object lesson, worked out in detail, on the methods of securing real appeasement and of subduing, through cautious wisdom, the heats of provincial party strife. One is reminded, as one reads, how many of the later characteristic features of Canadian government manifested themselves under Elgin's regime—among others, the innate conservatism of French-Canadian nationalism and the discovery that, whichever party was to prevail, its policy would be one of liberal-conservatism.

Space permits only a bare reference to the joint work of Elgin and Grey, as revealed in these letters, for the development of Canadian resources and of a more rational basis of friendship with the United States, founded on a saner tariff policy. The change of government in England in 1852, which cost Grey his secretaryship, brought his fruitful co-operation with Elgin to an end, so that the latter's culminating success in the Reciprocity Treaty with the United States in 1854 falls outside the limits of these letters. Nevertheless, students of economic relations between Canada and the United States will find in them an admirable introduction to the more decisive events of 1854.

The lasting impression, which not even the final volume and a half of unnecessary materials can blur or weaken, is that of a period full of difficulties, animosities, and errors, guided into success and happiness by one of the few "canny Scots" whose caution and good sense raised him to the heroic pitch. Nor will readers fail to see how much Grey's loyalty helped Elgin's splendid sobriety, and how much the success of both statesmen was due to the admirable political qualities of the colony which they helped to start on its career towards nationhood.

University of Durham, England.

J. L. MORISON.

Quellen zur deutschen Politik Österreichs, 1859-1866. Unter Mitwirkung von OSKAR SCHMID herausgegeben von HEINRICH RITTER VON SRBIK. Band VI¹⁻², *August, 1865-August, 1866.* [Deutsche Geschichtsquellen des 19. Jahrhunderts.] (Oldenburg i. O.: Gerhard Stalling. 1938. Pp. xxvii, 1023. 76 M. for the whole volume.)

How Francis Joseph and his advisers championed the federal system in Germany against the onslaughts of Prussianism, how the Gastein Convention produced only a temporary calm before the storm, how the peace offensive of Mensdorff, the Austrian foreign minister, went down to defeat, how Bismarck and Italy forced Francis Joseph to begin the armament race, and finally how Austria's debacle spelled the end of German Confederation—all this and more is seen, with a wealth of detail, in Professor Srbik's last volume of documents upon Austria's German policy from 1859 to 1866. (For reviews of the earlier volumes see the *American Historical Review*, XLI, 143; XLII, 539; XLIII, 391.)

In winding up the affairs of the refugee Frankfurt Diet, in August, 1866, the last Austrian president asked the delegates to refrain from criticism and to leave a final judgment to history. Not for three generations was it possible to judge from a knowledge of the original documents. A Harvard study, *Franz Joseph and Bismarck* (1934), made the first such attempt. The documents are now generally accessible in this admirable series just completed.

In this last volume about fifty new letters and memoranda from private archives add important facts to existing knowledge but do not alter previous conclusions. Much new light is thrown upon Mensdorff's personality and upon that most zealous opponent of Bismarck, Baron Biegeleben, before whose mind, it now appears, hovered the vision of the revival of the Holy Roman Empire (No. 2939 surely represents Biegeleben's ideas). By contrast, there is little new light upon Francis Joseph and none whatever upon those enigmatic characters, Esterhazy and Crenneville, who probably stood closer to the emperor than all others.

Letters exchanged between Mensdorff and Richard Metternich, ambassador in Paris, now complete the picture of the ultra-secret negotiations with Napoleon III, leading to the much criticized treaty of June 12, 1866. Like Bismarck, the Austrians tried to turn Napoleon's desires from the Rhineland to Belgium. Metternich suggested facilitating this change by transplanting the Belgian Coburgs to the throne of a neutral Rhine-Westphalian state (No. 2585). Thus these new documents support the reviewer's contention that Austria did not offer German territory to France, whereas Sybel and Oncken have affirmed the contrary.

The texts are remarkably complete and accurate, but two of the "corrections" of dates, on page xxvii, are still incorrect (Nos. 2125, 2610); and the military arrangements of the Gablenz compromise (No. 2763) are, in

the reviewer's opinion, erroneously attributed to Bismarck and Abeken (note 1). In all probability, the enlarged version of article 5 was mainly the work of Roon or Moltke. It was later incorporated almost bodily in Bismarck's famous reform proposals of June 10—a fact hitherto unnoticed—which, in turn, became the basis for the constitution of the German Empire.

A final word upon the three thousand documents of the Srbik-Schmid collection must be one of praise for the magnitude of the achievement with such limited funds. One renounces the luxuries of adequate cross references and references to published works in order to have in print all the essential sources upon the diplomacy of Austria in the most decisive years of modern German history.

Cambridge, Massachusetts.

CHESTER W. CLARK.

Germans in the Cameroons, 1884-1914: A Case Study in Modern Imperialism. By HARRY R. RUDIN, Assistant Professor of History and Fellow of Pierson College, Yale University. [Yale Historical Publications.] (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. 456. \$4.00.)

Germany's First Bid for Colonies, 1884-1885: A Move in Bismarck's European Policy. By A. J. P. TAYLOR, Lecturer in History in the University of Manchester. [Studies in Modern History, University of Manchester.] (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. v, 103. \$2.75.)

THE first and more elaborate of these studies is the result of ten years' research not only among all the relevant documents, including the archives of the German foreign office, happily then (1932-33) fully available, but on the very scene of the monograph itself, where officials, traders, planters, and natives were personally interviewed. One quarter of the book is devoted to excellent descriptions of the area and its explorations and to an account of the German occupation, the latter somewhat marred by its inadequate treatment, due no doubt to its introductory character. The remaining three quarters contain the author's essential and valuable contribution: a complete picture of the colonial administrative machinery with its motivating interests; a detailed description of the exploiting traders and planters, affording a microcosm of this type of economic imperialism; and, finally, a well-documented study of every department of native life. A thorough, conscientious, informative work, it contains much new material and leaves little of the subject unexplored. It is equipped with a good index and an annotated bibliography.

The very thoroughness of the study is perhaps responsible for the unfortunate tendency of the author to generalize from this one example about all German colonial administration and to characterize it in a manner which the facts presented hardly appear entirely to justify. "My own conclusion is that Germany's colonial accomplishments in thirty short years constitute a record of unusual achievement and entitle her to a very high

rank as a successful colonial power" (p. 11). "I feel that if Germany had been allowed to continue as a colonial power, her civil rule would have compared favorably with the very best that the world knows today" (p. 419). These unqualified statements, it must be noted, are deduced from a study of only one of Germany's four former African colonies. Moreover, the author makes the following points regarding the Cameroons: it was "no economic asset . . . required huge grants-in-aid and loans every year . . . never made Germany independent . . . for important raw material . . . never attracted large amounts of German capital . . . did not attract settlement by . . . Germans" (p. 418). This list of failures makes it difficult to understand upon what the opinion of Germany's "success" is based. Again, in regard to native administration, there was decided improvement, to be sure, after 1906, when Colonial Secretary Dernburg instituted his reforms. But it must be remembered that these years (1906-14) represent only seven out of thirty. Considering German colonial rule as a whole, in all the colonies, this reviewer heartily agrees with Mr. Rudin that it was unjustly maligned in 1919. It was, probably, no better and no worse than that of any other colonial power, conditions being equal. But she finds it difficult to endorse his enthusiasm as evidenced in the above quotations. His own facts do not bear out his conclusion. Among them are: "After 1888, there was scarcely a year without open hostilities in some part of the colony" (p. 307); in 1914 the most important and advanced tribe was on the verge of rebellion, and the German authorities, "believing in prevention as well as in punishing what was regarded as high treason, had Manga Bell (the chief) executed" (p. 413).

Mr. Taylor's book represents quite another approach to the subject: it describes the origin of the German colonial empire neither in Africa nor in Germany but only as a part of diplomacy. Essentially a study in international relations, it seeks to fit Bismarck's colonial policy into the structure of contemporary European politics. Relying entirely upon a searching analysis of British, German, and French documents, the author illumines, as has never been done before, all aspects of Bismarck's deliberately provocative quarrel over "ownerless lands adjoining . . . British colonies" or lying "near British strategic routes" as a means of drawing closer to France, a quarrel resulting in the founding of the German colonial empire.

As one follows Mr. Taylor's lucid account, there can be no doubt of the soundness of his thesis, up to a certain point. Indeed his emphatic confirmation of the purposefulness of Bismarck's colonial policy is especially gratifying in view of the commonly repeated assertions that the chancellor "simply changed his mind" about colonies or was "pushed into" expansion overseas. These interpretations Mr. Taylor explicitly repudiates and correctly so. On the other hand, however, it would seem that he presses his thesis somewhat too far when he claims that Bismarck's foreign policy is the

sole explanation of the origin of Germany's colonial empire. To state that the "German colonies were the accidental by-product of an abortive Franco-German entente" (p. 6) is to tell only part of the story, a very important part, to be sure, but to ignore Bismarck's long concern with the colonial question as one of commercial protection and his increasingly favorable response to colonial enthusiasts at home and abroad.

An interesting introduction surveys later colonial disputes between England and Germany up to 1914 and suggests that the close relationship between the European situation and colonial questions continued after 1884-85, a conclusion particularly significant in view of the present German demands.

Columbia University.

MARY E. TOWNSEND.

Social and Economic History of Germany from William II to Hitler, 1888-1938: A Comparative Study. By W. F. BRUCK, Visiting Professor and Research Scholar in the University College of South Wales and Monmouthshire. With a Foreword by J. F. Rees. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. xv, 291. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Bruck's essay attempts an analysis rather than a narrative of the economic development of Germany during the last half century. It is distinguished by the relative detachment with which it succeeds in exploring economic structure, social policy, and ideology. Detachment, however, does not for Bruck mean absence of preconceptions. He is explicit in rejecting the classical theory of laissez-faire capitalism and the competitive price system as universally valid norms for measuring the facts of economic history. On the other hand he does not accept the Marxian dialectic. "It is not a question of individualism versus socialism, for both are inseparable parts of Economic Society and co-exist even if one is latent" (p. 23). Individual initiative must always exist, whether at the hands of a private entrepreneur, a bureaucrat, or a "leader", and so must elements of planning. It is Bruck's contention that the latter element has always predominated in German economic structure and ideology, except for a brief stage of early industrialism (the early years of Bismarck).

The main body of the essay is devoted to tracing the continuous development of planned economic structure through three recent stages: the era of finance capitalism under William II, the era of mixed enterprise during the World War and the Weimar Reich, and that of the Third Reich (which is regarded as still transitional), in which the state is dominant. Discussion of the latter two phases derives special cogency from the fact that Professor Bruck as organizer of the Cotton Control Board during the war was intimately associated with men like Rathenau and Moellendorf, who formulated, in part in actuality and in part on paper, most of the economic structure of the present. The continuity of bureaucratic personnel

during the Weimar Reich is emphasized. The socialist governments after the war had no plans other than those which Rathenau and Moellendorf had devised, which they sought to reject. But Germany's international position carried the regime steadily toward planned autarchy. Bruck describes in much detail how the continued development of cartels and the interpenetration of banking and industrial capital, leading to rationalization, worked in the same direction. The growth of mixed enterprises, combining public and private capital and control in various proportions, brought a similar convergence. Germany became dominated by quasi-private economic structures which combined supply and demand functions.

The only revolutionary feature of the Nazi regime is the coercive intervention of the state and party. State control is also exerted in various directions through the monopoly either of supply or of demand and through the taxation system, which collects nearly half of the national dividend. The independent entrepreneur is being transformed virtually into a public functionary. Of these later developments Bruck is inclined to think that Nazi ideology is an effect rather than a cause. The economic goals and most of the structures had already developed, with the exception of investment control, of which more might have been made. Some elements were borrowed directly from Soviet Russia. Bruck views the budgetary and agricultural policies of the Third Reich with most concern.

Thus Bruck does not regard the Third Reich as having rescued Germany from a communist menace, or as the triumph of finance capitalism, or as the destruction of a promising movement toward labor democracy, but as the logical, though not final, development of German ideas and institutions. Although the book is difficult to read, it is a revealing study from the standpoint of what Hobson calls "reformed capitalism figuring as disinterested expertism".

Wellesley College.

LELAND H. JENKS.

An Economic History of Modern Britain: Machines and National Rivalries, 1887-1914, with an Epilogue, 1914-1929. By J. H. CLAPHAM, Vice-Provost of King's College and Professor of Economic History. (Cambridge: University Press; New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xiv, 577. \$7.00.)

MORE than thirty years ago Professor Clapham planned an economic history of Great Britain during the nineteenth century; more than twenty years ago the plan was drawn up in some detail. The first volume of the *Economic History of Modern Britain* appeared in 1926, the second in 1932, and this third and concluding volume in 1938. *Laus Deo* says Professor Clapham as he finishes the preface of the last volume, and all students of English economic history re-echo the sentiment, though with quite different feelings from his own.

Professor Clapham's plan called for a work on a fairly large scale, running from 1820 to 1914, with an epilogue which was at first intended to cover the decade from 1914 to 1924. The work of statisticians on wages and prices was to be used as a constant check upon the familiar historical legend. As far as possible the story was to be made quantitative. The "dimension of things" was to be made clear, or at least an attempt was to be made to offer dimensions in place of blurred masses of unspecified size. As a balance to the unreality of generalized statistical statement the special fortunes of individual industries and of different localities were to be surveyed constantly.

How have these purposes been carried out? The finished work covers 1685 pages of text, forming a storehouse of facts from which even the specialist in English economic history may draw new information on almost any point. For no country or period is there available in a single work so complete a set of figures by which the dimension of things can be gauged in matters of population, wages, prices, the size of factories, the amount of power in use, the volume of trade, and other mensurable quantities. Prices, wages, fluctuations in the volume of trade, and unemployment are kept steadily before the reader as essential factors in the light of which the state of the development of British economic and social life may be judged. (For reviews of the earlier volumes see the *American Historical Review*, XXXII, 863; XXXVIII, 753.)

The detailed studies of agriculture, electricity, rubber, the internal combustion engine, special steels, building, coal mining, the chemical trades, textiles, artificial silk, joint-stock amalgamations, international agreements, trade unions, the railroads, the post office and the telephone, the wireless and the air, and many other topics which occupy chapters II to VI of this volume show how steadily Professor Clapham has been true to his purpose of presenting the individual as a balance to the general. The two final chapters, on the economic activities of the state and on life and labor in industrial Britain, provide a more general view of this activity in terms of politics, business, and society as a whole.

In all this occupation with measuring, weighing, reporting, and ascertaining the exact fact there is cold comfort for the economic determinist and little regard for the economic theorist. Clapham is not concerned with proving that economic developments determine history and apparently even less in testing "economic laws" in the light of economic actualities. To the mind of this reviewer Clapham writes "economic history" as history and endeavors to do neither more nor less than to show *wie es eigentlich gewesen ist*.

In view of the greatness of Professor Clapham's achievement it may seem ungracious to register any critical comment. It is to be regretted that he persisted in his decision not to append a formal bibliography. Many

pages of the book make extremely difficult reading. To some it will seem that the facts he uses are often distillates from the *Economist* and committee *Reports* rather than the actual experience of the market place, the factory, or the board room. In certain chapters there seems to be too much complacency with things as they are, a confidence, implied in such terms as "no organic disease in the British economy", that in all the ups and downs of affairs things are very well with the British people.

Some students have expressed the view that in this storehouse of knowledge there is evident no pattern of development, no guiding thread to make the whole process intelligible. Perhaps, of course, this is because there is no pattern, no thread in the actuality of the modern world. Yet it may be that these critics have missed the implications of Professor Clapham's robust optimism. The pattern is the world as it is, a good world indeed.

The epilogue to this third volume surveys the years from 1914 into the 1930's. Covering less than fifty pages, it is necessarily less factual than the other sections of the book, but it is packed with some of the most provocative thought and some of the most illuminating observations of the whole three volumes.

University of Illinois.

FREDERICK C. DIETZ.

The Captains and the Kings depart: Journals and Letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher. Edited by OLIVER, Viscount ESHER. Two volumes, 1910-1915, and 1916-1930. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. 1938. Pp. viii, 307; ix, 315. \$7.50.)

THESE two volumes—which continue the *Journals and Letters of Reginald, Viscount Esher* (to 1910), published in 1934—furnish an indispensable, albeit fragmentary, contribution to the inner history of Great Britain during the prewar period and of the British part in the World War. What is set before us is particularly welcome, since Lord Esher's papers, relating to the years 1914-1919, have been deposited under seal in the British Museum till 1981.

The late Lord Esher (1852-1930) was a unique figure; well born, educated at Eton and Cambridge, intelligent, fine looking, he was on terms of intimacy with four sovereigns and with the leading political and military figures of the time. While his aim seems to have been to employ such talents and influence as he possessed for the good of his country, he sought in general to work behind the scenes and to avoid publicity. That may be the reason why Mr. Lloyd George in the sixth volume of his *Memoirs* calls him an "intriguer". An indication of the candor of the editor is the fact that he includes some prophecies of his father which were not realized, among them occasional predictions that the war might be lost and that Foch would never reach the highest command because he was a Jesuit.

During the course of his career Esher refused many important posts,

chief among them the offices of secretary of state for war and viceroy of India. One disputed point must be mentioned. It is usually asserted, among others by the editor, that Lord Esher declined the under-secretaryship of war in 1900. But Lord Middleton (formerly Mr. St. John Brodrick), in his recently published *Records and Reactions*, states that shortly after his appointment as secretary of war in 1900 he "had a most pressing letter from Esher, offering himself as Permanent Under-Secretary at the War Office" and assuring Brodrick "of his best support in inaugurating a new system". He further alleges that Esher never forgave him for refusing and procured his dismissal in 1903. It seems more in accordance with Esher's character to assume that his motive was not revenge but his desire to eliminate the office of commander in chief, which Brodrick wanted to retain.

Space will not permit of a summary of the revealing entries in the writer's journals, letters, and records of important conversations with personages of note. His characterizations are vivid and penetrating, his reflections those of a thoughtful, high-minded gentleman. While he may be a bit dazzled by the glamor of royalty, his views on current problems are shrewd and reasonable, the views of one fully alive to the trends of the time.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR LYON CROSS.

Robert Laird Borden: His Memoirs. Edited and with a Preface by HENRY BORDEN. With an Introduction by Arthur Meighen. Two volumes. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xvii, 542; vii, 543-1061. \$12.50.)

ROBERT LAIRD BORDEN has secured for himself a place in Canadian history comparable with those of Sir John Macdonald and Sir Wilfrid Laurier. He will be remembered as the leader whose persistent courage in the hard work of leadership of the Conservative party led to the defeat in 1911 of the Laurier ministry on the issue of reciprocity; who was foiled in his effort to give naval aid to Britain by the shortsighted spirit of revenge exhibited by Laurier and his supporters in 1912-13; who secured for a time a united government to carry conscription when he became convinced that only thus could Canada play her fair part in the Great War; and who in the negotiations by which hostilities were terminated stood forward with complete success as the protagonist of the assertion of the equality in status of the Dominions and the United Kingdom. He will also be honorably associated with the effort to bring to a close the laxity in the handling of public funds and the defects of the civil service system; it is significant that in 1919 he failed to secure legislation (p. 977) which would have placed purchasing for the government on a satisfactory footing and prevented the recurrence of such scandals as those which marked the beginning of the war, until he himself took matters up and secured the establishment of a purchasing commission (pp. 492 f.).

Borden's memoirs are a solid achievement, a painstaking and essentially accurate and well-weighed record of important events. They show every effort to be fair to those in his own party with whom he had difficulties. If he is severe on the demerits of Sir S. Hughes, he had unquestionably the fullest grounds for such action, and the only surprising matter was that he tolerated so long his vagaries, insubordination, and lack of judgment. It was only later that he learned that Hughes's tactlessness was one of the serious causes of the failure of French Canada to play her part in recruiting; it will be remembered that the tragic failure of Britain in regard to Irish enlistment arose from a like cause, lack of vision and of any attempt to meet the susceptibilities of people whose racial outlook was not British. Though himself British, Borden is far from regarding either British permanent officials or ministers with excessive complaisance, and he justly stresses the amazing fact that the war cabinet committee which was set up in June, 1918, gained no inkling from the experts whom they examined that there was any chance of winning the war that year. His own attitude in war matters was to support General Currie in his efforts to keep the Canadian forces together, and in this he was successful. His criticism of the Passchendaele episode (p. 810) is interesting, but he does not seem to have borne in mind the grave reasons arising out of the condition of the French army which imposed on the British commander in chief the necessity of undertaking the operation. That it was too long protracted, after it had become clear that weather conditions must render further progress impossible, may be admitted. His eulogy of the care taken by the Canadian forces to strengthen their positions is just, but he is hardly quite fair in reproaching the British commander, who was the victim of the German attack in March, 1918; as Mr. Duff Cooper has shown, prime responsibility rested with the British cabinet, which required Sir D. Haig to take over more of the French line and refused to send him sufficient reinforcements to enable him to hold the extended line in full strength.

We learn that Borden favored the proposal of General Smuts (pp. 900-902) to convert the governor general into a personal representative of the king only, a project delayed until it won approval at the Imperial Conference of 1926. It is an interesting conjecture whether he would not himself have desired to hold the office; it is clear that if political conditions had permitted, he would gladly have accepted the offer of the ambassadorship at Washington; in either event he would certainly have escaped the devastating pressure of overwork and political worries which overcame even his strength and drove him to resignation. There is abundant evidence that the labors imposed on a prime minister in Canada are far too heavy and that much more delegation of authority is essential. On his difficulties with his opponents Borden writes with wise restraint, but it is impossible not to feel sympathy with him in many cases, and it will always be a matter for lasting regret that Sir Wilfrid Laurier allowed his deference to what

he believed was the voice of Quebec to prevent him from forming a coalition with Borden and from adding to the war effort of Canada the impetus of his personal magnetism, a quality denied his upright but somewhat too rigid rival. But it is to the great credit of the Dominion that it could produce two such worthy sons. One minor point may be noted, for it was symptomatic of what was to come in 1936. It took the repeated admonitions (p. 989) of Borden to induce the prince of Wales to refrain from gratifying his desire to play golf on Sunday, though he knew well that this must offend the religious feeling of many of his future subjects.

University of Edinburgh.

A. BERRIEDALE KEITH.

Italy at the Paris Peace Conference. By RENÉ ALBRECHT-CARRIÉ. [The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. xiv, 575. \$5.25.)

Italy's Foreign and Colonial Policy, 1914-1937. By MAXWELL H. H. MACARTNEY and PAUL CREMONA. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 353. \$3.00.)

AMONG the governments of the major European powers the Italian has been the least generous with scholars in regard to the publication of diplomatic documents. Time was, back in the days of the wicked liberal regime before the World War, when *libri verdi* of varying degrees of candor and completeness could be counted on to appear every so often. This was particularly true in the eighties and nineties. Since the war, however, this practice has been abandoned, much to the discomfort of writers on recent diplomatic history. It has been rumored for a number of years that the Fascist government was on the point of issuing its counterpart to the great collections of documents published by Germany, Russia, Austria, Great Britain, France, and the United States. But thus far nothing has been seen of any such compilation, and its eventual appearance now seems more than doubtful.

All of which makes the task of the historian of recent Italian foreign policy far from easy. For this reason Dr. Carrié is entitled not only to our particular thanks for essaying to write a scholarly work on Italy's role at the Peace Conference but to our praise for doing the job in such commendable fashion. He has made use of whatever material was available at the time he wrote. Since then several pertinent books have been published such as Aldrovandi Marescotti's *Guerra diplomatica* and *Nuovi ricordi e frammenti di diario*, Senator Crespi's *Alla difesa d'Italia in guerra e a Versailles*, and Lloyd George's *Memoirs of the Peace Conference*. These firsthand accounts will be found to amplify Dr. Carrié's narrative though not to alter his conclusions.

In reality his book covers more than its title would indicate, for it commences with an indispensable chapter on the Treaty of London and continues down through the Treaty of Rapallo in 1920. The author maintains

throughout a judicious temper, free from moral or partisan bias. His style, if not distinguished, is readable, clear, and concise. He has illustrated his narrative with numerous maps, and in the appendix (some two hundred pages in length) he gives the text of forty-nine documents, all in English. Altogether he has covered the field so adequately that it will hardly be worth anyone's while to do it again except in the unlikely event that future revelations alter his conclusions materially.

Macartney and Cremona's book was conceived along quite different lines and makes no pretense to exhaustive and definitive scholarship. Mr. Macartney was for many years the Rome correspondent of the *London Times*, while Dr. Cremona served in a like capacity for the *Christian Science Monitor* until last year, when he was suddenly ordered out of the country by the Fascist authorities for reasons that have never been satisfactorily explained. This volume is not, however, a typical example of the breezy exposés dashed off by foreign correspondents in answer to some publisher's prayer for a timely book full of astounding revelations and juicy gossip. The authors enjoy the obvious advantage of having witnessed a large part of what they describe, though their work is in no sense a series of recollections. It is a well-balanced, well-informed, and, on the whole, impartial narrative. It is not profound, it sometimes seems to be flat and indiscriminating, but by and large it is reliable. No other work covers the same ground in as satisfactory a manner: Professor Salvemini's admirable and occasionally impassioned *Mussolini Diplomat* covers a more restricted period, while Miss Currey's *Italian Foreign Policy* is naïvely pro-Fascist. The authors conclude that a clash between Italy and Great Britain in the Mediterranean seems inevitable. Recent events, however, have virtually dispelled the possibility of the Rome-Islam Axis, which they discuss in their closing paragraphs.

Council on Foreign Relations.

ROBERT GALE WOOLBERT.

The Arab Awakening: The Story of the Arab National Movement. By GEORGE ANTONIUS. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company. 1939. Pp. xi, 471. \$3.00.)

THIS is a timely book which may have considerable influence on the course of historical developments in the Arab world. It is a valuable contribution to the knowledge of the rise of Arab nationalism and to that obscure historical episode, the Arab Revolt. It contains documentary and source materials which have never been published before. Furthermore the author, a Christian Arab of Palestine, sympathetic to the Arab nationalist movement, writes of this phenomenon from intimate acquaintance with Arab leaders whose written records he has checked against their verbal accounts. There is much information in his book which Western students cannot readily find elsewhere.

In the first part of his volume the author deals with the historical back-

ground of Arab nationalism. He gives the *mise en scène* clearly, briefly, interestingly, describing the Arabs and their world under Turkish domination with the resulting discontents and the increasing sense of cultural unity. He then proceeds to explain the immediate background of the revolt. His book contains more details about the Arab nationalistic and revolutionary clubs and societies than are to be found anywhere else except in an obscure publication printed by the Turks in 1916. This account clarifies much in the background of the revolt that was obscure.

Mr. Antonius writes of his people's struggle to attain national freedom and unity with a restraint and discernment which are highly commendable. Few nationalistic historians have written with as much objectivity. Nevertheless, he does tend to exaggerate certain matters and to gloss over others, for it is inevitable that he should see the historical developments during the war years through the eyes of the Arab nationalists from whom he gathered much of his valuable data.

He rather overemphasizes the effect of the British promises to Sharif Hussein upon the Arab soldiers in the Turkish armies and upon the civilian population of Palestine and Syria. I lived in Palestine and Syria, behind the Turkish lines, continuously from the spring of 1915 to that of 1917, and it is my belief that the attitude of the Arabs during the war years was largely due to the treatment meted out to them by the Turks together with the utter misery of the Arab masses resulting largely from the Allied blockade—misery for which the Turks were solely blamed. The author implies that the Turks “found themselves fighting in the midst of a decidedly hostile population” while the British were received “everywhere with demonstrations of welcome” principally because of the McMahon commitments to Hussein. It is my considered judgment that such was the case largely because of the intolerable conditions in Syria and Palestine between 1915 and 1918.

In dealing with the postwar settlement Mr. Antonius points out that “the Quai d’Orsay went so far as to believe that the proposal to hold an inquiry [the International Commission on Mandates in Turkey] on the spot was nothing less than a piece of Foreign Office intrigue calculated to eliminate the claims of France to a protectorate”; but he does not mention that the cause of this distrust on the part of the French lay in the things done by the British and Arabs in Syria during 1918 and 1919. An official dispatch sent by me on October 5, 1918, from Damascus, when I was American Military Observer with the British forces in Palestine and Syria, reveals some of the reasons for the lack of confidence of the French in their allies, the British and the Sherifian Arabs. The following is a paraphrasing of the pertinent parts of the dispatch:

There has been imposed on the inhabitants of the Syrian hinterland a Sherifian government with British aid and permission. Hussein has been

proclaimed king of Syria by Sherifian agents. A Sherifian government set up at Beirut seems to have been prearranged by the Mecca agents with or without British assent. A French political officer, Captain Coulondre, informs me that in his judgment it was not right to force a Sherifian government on Syria by a trick. He states that the imposition of a Sherifian government on the Christians of Mount Lebanon will not be tolerated by France.

The author makes no mention of the anti-French propaganda disseminated in Syria between October, 1918, and July, 1919. Nor does he speak of the fact that during the summer of 1919 the British turned over military equipment of the Egyptian Expeditionary Force to the Arabs. At the time observers thought this was an arming of the Arabs against the French. No doubt Mr. Antonius was not acquainted with some of these facts and consequently failed to understand the suspicions of the French in regard to the aims of the British and the Arabs.

Concerning the "King-Crane report" he does not mention and is probably ignorant of the existence of a minority report favorable to Zionism which was submitted to the American Peace Commissioners at Paris and accepted by them as a basis for their subsequent policy.

Even opponents must admire the generous and understanding way in which Mr. Antonius deals with the Arab-Zionist controversy at a time when passions on both sides are running full tide. Arabs and Zionists would do well to study critically and with an open mind this illuminating volume.

University of New Hampshire.

WILLIAM YALE.

The Scandinavian States and the League of Nations. By S. SHEPARD JONES, Director, World Peace Foundation, Boston. (Princeton: Princeton University Press; New York: American Scandinavian Foundation. 1939. Pp. xiii, 298. \$3.00.)

ANYONE conversant with the League's manifold activity in the twenties and early thirties knew that the Scandinavian aspect of the story was important enough to warrant a special treatise sometime, for what may be termed the small states' policy in the League was best crystallized in the outlook and activities of the Scandinavian group. Yet no one, perhaps, expected to see a treatise on the subject so soon. It is true that the limits of the present study are somewhat rigidly set. But within those limits Dr. Jones has made a conscientious study of his subject, and he presents a contribution both objective and substantial.

His chief concern is less with the activities of Scandinavians in the work of the League than with the attitudes taken by the governments and the delegations of the three Northern states toward the fundamental principles and the organization of the League. His exposition will serve especially the student of the political machinery of the League and of international organization generally. It is told, however, from the Scandinavian rather than from the Genevan end—hence it does not always stop to suggest how the

Scandinavian effort on any particular sector fitted into the total picture at Geneva. There is deliberate exclusion also, save only incidentally, of the material on Scandinavian participation in the technical and humanitarian activities of the League—unfortunately so perhaps, since these subjects are less adaptable for a separate book, minus the central core of the present one.

The author's documentation is very full throughout. He is thoroughly at home in the voluminous records of the League and has used extensively the parliamentary debates, the instructions to delegations, and other government publications generally of the three Northern kingdoms. He is conversant also with the secondary literature but inclined to cite it a bit indiscriminately in the first chapter or two—Beales, for example, is quoted several times, but never with any indication that the Scandinavian part of his story is sketchy and not always reliable. In a work to be used primarily for reference the index (compiled by another hand) is hardly adequate.

There is no attempt to carry the story beyond 1936, save incidentally. But as the League has since been relegated to a very inferior position, Dr. Jones's study has a certain final quality. There will be no need for another book in English on the Scandinavian conception of League principles and practice as we knew them before the Ethiopian War and sanctions.

New York University.

OSCAR J. FALNES

The Government of the Soviet Union. By SAMUEL N. HARPER. (New York: D. Van Nostrand Company. 1938. Pp. xviii, 204. \$1.25.)

IN this book Professor Harper essays the far-ranging task of depicting "the functioning of Bolshevism". The success he has achieved has been made possible by his peculiarly wide knowledge of the material and by his special technique. Apart from three introductory chapters, which are strongly high-lighted, he has not attempted to bring the subject into any particular focus. Rather, his own objective analysis is subtly blended with that which "is claimed". For the general reader the result may be somewhat blurred, an effect heightened by the use of familiar terms "with meanings often different from those associated with the same words when applied to western parliamentary systems".

Thus, terms such as "soviet democratism" and "democratic centralism" recur frequently but are nowhere brought into clear relation with the "ruling position" of the Party, enshrined in the new constitution itself. Nor does the discussion of "the strict discipline enforced by the Party over its members" convey the full flavor of "intra-party democracy" carried by *Pravda's* statement that "cowardly neutrality" of party leaders at party elections "attests failure to understand party democracy" and neglect of their "task", which is "to assist" the election "by secret ballot" of "the most worthy communists, those most devoted to the Central Committee" (*Pravda*, April 27, 1937).

Similarly, discussion of the labor unions ignores *Pravda's* sharp con-

trast between "schools of communism", whose function it is to increase output, and "counter-revolutionary" trade-unionism, which seeks to improve labor conditions. With more justice "socialized wage" does duty for prosaic words—parks and playgrounds, museums and public libraries, clinics, nursing service, and free education—because of the Soviet "principle that the leisure time should be organized". Thinnest is the treatment of finance, which neglects the relation of the Five Year Plans to the problem of capital accumulation and scants the fact that private capital receives its return from the profits of public enterprise.

Much of the actual "functioning of Bolshevism" may indeed be worked out by the careful reader from the material brought together in this book. Yet the employment of a vocabulary not to be found in our standard dictionaries and the general lack of focus, with its resultant double vision, are reflected in numerous contradictions which one might wish "liquidated". However, as "Stalin said in 1934 . . . 'Is it contradictory? Yes, it is contradictory. But this contradiction is a living thing and completely reflects Marxian dialectics'."

Brooklyn College.

JESSE D. CLARKSON.

My Austria. By KURT SCHUSCHNIGG. With an Introduction by Dorothy Thompson. Translated from the German by John Segrue. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1938. Pp. xxxviii, 308, vi. \$3.00.)

The Last Five Hours of Austria. By EUGENE LENNHÖFF, Former Editor of the Vienna "Telegraph". With an Introduction by Paul Frischauer. (New York: Frederick A. Stokes Company. 1938. Pp. xxi, 269. \$2.50.)

Die Wahrheit über Österreich. By GUIDO ZERNATTO. (New York: Alliance Book Corporation, Longmans, Green and Company. 1938. Pp. 331. \$3.25.)

Ein Staat stirbt: Österreich, 1934-38. By GEORG WIESER. (Paris: Éditions Nouvelles Internationales. 1938. Pp. 189.)

THE ever-growing literature on the passing of Austria is not, properly speaking, historical. Its authors have been too closely connected with the recent dramatic events to maintain a detached point of view. All of them try to show the justice of their own outlook and activity. This is quite natural when we observe that even writers remote from the Austrian scene have lost their objectivity under the shocks of Hitler's brutal aggression.

Of the first three books listed above Chancellor Schuschnigg's is the only serious historical document. It was originally published in Vienna in November, 1937, and it covers events until the early summer of that year. Schuschnigg tries to show the necessity of his and Dollfuss's dictatorships and their accomplishments. In doing this he does not positively distort facts but simply omits the other side of the story. As an ardent Austrian of the old type, as a firm Roman Catholic playing with the dream of the Habsburg

restoration, he does not perceive the real historical forces of the period and the fundamental fact that without the support of the Austrian working class, which in its organized form he and his colleagues intentionally destroyed, there was not the smallest possibility of successfully confronting the enormous military and economic forces of the Nazis. Yet for the reconstruction of the last period of the disintegrating Habsburg traditions the work of the chancellor is important to any student of recent history. It is also a significant document in showing the unbridgable chasm between the Marxist and the orthodox clerical ideologies.

Lennhoff's book contains picturesque and highly colored anecdotes of the last hours of Austria, showing indirectly how naïve and unprepared the regime was for its ultimate crisis. The introduction by Paul Frischauer is worthy of careful reading because it describes with unpremeditated humor the desperate and hopeless efforts during the last months to create a popular Austrian patriotism, which had been nonexistent since the disappearance of the Habsburg structure.

One gets the same impression from the volume by Mr. Zernatto, who used to be the general secretary of the *Vaterländische Front*, an organization lamentably inadequate to stop the unity and brutal attack of the Nazis. His description of a ball given by this organization on the eve of Berchtesgaden shows us the fashionable and *gemütlich* society of Vienna literally dancing its dance of death.

The fourth volume listed is of different character. Georg Wieser, former collaborator of Otto Bauer and now an exile in Paris, gives his own Marxist interpretation of the past four years. He is somewhat biased by his own viewpoint and sometimes uses uncritically the old and venerated dialectic formulas, but he has a sharp eye for the existing economic and social realities and demonstrates convincingly how the whole regime was built "in a vacuum"; how two thirds of the population consisted of confirmed pan-German Nazis and Social Democrats; how the illegal workers' movement continued after February, 1934; how nothing serious was done to reconcile the workers with the new regime; how the planned plebiscite of Schuschnigg would have been as farcical (though not so distorted) as the subsequent plebiscite of Hitler; how even the hours of disaster could not induce the regime to make a compromise with the workers in a common defensive front. Of course, Mr. Wieser has no realization of the fact that the rigid class-war doctrine of the Marxist Socialists was an important factor in the maturation of the Austrian tragedy.

Oberlin College.

OSCAR JÁSZI.

Mediterranean Cross-Currents. By MARGRET BOVERI. Translated from the German by Louisa Marie Sieveking. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 451. \$5.00.)

The Mediterranean in Politics. By ELIZABETH MONROE. (*Ibid.* Pp. ix, 259. \$2.50.)

A MORE strategic moment for surveys and analyses of Mediterranean problems than that selected by the authors of these two studies could rarely have been found. Even though political relationships in the Mediterranean area were already assuming new forms while the two volumes were still in the press, neither their timeliness nor their utility to students of international politics has been seriously diminished on that account.

As a guide to current problems Miss Boveri's work, much the longer of the two, is considerably the less important. In attempting to show that present problems are but historic outgrowths, she has devoted the greater part of her undertaking to a résumé of the entire past of Mediterranean lands. In this her conscientious study of historical literature is more apparent than her perception and grasp of all of the implications inherent in contemporary crosscurrents in the Mediterranean. Miss Boveri has permitted herself considerable indulgence in antiquarian items, anecdotes, and descriptive scenes, sometimes to the confusion of chronology; but she has done particularly well with geographical relationships and so has provided a good deal of perspective for recent developments. The numerous sketch maps throughout the book and the more general map of the Mediterranean basin at the end of the volume unfortunately are not nearly as illuminating as they would have been had they contained more detail and had the sketch maps been consistent in the use of points of the compass.

Rather in contrast with Miss Boveri's "cross-currents", Miss Monroe has addressed herself with laudable success to a discussion of the factors, tangible and intangible, in present-day Mediterranean politics. Even though new political alignments were already emerging as the book was finished, the author's analysis of fundamental national interests and international relationships will have practical applications as long as present methods of communication and transportation endure. Miss Monroe has a fine conception of the extent to which the Mediterranean is essential to each of the European powers, especially to Great Britain and Italy. She believes that the vital interests of these two powers have one thing in common—peace. On this ground she regards the Anglo-Italian Agreement as having been fully justified and considers the greatest hope for European peace to lie in the extent to which Great Britain and Italy may be able to accommodate their aims to other's needs. The prospect for peace, even before Munich, the new *Drang nach Osten*, and the recent Mediterranean manifestations of the Rome-Berlin Axis, she did not regard as particularly bright, principally because she is uncertain that the logic of Italy's position has been fully comprehended by the Italian dictatorship, for which she had no high opinion. Perhaps because it would have taken her beyond her specific theme, she has not mentioned the probability that Italy's uncertain "darting hither

and thither" may be due less to an improper estimate of the relationships of the various powers in the Mediterranean than to the greater difficulty of determining accurately Italy's position relative to the European situation as a whole. There are few points in the book, however, with which the reviewer would wish to take exception, whether the author is dealing with the North African littoral, Palestine, Syria, Turkey, the islands, or the European lands bordering on the Mediterranean. All are treated with admirable objectivity and detachment and with a thorough appreciation of the various kinds of factors which enter into the making of national policies in the third decade of the twentieth century.

The two books in many ways are complementary and, taken together in the order in which they are reviewed, provide as complete a textbook of European aims, interests, and strategy in the Mediterranean as ordinarily would be desired by a student of international politics. There are some shortcomings common to both: it is striking, for instance, that neither author seems clearly to have understood the treaty position of the Suez Canal—a point of considerable relevance, naturally, to any study of Mediterranean strategy. There is no doubt, however, as to the essential soundness of both volumes. This is attested in part by the extent to which the views of the two authors already prove to have been prophetic. Both works deserve prominent places on the library shelves of foreign offices.

Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. HALFORD L. HOSKINS.

Parliamentary Government in England: A Commentary. By HAROLD J.

LASKI. (New York: Viking Press. 1938. Pp. 383. \$3.50.)

The British Constitution. By H. R. G. GREAVES. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. 296. \$2.50.)

THESE two books have much in common besides their subject matter and year of publication. They both come from the London School of Economics, in which Mr. Laski is a professor and Mr. Greaves a lecturer. They start from the same postulates and arrive at substantially the same conclusions. It is not unfair to Mr. Greaves to say that on every issue of any importance he stands squarely with his more distinguished colleague, to whom his book is dedicated.

The authors concur in the opinion that the British constitution has worked in the past not because of any inherent virtues of form or of any innate political genius of the British people but because those who have worked it have been agreed on fundamentals—"so fundamentally at one", to quote Lord Balfour, "that they can safely afford to bicker; and so sure of their own moderation that they are not dangerously disturbed by the never-ending din of political conflict". Our authors attribute this fundamental unity to the dominance of what, in their view, was essentially a single class in the community, the owners of the means of production. They

share the belief that this unity has been disrupted and that the constitution is not likely to work successfully in a social crisis such as would arise if a victorious Labor party should seriously set about carrying out a socialist program, for the proletarian-capitalist cleavage of today is radically different in character from the old interparty "bickerings" among members of the ruling property class, "family quarrels" Mr. Laski calls them. Whigs and Tories, Liberals and Conservatives, disputed as to how a social-economic system which both accepted without question should be worked. The Labor party and the Conservative party are contending over whether it should be worked at all. What Bagehot dreaded and pronounced fatal to parliamentary government has come to pass: the poor are arrayed against the rich. With unity of social purpose gone, the sense of security and the tolerance which it breeds have been undermined, and these were essential to the successful working of the constitution in the past.

Messrs. Laski and Greaves show more absorbing interest in the future of the constitution than did the earlier writers with whom they are likely to be compared—Walter Bagehot in his *English Constitution*, Sidney Low in *The Governance of England*, and Ramsay Muir in *How Britain is Governed*, for examples. Their gaze is never withdrawn for long from that supreme crisis to which, they think, the British constitution is moving. They represent a socialist approach to the constitution even more obviously than Bagehot represents a mid-Victorian Liberal or Muir a postwar Liberal approach. Distortion of the past resulting from present-mindedness is a theme not unknown to the student of historiography. A reading of these books suggests reflection upon what future-mindedness may do to the present. In justice to Mr. Laski, however, it should be said that he has avowedly limited his commentary to those aspects of the working of the constitution "which are most relevant to the pressing problems of our time". Looking forward to the coming crisis, our authors see an ominous portent in the Ulster crisis of 1913-14, in which means of thwarting the will of the sovereign parliament were considered, short of armed resistance though with the thought of ultimate armed resistance always in men's minds. Similar means may well be resorted to, so our authors think, by die-hard defenders of capitalism in the greater crisis ahead—especially the use of the royal prerogative for reactionary purposes and the encouragement of a seditious spirit in the army.

How binding are the conventions of the British constitution, those pertaining to the exercise of the royal prerogative, for example? Mr. Laski leaves us in no doubt of his opinion. Most of the conventions are "vague in form and imprecise in substance". To assume that men who "do not speak the same language", whose "feet are set on the path of war", will accept as binding and sacred "principles so delicate as those upon which the conventions of the British constitution rest is to go contrary to everything we know from historical experience".

In any approach to the British constitution the monarchy is an important subject, and to socialists, with their eyes riveted on Armageddon, it is peculiarly important. Both authors are convinced that the political neutrality of the sovereign in the past has been a result of the fundamental oneness of the old parties and that it could not be counted upon in a Labor-Conservative conflict. In normal times the royal prerogative raises no serious difficulty; it is exercised on the advice of ministers. But in times of crisis the personal attitude and wishes and biases of the monarch come into play. Mr. Laski adheres to the opinion, which he has expressed elsewhere, that Ramsay MacDonald as prime minister in the National Government of 1931 was the personal appointee of George V, the result of a "palace revolution". Dangerous reactionary doctrines, he believes, have been proclaimed—by Professor A. Berriedale Keith in *The King and the Imperial Crown*, for example—to the effect that the king is "the guardian of the constitution".

Considered merely as a constitutionalist Mr. Laski often defends the status quo against critics. He does not agree with most of the criticisms that have been made of the present cabinet system; he does not share the apprehensions of those who, like Ramsay Muir, enlarge upon the dangers of "cabinet dictatorship" and does not think that the present relations of the cabinet to the house of commons or to the executive departments are basically wrong. He takes issue with those who maintain that there has been a decline in the quality of members of parliament and believes that a parliament "with great principles to debate will still debate greatly", though he sees no other way, apparently, of reviving the former public interest in parliamentary debates than to challenge the social-economic foundations of the national life. He is a staunch supporter of the two-party system, rejecting Muir's criticism of it, which he characterizes as "able and persuasive" but "wholly erroneous", and he is strongly opposed to proportional representation. He does not favor devolution as a means of relieving the pressure on the house of commons. He rejects the principle of the popular referendum. He sees no evidence of a lust for power in the civil service such as alarmed Lord Hewart and other critics of "the new despotism". He regards the growth of delegated legislation as inevitable and is not disturbed by administrative justice.

On the other hand, he has no love, of course, for the house of lords. He predicts that the Labor party, sooner or later, will be compelled to remove this obstacle from its path and that this will provoke "passionate antagonism from the opponents of Labor". Mr. Laski's hostility to the spirit of the common law is not concealed. Its principles, so highly venerated, are in his eyes "no more than devices adopted to protect the owner of property from arbitrary interference by the state power". These words reveal the width of the gulf that separates Mr. Laski as a commentator on the British

constitution from some of his more famous predecessors—Montesquieu and Burke and Dicey, for example. They thought it the genius and the glory of the constitution that it stood for the protection of life, liberty, and property from "arbitrary interference by the state power". Socialism is Mr. Laski's religion, and he is passionately devoted to equality. Liberty leaves him cold. As for the liberties of historical liberalism, what are they but part and parcel of the outworn ideology of the bourgeoisie? (See his *Rise of European Liberalism*.) Both our authors pay high tribute (who does not?) to the independence and integrity of British judges, but both look upon the bench as an ally of capitalism and take it for granted that a socialist government would encounter a hostile judiciary.

It is a reviewer's duty to call attention to errors and shortcomings. Mr. Greaves has sometimes been careless about his facts, but more serious than this are the consequences of bias in his treatment of historical events. To take the action of the house of lords in rejecting the Home Rule Bill of 1893 as an outstanding example of its obstruction of the popular will (p. 56) seems decidedly unfortunate. In the house of commons there was, to be sure, a narrow majority for the bill, but Home Rule was decisively rejected by the country in the next general election, in which it was the dominant issue. In discussing the attitude of the house of lords toward electoral reform (p. 60) Mr. Greaves does not mention its acceptance (whatever the motive) of the radical bill of 1867, which a majority of the existing electorate would probably have rejected, or its assent to the sweeping franchise extensions of 1918 and 1928. These are strange omissions.

Mr. Laski, unfortunately, does not respect the sanctity of inverted commas, with the result that his readers are never warranted in assuming that his quotations are accurate. The retentiveness of his memory has no doubt given him a false confidence in its inerrancy. He misquotes Bagehot's classic formulation of the three rights of a constitutional sovereign (p. 353); he makes a glaring misquotation from the preamble of the Parliament Act (p. 93); and on what occasion can Burke have used the very un-Burkian language quoted on page 37? Occasionally Mr. Laski seems guilty of a lapse from realism. Having stated that "Parliament is the organ of registration for the Cabinet" (p. 140), he can yet talk solemnly about the bias of reactionary judges who "do not appear to consider that Parliament may have had good reason for the decisions it has chosen to make" (p. 310). The temptation to dogmatize is one that Mr. Laski has never successfully wrestled with. If he were not so sure always, he would be more convincing sometimes. Cromwell's tremendous exhortation to the kirkmen of Scotland is dated by its language, but its message is timeless and universal: "I beseech you, in the bowels of Christ, think it possible you may be mistaken."

Columbia University.

R. L. SCHUYLER.

AMERICAN HISTORY

Our Catholic Heritage in Texas, 1519-1936. By CARLOS E. CASTAÑEDA. Volume I, *The Founding of Texas, 1519-1693*; Volume II, *The Winning of Texas, 1693-1731*; Volume III, *The Mission Era: The Missions at Work, 1731-1761*. [Prepared under the Auspices of the Knights of Columbus of Texas, Paul J. Foik, Editor.] (Austin: Von Boeckmann-Jones Company. 1936-1938. Pp. 444; 390; 474. \$8.95 each.)

IN these volumes Dr. Castañeda has combined his skills as a librarian, bibliographer, and historian in an admirable manner. The need for a full-scale history of Texas, here supplied, has existed for some time in view of the great output of articles, documents, and monographs by scholars of reputation in the past thirty years. The bibliographies, citations, and footnotes reveal a patient sifting of this material and the use of a considerable body of new documents from the archives of Spain and Mexico. This is a work which, despite a somewhat misleading title, transcends the limits of purely ecclesiastical history and gives the reader an authentic synthesis of Texan history in all its varied aspects.

The volumes on exploration and early occupation down to 1731 contain accounts of ninety-two expeditions which visited the soil of Texas, most of which are ignored in the general accounts. The interest of Garay, Cortés, and Nuño de Guzmán in the lower Rio Grande region is fully depicted, and the exploring expeditions of Pineda and Camargo are described. The classic *entradas* of Cabeza de Vaca, Coronado, and De Soto-Moscoso are presented in detail. The specialist will note that Dr. Castañeda follows Bandelier's favorable view of Fray Marcos de Niza rather than the critical studies of Bancroft, Hodge, Sauer, and Wagner, and he may disagree with the author's complete acceptance of David Donoghue's thesis that the Coronado expedition found Quivira in Texas. The hardships, sufferings, and death of the majority of a shipwrecked group of Spaniards on the coast of Texas (1553-54), including among them five Dominicans, constitutes a remarkable and hitherto neglected episode which loses nothing in the telling. Chapters on the resumption of exploring activity in the Big Bend and Pecos country after 1580, on María de-Agreda and the legend of the "Blue Lady of the Southwest", on the revival of missionary efforts after 1670, and on the beginnings of settlement with the founding of El Paso, after the retreat from New Mexico, bring the story to the dramatic appearance of La Salle and the French in Texas. The author sees this expedition as interrupting the normal expansion of the Spanish frontier and as in nowise a major cause of the mission establishment beyond the Rio Grande. The heroic failure of Father Massenet's attempt to occupy East Texas (1689-93) as a missionary field is related, with a wealth of new detail from the archival records, to end the first volume.

The second volume affords a systematic narrative of the Spanish occupation of Texas. The so-called "silent years" from 1693 to 1714 are given a fuller treatment than is available elsewhere. A sufficient sketch of the French activities in Louisiana and their interplay with the Texan developments gives the whole unity and clarity. While the missionary effort receives special attention, the advance of the military frontiers and the beginnings of civilian settlement are not neglected.

The final volume carries Texan history into the full stream of colonial life in the eighteenth century. Here the author has been able to use earlier studies, such as Professor H. E. Bolton's *Texas in the Middle Eighteenth Century*, to good effect. He has continued to add to what has been known, however, and presents new information at many points. The story of the missions near Presidio is a contribution, as is also the account of Spanish settlements on the left bank of the Rio Grande in 1753 and of the exploration of the coast to the Rio Grande from the mouth of the Guadalupe River.

The value of each volume is enhanced by a useful inset map and numerous illustrations. The indexes are well prepared and the proofreading carefully done. The bibliographies are extensive and arranged with an eye to use. They are not annotated, but the text and footnotes show their relative value by actual use. The work as a whole exhibits a high standard of craftsmanship and should be on the "must list" of all who profess an interest in this field.

The University of Michigan.

ARTHUR S. AITON.

The Colonial Period of American History. By CHARLES M. ANDREWS, Farnam Professor of American History, Emeritus, Yale University. Volume IV, *England's Commercial and Colonial Policy.* (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 477. \$4.00.)

THE theme of this volume is the development of England's commercial and colonial policies from Tudor and early Stuart beginnings to the eve of the American Revolution. The author's concern is with England's outlook on her colonies and only incidentally with the diverging interests and ideas of the Americans. To be sure, the problem of the American reaction to English policies is discussed (chiefly on pp. 132-42), and in the final chapter an attempt is made—which it is hoped will be pressed considerably further in later volumes—to assess centrifugal and centripetal tendencies among the colonists in the mid-eighteenth century. But a serious question arises whether these issues can be resolved solely by institutional studies, even when so broadly conceived as in this work.

The promise of the foreword, to make clear the "essential features" of English policy, has been generously fulfilled. Two chapters furnish a background, through the days of Dutch rivalry, for the history and analysis of the acts of trade and navigation, to which in turn four chapters are devoted. Three more develop the machinery for enforcement: customs

service, vice-admiralty courts (here viewed in the whole range of their activities and not merely where friction arose with Americans), the board of trade (admirably characterized as a body of men "with minds open to everything except fundamental ideas"). These are matters upon which, in one aspect or another, a great deal of scholarship has been accumulated by such students as Beer, Dickerson, Harper, and Professor Andrews himself. Here in three hundred pages we are provided with a new survey, freshly written from the sources. By avoiding repetition where his conclusions agree with others, the author has found room for substantive additions and for enlightening interpretation. Thus he passes over the relations of the board of trade with parliament and the administrative departments, to show more clearly than anyone has done its relations with the privy council and the secretary of state. In chapter iv, "The Enumerated Commodities", the applications and modifications of this most characteristically mercantilistic principle are traced through the sweeping regulations of 1766 and 1767. Then the principle was for the first time thoroughly applied—but for reasons which were financial as well as mercantilistic. On the vexed question as to whether logwood was in fact enumerated (pp. 91-93), it may be pointed out that in April, 1767, Benjamin Franklin made this grievance one item in a sharply satirical attack upon "British Ideas of what is Reasonable in American affairs", an essay which bears testimony to one American's growing opposition to several aspects of mercantilism. Incidentally, in the same place Franklin gave evidence upon another question, raised on pages 362-63: he roundly asserted "that a piece of French cloth, or silk, was *never worn*" among the Americans, that even French prize goods were unsalable.

The most distinguished interpretative passages are found in the two concluding chapters, in which the author turns from laws and machinery to the ideas which informed them. To explore the minds of the merchant-capitalists he has read widely in official sources and in the mercantilistic pamphlets and memorials, notably those of Dalby Thomas, Thomas Banister, William Wood, and James Abercromby. One misses in this gallery one of the most persistent memorialists of the first half of the eighteenth century, Thomas Coram, whose endless petitions reflect, along with mercantilism, those humanitarian views of the function of colonies which are here treated rather summarily in a footnote on page 102. The analysis of mercantilism in its significance for English colonial policy is a major contribution. Among the details of the analysis special value attaches to the weighing of the significance of the battle over the French trade and its outcome and to the exposition of the idea, implicit in later mercantilism, of a self-sufficing empire. But the notable feature is the demonstration that there was actually no such thing as an orthodox mercantilism, that except in a few fundamentals it was never an exact system, and that in policy and administration, even in a period when trade was the accepted basis of statecraft, the merchant-capitalists were never able completely to have their own way. Even before

1763 many a defeat was suffered at the hands of a parliament dominated by landowners, many a frustration at the hands of local-minded colonists.

Professor Andrews again asserts that after 1763, though mercantilism continued to furnish one basis for policy, it was increasingly subordinated to other considerations of finance and politics. He is aware that this view has been strongly challenged. He devotes a terminal footnote to rebuttal of the materialistic-interpretation school and, in the view of this reviewer, scores heavily against this particular variety of the tendency to oversimplify history. It is not so clear, however, that the complex motivation of the American Revolution can be understood without that "study of the social side of colonial life" which in one passage (p. 427, note) he appears to brush aside.

The University of Michigan.

VERNER W. CRANE.

History of American City Government: The Colonial Period. By ERNEST S. GRIFFITH, Dean of the Graduate School, The American University. (New York: Oxford University Press. 1938. Pp. 464. \$3.75.)

THE present volume is one of four projected. The treatment is essentially institutional and political, and such topics as incorporation, powers, internal constitutions, and finances are developed. Other chapters reflect the current interests of students of municipal government, notably that dealing with relations with the provincial government and others appraising municipal public opinion and the quality of city government. In his exposition of the operation of municipal government Dean Griffith demonstrates that by 1775 New York, alone of colonial cities, enjoyed "full-fledged representative municipal government". In addition to the four leading towns (Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Charleston) the author treats of all the colonial municipal corporations, between twenty and forty-five according to the criteria chosen, and of many unincorporated towns as well. He buttresses his conclusions with citations from an admirable list of municipal archives which he has consulted.

In appraising a survey as ambitious and comprehensive as this, occasional bibliographical criticisms are almost inevitable. Thus the author in his summary of the rise of the English borough does not appear to be acquainted with the views of such recent writers as Stephenson and Weinbaum. Oppenheim published only one volume of the *Dutch Records of Kingston*, not two; the remaining material, about five sixths of the total, is still in the county clerk's office but was not utilized in this study. The reviewer was unable to find a "Town Record Book of New Bern, 1753-79" in the vault of the "Clerk of the City Court, New Bern". The earliest book in the vault of the city clerk begins in 1797. While included in Dean Griffith's detailed bibliography, such items as the minutes of the commissioners of Tarboro, now at Raleigh, are arid from the point of view of municipal administration; a far more fruitful source of administrative activity would be, for example,

the court records of Edgecombe county, of which Tarboro is the county seat, for in the South it is to the county court that one must look first for town regulation. Good use has been made in some cases of newspaper materials, but a study of the files of the *Georgia Gazette* would have added considerably to the fund of information relative to Savannah.

Some generalizations need reconsideration. It is not strictly correct to speak of the Virginia county court as a close body, recruited by co-option. In his treatment of municipal control of economic life the author underrates the importance of laissez-faire trends. Except for wages of quasi-public officials, it is not correct to say that regulation of wages "extended in its full scope down to the Revolution". Nor was the struggle against extortionate prices a constant one, but decidedly spasmodic, given a fillip by the crisis of revolution. Regulation of breadstuffs and liquors is quite a different story from price regulation as a whole. Regulation of quality survived longer than regulation of crafts.

In arriving at estimates of population in colonial towns—a perilous venture at best—the author calculates inhabitants at an average of six to the house in the North, which, according to Felt, is too low. The number of tithables is slightly less than doubled, whereas it should be multiplied by three at least (*William and Mary College Quar.*, XIV, 85). The population given for Savannah in 1741 is far out of line. An examination of population figures prompts the query as to why St. Augustine, one of the more important towns under British control on the eve of the Revolution, is completely ignored. Certainly its municipal history should prove at least as profitable to survey as that of Agamenticus or Gorgeana. To the list of communities which at one time or another enjoyed courts of constables and overseers should be added Newtown and Staten Island. The quick demise of courts leet and baron in America is not paralleled in England, where the process of decay was extremely slow. Witness the Sheriffs Act of 1887, which recognized the existence of the leet. The author regards the urban masses of colonial times as disorderly and lawless and, by implication, considers the law-enforcing machinery of the present day as immeasurably superior. But no colonial town could boast the current unenviable homicide rate of some of our larger cities, and, while London and Bristol were pretty far removed from the frontier, the criminality and squalor of those cities in the eighteenth century could not be duplicated in any colonial urban community.

City College, New York.

RICHARD B. MORRIS.

Women's Life and Work in the Southern Colonies. By JULIA CHERRY SPRUILL. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 426. \$5.00.)

Mrs. Spruill has written an interesting account of women's life in the South before the Revolution and one which represents an enormous amount of painstaking research in colonial records, newspapers, journals, letters, and

biographies. She has touched on practically every phase of feminine existence, from the size of families to the literature found in the lady's library and from customs of courtship to special punishments meted out to delinquent women. The chapters dealing with "'Conjugal Felicity' and Domestic Discord" and those on women "Under the Law" and "Crimes and Punishments" are of particular value in throwing light on customs and practices of the period in fields which have not heretofore had adequate treatment. Each topic is treated chronologically and often with separate details for the different colonies. The author has done well in finding material on the women of the lower classes and those living on the frontier, always a difficult problem in this period. The bibliography is extensive and should prove of great value to others in the field of social history. Some additional information as to the contents of the various volumes of letters and journals listed would have been helpful if space had permitted its inclusion.

The book is excellent for reference purposes. For the general reader it would perhaps be more interesting if the chapters dealing with the occupations of women were less repetitious. In several instances the same information has been used in more than one connection.

The book raises several interesting questions for future research on the comparative position of Northern and Southern women. Was women's participation in affairs outside the home greater in the North than in the South, especially in the eighteenth century? Mrs. Spruill devotes one paragraph to the Revolutionary associations but does not give many details of their work. In the North they were of some importance, particularly those engaged in economic boycotts. The North also had occasional "praying circles" and other groups of women connected with the churches. Were there any such groups in the South, or did difficulties of communication and a different type of church organization prevent their formation? Were there any Southern women who wrote for publication? The North had probably less than half a dozen during the colonial and Revolutionary periods—the South apparently none except the women editors. Was this purely fortuitous or a matter of sectional differences? Such a study as Mrs. Spruill's will pave the way for more work in this field.

Besides throwing much light on the details of women's life the book shows the close relationship of English and American ideas, particularly in fashion and literature. In general, the view of woman's sphere was that held in England.

Lindenwood College.

MARY S. BENSON.

Business Enterprise in the American Revolutionary Era. By ROBERT A. EAST. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 387. \$4.25.)

THIS doctoral dissertation represents an ambitious and successful at-

tempt to describe and analyze the forces which produced a change in business organization and the technique of capital investment during and after the War for Independence. It likewise endeavors to sketch the careers of representative businessmen in all sections of the Union except the lower South and to evaluate the triumph of the politico-economic philosophy of "business freedom" which they preached and practiced.

In his introductory chapter entitled "The Late Colonial Business Scene" Mr. East states this thesis: "Group investment mechanisms were largely lacking, less by reason of restraints inherent in the unspecialized nature of commercial capitalism than because of the traditional reliance of colonials on British commercial credit, accompanied by serious imperial restrictions and by a general economic provincialism which an agrarian public opinion intensified." Chapters II-X are then devoted to an examination of the economic impact of the Revolutionary war. Motley throngs of successful privateer owners, army contractors, millers, prize agents, lawyers, and speculators in confiscated loyalist estates are shown elbowing their way into the spotlight of wealth and power. While special attention is given to such major entrepreneurs as Robert Morris and the less well-known Jeremiah Wadsworth of Hartford, hundreds of other capitalists are touched upon in brief but invariably illuminating fashion. Mr. East also summarizes the never-ceasing battles which were waged between radicals and conservatives in Congress and the state legislatures over the right of the merchant to seek his private ends under wartime conditions. In recapitulating "Some Economic Consequences of the War" the author maintains that "more wealthy colonials survived the war than recent writers suppose, the loyalist wealth-alienation theme having been overemphasized", although he is careful to note the advent in all commercial centers of wealthy newcomers whose youth, vigor, and national outlook helped to "set a faster pace for the future". In his last four chapters Mr. East undertakes a description of business developments during the decade 1781-92. The war was followed by several years of confused readjustment. Politically, the merchants and allied conservatives in other fields engineered a "Counter-Revolution" and reaped its benefits. With unprecedented vigor they combated agrarian demands for paper money; opposed further Torybaiting measures; sought to shift the burden of taxation to landowning farmers; asserted the rights of the public creditors; and stanchly supported the movement for a stronger federal government. Some significant details are supplied by the author respecting the individual capitalists who figured in the rise of stock speculation and the launching of banks and other business corporations from 1781 to 1792.

In the preparation of his work Mr. East has not only consulted great masses of printed primary sources and innumerable secondary accounts, but he has also enriched his narrative throughout with fresh material gleaned from an imposing array of bulky manuscript collections. This material both

supplements and complements that embodied in Charles A. Beard's epoch-making studies and in Joseph Stancliffe Davis's brilliant *Essays in the Earlier History of American Corporations*. Much spadework remains to be done, of course. We need detailed studies of Jeremiah Wadsworth, Joseph Barrell, Caleb Davis, and countless other businessmen. But Mr. East has given us both a useful compilation and a stimulating synthesis. His factual errors are few. His style, though somewhat prosaic, has the merits of clarity and restraint. His book is equipped with a comprehensive bibliography and an excellent index.

New York University.

JAMES O. WETTEREAU.

Roger Sherman, Signer and Statesman. By ROGER SHERMAN BOARDMAN. (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 1938. Pp. vii, 396. \$4.00.)

THIS long-awaited biography offers new and more adequate data upon which to base an estimate of a character so unusual as to defy ordinary methods of analysis. The individual who was successively "farm boy, shoemaker, surveyor, almanac-maker, merchant, lawyer, judge, and public servant" has been and probably always will remain something of an enigma.

Roger Sherman's epitaph may well commemorate the man who signed all three of the great documents of American statehood—the Declaration of Independence, the Articles of Confederation, and the Constitution of the United States. That does not describe, however, or even imply the character and extent of the public services he rendered. The fact that his two colleagues from Connecticut in the Federal Convention, Ellsworth and Johnson, went into the Senate when the new government was formed under the Constitution, while Sherman, like Madison, accepted election to the House of Representatives, is indicative. A single sentence from his letter of acceptance epitomizes his creed: "I wish to employ my time in such service as may be most beneficial and acceptable to my country." The financial sacrifice involved may be gathered from the rest of the letter. Appendix "C" devotes nine pages to listing nearly two hundred committees of which he was a member during his long career in the several congresses between 1777 and 1793. The mere thought of the drudgery involved is appalling, and one shudders on reading the note at the end of the list: "The above include only the more important committees on which Sherman was placed."

The variety of his activities in community, state, and nation is the subject of this biography. Students will be grateful for the additional material that has been gathered and presented in accordance with scholarly standards so that every statement may be accepted at its face value. They will have to draw conclusions for themselves, however, as the author has carefully refrained from expressing his own opinions or from any attempt at evaluation. It is to be regretted that Dr. Boardman, with his evident sympathetic

understanding of Roger Sherman's qualities and achievement, has not given his own appraisal of his subject's career or attempted some sort of a summary or characterization. The reviewer would like to have had his estimate checked by the author's greater knowledge.

That estimate is based almost entirely upon the present study. It carries the picture of a tall, awkward, even ungainly figure, devoid of charm, with voice and demeanor that repelled the fastidious and evoked caustic comment from his more gentle mannered associates—a shrewd Yankee who preferred storekeeping to practicing law, probably because it was more lucrative, and then gave himself up to continuous public service almost to the point of impoverishment. A combination of piety with a desire for financial success is not uncommon, but it is rarely joined with a sense of public duty that rises almost to the height of grandeur. Experience in public affairs and adroitness in legislative councils led to accomplishments that might be followed by insinuations of deals and bargaining but, be it noted, without reflecting on his personal honesty. Able rather than brilliant, Roger Sherman was a devoted and faithful public servant.

Huntington Library.

MAX FARRAND.

An Autobiographical Sketch by John Marshall, written at the Request of Joseph Story and now printed for the First Time from the Original Manuscript preserved at the William L. Clements Library, together with a Letter from Chief Justice Marshall to Justice Story relating Thereto. Edited by JOHN STOKES ADAMS. (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press. 1937. Pp. xxiii, 48. \$2.00.)

THIS document is far and away the most important writing by Chief Justice Marshall concerning himself. The manuscript is undated, but it is endorsed "written in 1827, J. S." The narrative covers the period from Marshall's birth to his appointment as Chief Justice. Until the death of the widow of Justice Story's grandson, Waldo Story, in 1932—as to the precise date and place, the editor is silent—the manuscript was unknown to the world at large. It was then "purchased by Professor Marco F. Liberma of Rome, from whom it was acquired by the William L. Clements Library".

As Mr. Adams further points out, the narrative was used by Story in the preparation of three successive accounts of Marshall, the final and most elaborate being the "Discourse" which he delivered before the Suffolk Bar on October 15, 1835, following Marshall's death, and which was later published in *Miscellaneous Writings of Joseph Story*, edited by his son William Wetmore Story (Boston, 1852). "In all these papers", Mr. Adams continues, "Story made extensive use of Marshall's manuscript which he followed with meticulous fidelity. More than half of it can be traced verbatim in parts of one or another of these articles. Indeed, in the third are several avowed quotations cited as extracts from 'a letter of a friend'."

The general effect of the Chief Justice's narrative is to show how

"faithful a chronicler" Story had been and "to confirm the authority of what he wrote". Beveridge's attempt to "correct" Story concerning two or three matters "closely touching the personal life of Marshall" Mr. Adams accordingly views rather skeptically. As he sensibly remarks, these were things "as to which it seems more reasonable to place reliance on his [Marshall's] memory than upon the conjecture of the historian".

Also, there is one matter to our knowledge of which the narrative adds materially, and that is Marshall's elevation to the Chief Justiceship. The passage (pp. 29-31), which, thanks to Dr. Randolph G. Adams's generosity, the reviewer was able to quote from in his article on Marshall in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, is delightful. Story himself must have struggled with the temptation to quote it too; but to have done so would have identified his informant too closely, and so he withheld his hand.

The volume before us is a beautiful specimen of the printing art. It is too bad, however, that the publishers thought it requisite to give it a format which will automatically consign it either to the attic or to the bottom shelf of most private libraries.

Princeton University.

EDWARD S. CORWIN.

The United States and Santo Domingo, 1798-1873: A Chapter in Caribbean Diplomacy. By CHARLES CALLAN TANSILL, Albert Shaw Lecturer in Diplomatic History, The Johns Hopkins University, 1931. [The Walter Hines Page School of International Relations, The Johns Hopkins University.] (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins Press. 1938. Pp. viii, 487. \$3.50.)

PROFESSOR Tansill deals with the more important episodes in the relations of the United States with both the Dominican Republic and Haiti during the period which he covers. Based on extensive research in foreign archives as well as in American source material, his book is one of the most scholarly and interesting of the numerous studies of relations between the United States and individual Latin-American countries which have appeared in recent years.

In dealing with the period before the Civil War the author opens up several interesting and hitherto little-known chapters in our diplomatic history. He shows that the government of the United States, on at least two occasions, was not averse to co-operation with European powers in intervening in Caribbean affairs. In the time of Toussaint, President Adams joined with the British government in a successful effort to obtain trading privileges in Haiti and to stop the use of that country's ports as a base for pirate raids. Again in 1850 the United States intervened jointly with England and France to persuade the Emperor Faustin to give up his plan for the invasion of the Dominican Republic. None of the three powers wished to see any other government obtain control of the fine harbor of Samaná by acceding to the hard-pressed Dominicans' appeals for the establishment of a foreign protectorate.

The United States apparently first began to take an active interest in acquiring Samaná for itself in 1853, when General Cazneau was appointed special agent in the Dominican Republic. Thenceforth the story deals largely with the effort of this irrepressible adventurer and his associates to promote their own personal interests by involving the United States in Dominican affairs. Despite accumulating evidences of rascality, Cazneau had the ear of successive administrations from the time when the first effort to acquire Samaná was defeated by poor management and foreign intrigue in 1854 down to the failure of President Grant's annexation treaty.

In the latter part of the book, which deals with the period between 1866 and 1871, the author throws much new light on Seward's and Grant's Dominican projects, especially in their bearing on political affairs at Washington. He shows, for example, that the generally accepted account of Fish's attitude toward the Babcock mission is incorrect, that this mission was undertaken with Fish's knowledge and consent, and that the Secretary of State loyally supported, if he did not fully approve, Grant's policy. He also traces in detail the course of the personal relations between Grant, Fish, and Sumner. The book ends with the final defeat of Grant's project for the annexation of Santo Domingo.

Princeton University.

DANA G. MUNRO.

New York, an American City, 1783-1803: A Study of Urban Life. By SIDNEY I. POMERANTZ. [Studies in History, Economics, and Public Law, edited by the Faculty of Political Science of Columbia University.] (New York: Columbia University Press. 1938. Pp. 531. \$5.00.)

Brooklyn Village, 1816-1834. By RALPH FOSTER WELD. [New York State Historical Association Series.] (*Ibid.* Pp. xviii, 362. \$3.50.)

DR. POMERANTZ'S monograph is ostensibly an intensive study of life in New York City for the double decade from 1783 to 1803, but in reality it is a thoughtful investigation of the immediate effects of the War for Independence on that city. The author maintains that the period was "an era of unprecedented change" in government, in cultural progress, and in economic and social institutions. Evidently he believes that political changes predominated, for five out of nine chapters are devoted to them. He deals with economic development—trade, business enterprises, capital, and labor—in a single chapter. The social phase of the study, in two chapters, relates to health, poor relief, penal reform, customs, homes, taverns, clubs, and amusements. Cultural progress includes the religious life, professions, education, the press, the theater, music, literature, and art. Dr. Pomerantz has done an excellent task of notetaking, has organized his materials to show a logical development, and has written his interpretation in a pleasing style. He has brought to light much useful information that will be of assistance to students of the rise of American civilization. A summary of his findings

might well have concluded the volume. The bibliography is fresh and up to date.

A similar intensive study of a New York community is made by Mr. Weld for Brooklyn Village during the years 1816 to 1834 and deserves high commendation. Beginning with the Dutch farmers, the author explains the growth of a cosmopolitan community with new faiths and new institutions. An informing chapter is devoted to the village charter and another to political progress under it. Students of social history will read with profit the sections dealing with reform and the temperance movement. The treatment of the cultural evolution of Brooklyn includes the press, the lyceum, the library, and the schools, both aristocratic and democratic. In some ways the "Notes", covering more than sixty pages of fine print, are the most valuable part of the book, for there rather than in the bibliography one may find the sources from which the volume was created. Excellent use has been made of local, town, school, and church records; of contemporary accounts, directories, and newspapers; and of local histories. Particular attention should be called to the excellent "Conclusion". The author seems to feel that religious and cultural influences rather than business and politics determined the character of the civilization of the village for the eighteen years following its incorporation. Proximity to New York City thwarted Brooklyn's individuality and self expression in those early days and has brought absorption in recent times.

The University of the State of New York.

A. C. FLICK.

The Protestant Crusade, 1800-1860: A Study of the Origins of American Nativism. By RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON, Assistant Professor of History, Smith College. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. viii, 514. \$5.00.)

THIS book deals with the ever-recurring problems of clashing cultures and creeds, complicated by serious conflicts of economic interests and racial antipathy. From a wide variety of sources the author has assembled a great mass of details to show that "hatred of Catholics and foreigners had been steadily growing in the United States for more than two centuries before it took political form with the Native American outburst of the 1840's and the Know-Nothingism of the 1850's". It is an unbroken story which takes its beginning in the anti-Catholic prejudice which had developed in England before the first English settlement and had been fostered by the events of the colonial period. With great pains and accuracy Mr. Billington has filmed the entire story.

For the materials used in the preparation of his book the author is partly indebted to the frank airing of religious controversies that affected public policy in the newspapers and periodicals published before the Civil War—

in contrast with the policy of similar publications published later and especially after 1900. This made it possible for a certain vocal element in the Protestant churches by the middle of the forties to present a united front against a certain vocal element in the Catholic churches; and by 1850 the anti-Catholic crusade had trickled down from the middle classes to the lower strata of society, which explains in part the successes of the Know-Nothing party in the elections of 1854 and 1855.

Worthy of special mention are the valuable and inclusive bibliography, the copious and meticulous citations of the sources, the excellent chapter on "The Literature of Anti-Catholicism", and a new interpretation of the Know-Nothing vote in the South and in the border states and its relation to the Whig and Constitutional Union parties.

Mr. Billington was happy in the choice of the title of his book, and he hews close to the line. It is not a history of nativism, although the chapter on "The War against the Immigrant, 1850-1854" shows that a great mass of material awaits the student who aspires to write the whole story of the efforts of the "guardians" of the "Spirit of Seventy-six" to preserve "America for Americans".

In the interest of the general reader and the student who lacks the necessary background it might have been well to emphasize the fact that while the nativistic gales howled and the less level-headed members of society had their day, America was the haven of thousands of immigrants—Catholics, Protestants, and Jews—who found a "promised land" where men were free to work out their own religious, social, economic, and political salvation, without interference from prelates clothed with power to prescribe what men must believe in order to obtain salvation. Although nativism was much ado about little, Mr. Billington's excellent book fills a "long felt need".

The University of Minnesota.

GEORGE M. STEPHENSON.

Isaac Franklin, Slave Trader and Planter of the Old South, with Plantation Records. By WENDELL HOLMES STEPHENSON. (University: Louisiana State University Press. 1938. Pp. xi, 368. \$3.00.)

WITH the growing interest in the study of business history and business records there has come an interest in the Southern planter not as a romantic figure in a romantic past but as part of a business system. In the same way the slave trader demands new attention not as the repulsive or criminal figure pictured in fiction but, again, as a businessman in a business system. Isaac Franklin, the subject of Mr. Stephenson's volume, united the functions of trader and planter, thus making it possible to study two business pursuits and the transition from one to the other.

Not until after 1808 could the domestic slave trade achieve any degree of importance in this country. By 1819 Franklin, with his partner Armfield,

had become the leading long-distance trader. Any reader of the pages of Frederic Bancroft's *Slave Trading in the Old South* has already made the acquaintance of these partners, who had "a positive genius for speculating in slaves". That genius, it was said, brought them \$33,000 in 1829. Starting where Bancroft left the subject, Professor Stephenson follows their trade to Natchez and New Orleans, supplying many details concerning cargoes, prices, credit terms, insurance, taxes, and purchasers. In part Franklin and Armfield owned their own vessels and shipped cargoes of from seventy-five to one hundred once every two months, occasionally once a month. They also shipped Negroes in vessels owned by others and sent some coffles overland. At one time this firm alone was shipping from one thousand to twelve hundred Negroes annually to Southern markets. Their purchasers were merchants and householders who bought small numbers, and sugar growers who bought as many as twenty-five or thirty at a time for the expanding industry. As one of the interesting aspects of the New Orleans market, the author calls attention to the fact that many of the purchasers were free Negroes.

After 1826 certificates of moral character had to accompany all Negroes sold in Louisiana, and between 1831 and 1834 the introduction of Negroes into the state by traders was forbidden. In Mississippi the constitution of 1832 forbade the importation of Negroes. Though there is little reason to think that this prohibition was enforced, the way of the trader was growing more difficult, and by 1835 Franklin was expanding his planting interests and withdrawing from the trade. Into Louisiana plantations he put a large part of three-quarters of a million dollars, which he was reputed to have made in the slave trade.

Parts II and III contain conveyances, inventories, wills, price lists, and valuable financial records of the plantations, many of which give useful information on credit practices, the relation of the plantation owner to his commission merchants, and in general the cost of running a plantation. While the chapters dealing with Franklin's slave trade are illuminating, to the reviewer the documents dealing with his plantations, which make up two hundred or more pages, offer the greater value.

Wellesley College.

ELIZABETH DONNAN.

Der Pragmatismus: R. W. Emerson, W. James, J. Dewey. Von EDUARD BAUMGARTEN. [Die geistigen Grundlagen des amerikanischen Gemeinwesens.] (Frankfurt am Main: Vittorio Klostermann. 1938. Pp. xviii, 483. 9 M.)

A hundred years ago, when the Germans were as yet little acquainted with the United States, their philosophers regarded England as the "pragmatisch gesinnte Nation". Somewhat later America became in their eyes the pragmatic nation *par excellence*, with Emerson as an exceptional exponent

of idealism. Now Dr. Baumgarten groups Emerson himself with pragmatism, as he has done with Franklin in an earlier volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 893), and makes him another ancestor of James and Dewey. Much of this hooking-up is a perfectly legitimate and even stimulating enterprise in the history of thought and the interchange of thought, though one wonders whether many American readers of this book will be able to get American thought back again into their own idiom and out of the Heidegger German in which the author has expressed it, or how they could see what, if anything, is identical in that vaguely used term "experiment" which he applies to so much Anglo-American thought from Shakespeare to Dewey.

Dr. Baumgarten's enterprise is at bottom a confrontation of some of the present-day German problems, some of the author's personal ones clearly included, with American thought and institutions. It is curious to find how many Nazi problems America has had and still has: "race", "power", and "leadership" are made central problems in Emerson's thought, though not "property", which I think could be made just as central were not the discussion of property now taboo in Germany. With a citation of Emerson's "Let us lie low in the Lord's power", the American thinker, in whose social philosophy so much is indeed indeterminate or evoked by moods, becomes almost a consoler to the nonresisting Germans in their Third Reich. The American principle of rotation in office is clearly enough developed to make Germans realize that something might be said for democratic removable corruption as against irremovable corruption under a dictatorship, but such adaptiveness with regard to American experience requires caution, and Dr. Baumgarten feels it necessary to justify his respect for things American by adducing his personal war experience. He states that as a soldier in the World War he, in common with many other young Europeans, experienced a frontier situation of the most radical kind and that this shaped corresponding convictions. Some of them had been, within their own hearts at least, pragmatists (in a German way) long before they began to hear much about America and her philosophy "and feel today, in the German pioneering situation of 1933 and after, the more desire to take seriously as an instructive and well-tried *pendant* the Pragmatism of the American frontier" (p. 441). What this resemblance really amounts to, aside from metaphor and the author's personal equation, must remain wholly dark to those who consider the German situation, and especially that of German savants, as the utmost antithesis to pioneerdom, its complete passivism and *Ausweglosigkeit* forming an absolute contrast to American activity and opportunity. Nor is the incomparability of the two societies lessened by the author's conviction that truth is "a category of community" (p. 338).

Sherman, Connecticut.

ALFRED VAGTS.

Letters of James Gillespie Birney, 1831-1857. Edited by DWIGHT LOWELL DUMOND, Associate Professor of History, University of Michigan. [The American Historical Association.] Two volumes. (New York: D. Appleton-Century Company. 1938. Pp. xxxvi, 582; xiii, 583-1189. \$10.00.)

THE career of James G. Birney in the antislavery movement was more varied than that of any of its other leaders. As agent, editor, writer, and politician, he was in touch with all the leading personages in the movement, and the writers of the letters which are printed in these two volumes include such prominent figures as Theodore Dwight Weld, Lewis Tappan, Gerrit Smith, Gamaliel Bailey, Henry B. Stanton, and Joshua Leavitt, not to mention many other lesser figures.

The bulk of the correspondence has been drawn from the personal papers of Birney, which were formerly in the possession of his grandson, George Birney Jennison, and are now in the Library of the University of Michigan. Other sources which have been drawn upon include the Gerrit Smith manuscripts at Syracuse University, the Birney papers in the Library of Congress and the Boston Public Library; the Tappan papers, the Elizur Wright papers, and the papers of the American Colonization Society, the last three in the Library of Congress. In all, nearly five hundred letters and documents are printed of which more than one third are Birney's, the others being chiefly letters received by him from his numerous correspondents.

The correspondence as printed begins in 1832, when Birney, who had recently determined to remove with his family from Alabama to Illinois, in order that his sons might be free from the influence of slavery, was "staggered", as he says, by an invitation from the American Colonization Society to undertake work as its agent in the southwestern section of the country. By 1845 Birney had finished his public career, an injury and subsequent invalidism incapacitating him for the strenuous labors in which he had hitherto engaged. Letters between 1845 and 1850 are numerous but after that date much fewer in number. The last letter printed is from Birney to Gerrit Smith, written less than a month before his death in 1857.

Professor Dumond has performed the duties of editor in scholarly fashion and has contributed a brief but illuminating introduction. This is his second important contribution as editor of source materials for the antislavery movement, following as it does *The Letters of Theodore Dwight Weld, Angelina Grimké Weld, and Sarah Grimké* (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLI, 162), in which he was associated with Professor Gilbert H. Barnes. These two collections of correspondence are already making possible some measure of reappraisal of the abolition and antislavery movements, as was clearly shown in papers presented at the recent Chicago meeting of the American Historical Association. Further revision in this important field of American history may be expected in the immediate future and will be facilitated

by the publication of other similar series of correspondence which have found their way into the great libraries of the United States.

The University of Western Ontario.

FRED LONDON.

Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States: Inter-American Affairs, 1831-1860. Selected and arranged by WILLIAM R. MANNING. Volume IX, *Mexico, 1848 (Mid-Year)-1860, Documents 3772-4476.* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. 1937. Pp. xlv, 1251. \$5.00.)

THIS large volume contains important and interesting documents on a variety of topics: boundary surveys, depredations of frontier Indians, commercial relations, negotiations regarding territory and transit routes, and the growing peril of European intervention. The central themes which emerge, however, are the political disorders of Mexico and the expansionist tendencies in the United States. With the exception of the decade that followed the overthrow of Porfirio Díaz in 1911, the twelve years covered by this collection of diplomatic correspondence were the most unstable in Mexico's national history. Political chaos tended to invite the purchase of territory and transportation routes as well as intervention in the domestic affairs of Mexico. Yet the United States did not engage in armed intervention, and the only acquisition from Mexico was the territory included in the Gadsden treaty. One has here a long and complex story of failure—failure which was perhaps best for both countries.

This diplomatic futility was caused in part by the very instability which provoked an aggressive policy. It was also due in part to the influence of European agents. But in the main it was caused by the growing friction between North and South in the United States and by the character of a number of the diplomatic representatives of the Washington government. The reader of this bulky collection cannot fail to be impressed by the crudeness of the majority of the North American diplomats in comparison with those of Mexico. The dispatches of the agents of the United States are filled with tactless utterances and bad grammar and flavored with an incongruous mixture of greed, romanticism, and democratic fervor.

The editor has performed his task in a superb manner. The selection of documents from a vast repository of manuscripts displays fine judgment, the proofreading is almost perfect, the index thorough, and the explanatory notes invaluable. Only one who has scrutinized the whole bulk of correspondence from which this collection was made and encountered the handwriting and orthography of such agents as James Gadsden, for instance, can fully appreciate the magnitude of labor required. This volume and the one preceding it constitute a major contribution to the study of Mexican-American relations.

The University of Chicago.

J. FRED RIPPY.

Democracy in the Making: The Jackson-Tyler Era. By HUGH RUSSELL FRASER. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company. 1938. Pp. 334. \$3.50.)

THE title which Mr. Fraser has given his book is hardly appropriate. With respect to the expansion of the suffrage, the labor movement, and the development of the national political party convention as an institution—all important phenomena in the making of democracy—the volume contributes little. Neither the name nor the deeds of Thomas W. Dorr appear. What is really presented is a review of the struggle of President Jackson with the Bank of the United States, of the warfare between President Tyler and the Whig leaders over matters of finance in 1841-42, and of the intervening economic history of the Van Buren administration.

The papers of Nicholas Biddle have constituted for the author his chief hunting ground, and the result of his research is a more severe indictment of Mr. Biddle than one finds elsewhere. The impressiveness of this, however, is, unhappily, in large part nullified by Mr. Fraser's neglect of some essential secondary works and of other important bodies of manuscript material. He cites, for example, Lyon G. Tyler's *Letters and Times of the Tylers* as a two-volume work, remaining unaware, apparently, of the third, highly documented volume which appeared in 1896. He has used R. C. McGrane's *Correspondence of Nicholas Biddle* but not the same author's *Foreign Bondholders and American State Debts* (1935), wherein he might have discovered the existence, in Ottawa, of the Baring Papers, which throw a flood of light upon the very period and topic of which he undertakes to write.

In contrast with the good paper, printing, illustrations, and binding of the volume, Mr. Fraser's proofreading is often very poor, particularly in the footnotes, with respect to the spelling of the names of authors. In the text the name of John Sergeant, the Philadelphia lawyer and Whig leader, is consistently misspelled.

The carelessness which is thus revealed appears also in the presentation of the subject matter. Important topics are omitted and others overstressed. Neither of the two acts of Congress so essential to Mr. Fraser's narrative—the "Deposit" Act of June 23, 1836, and the Land Law of September 4, 1841—is described in an adequate manner; and as to the former, one wonders whether Mr. Fraser really grasps the distinction between this and Henry Clay's bills for the distribution of the proceeds of the sale of the public lands.

Despite an excess of superlatives, exclamation points, and question marks, Mr. Fraser's writing holds the reader's interest. The book, however, is more important in the hope which it engenders for his work in the future than as a successful accomplishment in itself. Coming at times dangerously near to the border of fiction, it lacks the severe discipline of scholarship.

The Library of Congress.

ST. GEORGE L. SIOUSSAT.

A History of American Magazines. By FRANK LUTHER MOTT, Director of the School of Journalism, State University of Iowa. Volume II, 1850-1865; Volume III, 1865-1885. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press. 1938. Pp. xvi, 608; xiii, 649. \$5.00 each.)

THESE two volumes carry forward to the year 1885 the history of American magazines which a first volume, published in 1930, admirably set forth for the period 1741-1850 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXV, 888). Throughout this detailed and comprehensive record Mr. Mott has been successful in so ordering the materials out of which the history is constructed as to render the account both useful and enjoyable to readers. The first half of each volume deals with the general development of American magazines for the period under discussion and includes, among other things, a consideration of the business side of publication, the geographical distribution of periodicals, and the growth of journals devoted to special interests. The second half is made up of separate sketches of the most important magazines founded during the period, except when a long-lived publication founded in one period reaches its chief importance later. In this case the sketch is included in the volume containing the history of the later period. A list of all magazines mentioned, chronologically arranged according to the year in which they were begun, tells at a glance what new projects were engaging the attention of publishers annually. This arrangement for each volume, plus an excellent index, makes the wealth of information included in the history easily accessible. The three volumes now published constitute a reference work indispensable to every library.

The *History of American Magazines* is much more, however, than a collection of valuable information and a standard reference work in its field. It is a spirited and vigorous account of human nature and popular movements as they are reflected in publications that are of necessity close to daily life. In the preface to Volume II Mr. Mott declares his belief that old magazines, even more effectively than newspapers, reveal the life of the times in which they were printed. His purpose, therefore, is not only to tell the story of the founding and passing of a wide variety of journals but to "analyze the content of the magazines of the period considered according to ideas, literary types, and typographical and pictorial presentation".

This purpose Mr. Mott carries out with so much energy and gusto that the result is lively entertainment as well as instruction. A general reader may profitably turn the pages of the volumes and enjoy the comments on farm papers, technical and industrial journals, periodicals devoted to literature, art, music, or the theater, and others dealing with the "woman question", food reform, and popular sports. He may examine the story of the *North American Review*, of *Putnam's*, the *Atlantic Monthly*, *Scribner's*, the *Century*, and the accounts of their editors; or he may follow the humbler

fortunes of *Woodhull and Claflin's Weekly*, the *National Police Gazette*, and the magazines published by Beadle of dime-novel fame. Throughout the entire history Mr. Mott happily combines exact information with picturesque detail.

Wellesley College.

BERTHA-MONICA STEARNS.

The Birth of the Oil Industry. By PAUL H. GIDDENS, Professor of History and Political Science, Allegheny College. Introduction by Ida M. Tarbell. (New York: Macmillan Company. 1938. Pp. xxxix, 216. \$3.00.)

BRIEFLY, this is the story of the first ten years of the oil industry—a short decade in which petroleum emerged from a patent medicine skimmed from the streams of northwestern Pennsylvania to become the chief lubricant and illuminant of the United States and Western Europe. It is the only recent attempt which has been made to gather together and synthesize both the contemporary material and that more recently collected. The research, which gives every evidence of adequacy and competence, is based largely upon the Bell collection and other materials gathered over a period of more than half a century and now housed in the Museum of the Drake Well Memorial Park near Titusville.

There are spots in this book which are touched by an antiquarian flavor, but as a whole Professor Giddens has packed into two hundred pages much material of historical value. In ten years an industry developed from practically nothing to one with an investment of \$200,000,000, with an export value second only to cotton, and with a future which made the gold of California sink into relative insignificance. In a few square miles of northwestern Pennsylvania there was enacted during the Civil War years a drama of epic proportions, one as yet virtually missed by writers of fiction and directors of moving pictures.

Ida M. Tarbell, in a thirty-nine page introduction (chiefly a résumé of the story Professor Giddens has told at greater length) stresses the point that "the way all these varied activities fell into line, promptly and automatically organizing themselves, is one of the most illuminating exhibits the history of our industry affords, of how things came about under a self-directed, democratic, individualistic system: the degree to which men who act on 'the instant need of things' naturally supplement one another—pull together." The first ten years of the oil industry is indeed a remarkable exhibition of the capacity of rugged individualism operating under a laissez-faire system to cope with new and unexpected problems. But it is also a story of incredible inefficiency and suffering and of waste of material and human resources. Possibly one could sum it up by saying that it showed the human race and the economic system at their best and at their worst.

In a brief final chapter the author summarizes the advances made by the oil industry during the decade 1859-69. His most interesting points have

to do with the influence of the new industry upon the economic background of the Civil War, particularly the aspect of foreign trade, a field hitherto largely neglected by historians. The book is illustrated with five maps and thirty-two contemporary illustrations.

Smith College.

HAROLD U. FAULKNER.

The Old Northwest as the Keystone of the Arch of American Federal Union: A Study in Commerce and Politics. By A. L. KOHLMEIER, Professor of History, Indiana University. (Bloomington: Principia Press. 1938. Pp. v, 257. \$2.50.)

The Big Four: The Story of Huntington, Stanford, Hopkins, and Crocker, and of the Building of the Central Pacific. By OSCAR LEWIS. (New York: Alfred A. Knopf. 1938. Pp. xi, 418, vi. \$4.50.)

PROFESSOR Kohlmeier's book is concerned with the trade relations of the Old Northwest with the Southeast, the Southwest, and the Northeast, and the part they played in the politics of the ante-bellum period. The author painstakingly analyzes the traffic flowing to and from the Northwest by way of the Mississippi, the Ohio, and the Great Lakes and traces the construction of canals and railroads and their effect upon the old trade routes. He finds that the completion of the railroads from the East to the Northwest between 1850 and 1860 did not reverse the trade routes as some writers infer. The railroads built up traffic for themselves by developing areas previously backward, especially the northern parts of Ohio, Indiana, and Illinois, but the Mississippi continued to be a great artery of commerce. The secession of the Southern states threatened the free navigation of the river and caused great anxiety in the upper Mississippi valley. "No part of the country", observes Professor Kohlmeier (p. 244), "was more desperately in need of the preservation of the Union than was the Old Northwest". Both Lincoln and the Confederate leaders realized the dependence of the Northwest upon the Mississippi, and neither wished to take the first steps to close it. Despite the allurements offered by the South, the Northwest was won to the Union.

Professor Kohlmeier has used a wide variety of material, including reports of railroads and boards of trade, commercial reviews, newspapers, state and federal documents. He has produced a worthwhile study of the relationship of commerce and politics in the sectional alignments down to 1861. Unfortunately the style is monotonous and involved. Equally regrettable is the lack of maps and a bibliography.

Oscar Lewis's *The Big Four* is a work of different quality. It is written with a light touch, it frequently deals with the trivial, but it is entertaining as well as instructive. A thin treatment of the building of the Central Pacific Railroad is followed by critical sketches of the Big Four—Collis P. Huntington, Leland Stanford, Charles Crocker, and Mark Hopkins—and

two lesser figures, Theodore Judah and David Colton. The author has used California newspapers, federal documents, and certain unpublished reminiscences and has painted a series of highly illuminating pictures. Huntington is shown as the ablest of the Big Four, but he does not appear as a constructive railroad promoter. "While railroads were good for Huntington, Huntington was not good for railroads", the author acidly observes (p. 220).

Mr. Lewis gives less attention to the means by which the associates accumulated their wealth than to the way they spent it. The construction of ornate palaces, the purchase of paintings and bric-a-brac in Europe, the lavish expenditures of their wives, the establishment of Stanford University and the Huntington Library are all described in a colorful fashion. The description of cross-country travel in the seventies is well done, and the monopoly of transportation which the Central and Southern Pacific Railroads enjoyed in California is interestingly described. The bibliography is brief, there are no footnotes or maps, but the numerous illustrations are well chosen.

Cornell University.

PAUL WALLACE GATES.

Letters of Henry Adams, 1892-1918. Edited by WORTHINGTON CHAUNCEY FORD. (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Company. 1938. Pp. x, 672. \$4.50.)

THIS second volume of letters covers the period from 1892 to Adams's death in 1918. (For a review of the first volume see Volume XXXVI, page 616, of this journal.) They are of course interesting, as anything Adams wrote was certain to be; but they add little, nothing of real importance, to our knowledge of the man. The least interesting are those dealing with the particular events of politics and finance: every sharp advance or decline in stocks gives Adams the jitters—indicates that the world is played out, the end imminent. Continual exaggeration of the importance of matters forgotten by everyone in a week becomes a bit tiresome, especially if, as is quite possible, it was no more than a pose or a bad habit.

There are, however, many extremely interesting passages about people and books. Apropos of the famous statue in Rock Creek Cemetery: Everyone was asking St. Gaudens what he "meant in that figure", and he of course couldn't say what anything meant. La Farge felt that it was meant "to express whatever was in the mind of the spectator" (p. 407). Adams himself implored Roosevelt to exhibit a little insight in regard to the statue: "will you try to do St. Gaudens the justice to remark that his expression was a little higher than sex can give . . . he meant to exclude sex, to sink it in the idea of humanity. The figure is sexless" (p. 513). Apropos of Henry James's *Life of Story*: "So you have written not Story's life, but your own and mine: . . . *Type bourgeois-bostonien!* . . . Improvised Europeans, we were, and—Lord God!—how thin. . . You strip us, gently and kindly, like a surgeon, and I feel your knife in my ribs" (p. 414). Apropos of Roose-

velt: "Theodore has stopped talking about cowboys and San Juan. . . . That he is still a bore as big as a buffalo I do not deny, but at least he is a different sort" (p. 428). Apropos of Kant: "His categorical imperative is the Dean of Königsberg" (p. 452).

Occasionally, especially in letters to his brother, Brooks Adams, he appears to drop the customary mask of frivolity. "The suggestion that these great corporate organisms, which now (1910) perform all the vital functions of our social life, should behave themselves decently, gives away our contention that they have no right to exist. . . . None of you dare touch the essential facts; and, since 1893, I dare not touch it myself. The whole fabric of our society will go to wrack if we lay hands of reform on our rotten institutions. All you can do is to vapor like Theodore about honesty!—Damn your honesty! And law!—Damn your law! And decency!—Damn your decency! From top to bottom the whole system is a fraud. . . . The only question is whether it will break down suddenly, or subside slowly, after long lapse of time, into motionless decay" (p. 548).

Cornell University.

CARL BECKER.

America and the Strife of Europe. By J. FRED RIPPY, Professor of American History, The University of Chicago. (Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 1938. Pp. xiii, 263. \$2.00.)

In agreement with other scholars, Professor Rippy believes that the success of American foreign policy, from independence to our newer conceptions of neutrality, has been made possible in large measure by the "strife of Europe"—that is, by the bitter struggle of the nations of the Old World to preserve a precarious balance of power. The paralyzing disunion of Europe has been a formidable first line of defense for the United States, which American statecraft has exploited to the full. But Americans have not been disinterested spectators of the European scene; almost every war or threat of war has enlisted our sympathies and has sometimes challenged what we consider our vital interests. When both our sympathies and our interests have been involved simultaneously, or seemed to be so involved, we have had difficulty in remaining aloof from European strife. It appeared to Professor Rippy, writing early in 1938, that a second world war was brewing and that the United States, because of a concatenation of sentimental and material concerns, might become involved. Like many other Americans anxious for our future, he appeared to be uncertain as to what should be done about it. But he seemed confident that our first line of defense (the strife of Europe) remained, should we seek to take refuge behind it. And he was also confident that "respectful but not servile consideration for national experience and traditions" might help American statesmanship to maintain in proper perspective the true national interests, material and psychological (pp. x-xi).

There is a striking difference in the organization of the last third of the volume as compared with the preceding sections. Chapters ix to xi are a rather detailed analysis of the policies of Roosevelt, Bryan, and Wilson, whereas the foregoing material is more general. Both portions of the book, however, aim at a critical analysis of the dynamics of American foreign policy during the last century and a half. It is in this respect that Professor Rippy makes whatever contribution is new in either content or interpretation. It is no disparagement to say that there would have been some shifts of emphasis if the author had been writing after instead of before the Munich settlement. It seems to the reviewer also that he has underestimated or unduly subordinated the influence of geography and of changing techniques of warfare and transportation as factors in American policy both past and present. Everything considered, however, Professor Rippy has demonstrated that first-rate historical writing can render more than mere academic service. The text is undocumented, but there is a well-chosen, manageable bibliography, four maps, and an adequate index. It can safely be predicted that this little volume will be a welcome addition to the required reading of both teachers and students of American history.

The Institute for Advanced Study.

EDWARD MEAD EARLE.

NOTICES OF OTHER RECENT PUBLICATIONS

GENERAL HISTORY

Aspects of History. By E. E. KELLETT. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938, pp. 160, 5s.)
History, Freedom & Religion. By F. M. POWICKE. [Riddell Memorial Lectures, University of Durham.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 62, 85 cents.) Having compiled selections from the writings of a large number of historians, Mr. Kellett was moved to examine the various conceptions of history which historians have held. The result is a sketchy survey of history writing, from Pentaur to Hilaire Belloc, as theology, as literature, as propaganda, as science, as both art and science, as politics, as ethics, and as economics, the conclusion being that there has never been agreement among historians as to the nature and purpose of their enterprise. Mr. Kellett, though he makes some dubious assumptions, has written a readable and probably harmless little book that has been taken seriously in certain quarters in England, but he was handicapped by what appears to have been a total ignorance of recent literature on historiography. Professor Powicke's lecture on History is entitled to a place in that literature, for it calls us to reflection on the implications of the fact, unquestionably true but seldom meditated upon, that history (considered as events) is mostly unrecorded. Common interpretations of history "tend to isolate that remnant of past experience which is on record and to concentrate upon it. Everything that has fallen out by the way, which has disappeared from our view, is regarded as irrelevant. . . . How much has dropped out, and yet is as truly a part of history as anything that we know. How careful should we be, in our efforts to understand what we think we can know, never to forget that there is this vast tract of the unknown and the unknowable." Mr. Kellett reminds us that Buckle's hope remains unfulfilled: history has not learned to predict the future. Does the great unrecorded make the hope unfulfillable?

R. L. SCHUYLER.

Tradition and Progress and Other Historical Essays in Culture, Religion, and Politics. By ROSS HOFFMAN. [Science and Culture Series.] (Milwaukee, Bruce Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xvii, 165, \$2.00.) This book is a series of essays not entirely homogeneous in nature, but taken as a whole they constitute an able Catholic interpretation of the history of mankind and of the value of historical study. Professor Hoffman attacks vigorously the pragmatic view of history presented by James Harvey Robinson and certain of his disciples. He contends that we should not study history for the purpose of understanding how the present has come about. Rather, our reading of history should entice us into a romantic appreciation of the past, especially a comprehension of the unique nature and value of the civilization of the Middle Ages. Next to his enthusiasm for the Middle Ages, Professor Hoffman is most deeply stirred by what he calls "The Return of the Church from Exile". By this he means the marked revival in our generation of vigorous intellectual propaganda for the role of Catholicism in the contemporary world. Reviewers will be most kind to Professor Hoffman if they do not check up too closely on his statements. For example, he devotes a lengthy criticism to the alleged ignoring of contemporary Catholic thought in the reviewer's *History of Western Civilization*. He then goes on specifically to state

that "one looks in vain for Dawson, or Maritain, or Belloc, or Chesterton, or for any distinguished Catholic thinker who has applied his mind to the problems of our age". Perhaps we should not ask a man to read a book before he criticizes it, but at least we might expect him to consult the index. Had Professor Hoffman done so in this case, he would have discovered that I refer to all the men he mentions, as well as to many other Catholic thinkers, and have, perhaps, cited Dawson more frequently than any other single author in my treatment of medieval culture.

HARRY ELMER BARNES.

Annales de l'Institut Kondakov (Seminarium Kondakovianum). Volume X, *Mélanges A. A. Vasiliev*. (Prague, Institut Kondakov, 1938, pp. 201, \$6.00.) The fifteen studies published in this volume have been brought together to honor a distinguished Byzantinist. They are, on the whole, of a type to attract the attention of specialists; yet the high scholarly reputations of the authors make it desirable to call the volume to the attention of all medievalists. Six of the essays are in Russian, including one on Vasiliev himself by G. V. Vernadsky. This and D. Anastasjievic's "Actes d'Esphigménon du tsar Dušan" are given in Russian alone, while a résumé in French or German opens to a wider circle of scholars the conclusions of S. Stanojević's "Jacob, métropolit de Ser", V. A. Mošin's "Sur la question du servage à Byzance", D. A. Rassovsky's "Les Comans. III. Le territoire des Comans", and N. E. Andreev's "Ivan IV. der Gestrenge und die Ikonenmalerei des XVI. Jahrhunderts". F. Dölger in "Johannes VI. Kantakuzenos als dynastischer Legitimist" explains how the fourteenth century usurper sought to establish family ties with the Palaeologi in order to strengthen his claims to imperial dignity. F. Dvorník, "L'affaire de Photios dans la littérature latine du moyen âge", shows that the weight given to the Photian affair by modern historians is in striking contrast to the neglect or disinterest manifested by writers from the ninth to the twelfth century. The other essays are: "L'empereur Maurice s'appuyait-il sur les Verts ou sur les Bleus?" by Henri Grégoire; "À propos de l'éloge de l'empereur Jean III Batatzès par son fils Théodore II Lascaris" by M. A. Andreeva; "Autokrator Johannes II. und Basileus Alexios" by Georg Ostrogorsky; "Un inventaire de documents byzantins de Chilandar" by A. V. Solovjev; "Berliner Quellen zu den Lebensumständen des Metropoliten Arsenios von Tiberiapolis und des Bischofs Seraphim von Tzerbenos" by N. A. Bees; "The Foundation of Dura-Europos on the Euphrates" by M. I. Rostovtzeff; and "Protobulgares et Slaves" by I. Dujčev. There is a splendid portrait of Vasiliev and a list of his writings.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

La méthode historique de M. Nicolas Iorga (à propos d'un compte rendu). By ALEXANDRE DOMANOVSKY. (Budapest, Imprimerie de l'Université Royale Hongroise, n. d., pp. 323.) Since so much European history is nothing but ideological presentation of this or that nationalistic cause, we must not be too severe with the present work. In 1923 the author published a short history of Hungary in German. Thirteen years later Professor Iorga reviewed the work, characterizing it as an "ouvrage de passion", full of "erreurs voulues". This has induced Professor Domanovszky to refute Iorga's criticism in detail and, in addition, to criticize Iorga's history of Hungary, published in the fourth volume of Helmolt's *Weltgeschichte* (Leipzig, 1919, pp. 455-87). The result is a fully documented work which demonstrates how irreconcilable may be the views propounded on the same subject by scholars of two different nationalities. The book may have some interest for readers who like to have their opinions for or against Hungary's ideology of history confirmed or refuted without much sustained demand upon their historical empiricism.

JOSEPH S. ROUCEK.

The Legal Position of War: Changes in its Practice and Theory from Plato to Vattel. By WILLIAM BALLIS. (The Hague, Martinus Nijhoff, 1937, pp. xi, 188, 4 gld.) A welcome contribution to the rapidly growing literature on the history and nature of war is this presented by Dr. Ballis. It gains in clarity from the fact that it has concentrated upon essentials. The emphasis upon the contribution of Cicero as over against the medieval scholastics is fully justified in a history of the definition of just and unjust war, but the continued influence of the scholastics has perhaps justified the prominence given to them in most treatises. A suggestive summary in the concluding chapter, which brings the story down to the present day, leaves the reader with a real sense of regret that the detailed survey ends with the eighteenth century. JAMES T. SHOTWELL.

Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts, 1400-1800. By ARTHUR S. KELLER, OLIVER J. LISSITZYN, FREDERICK J. MANN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 182, \$2.50.) This volume is a study of the practices employed by European governments in the period from 1400 to 1800 to acquire title to *terra nullius*—land that was neither a sovereign unity nor under the control of a Christian prince. The term *terra nullius* included only territories of which the rulers were not regarded as possessing sovereignty because of their relatively low state of civilization. In such regions, for example in America, Australia, the East Indies, and Africa, valid title to land could be obtained only through symbolic acts, without the formal cession of territory by the natives. These acts, in addition to a declaration proclaiming dominion over the area concerned, consisted in the erection of some physical sign of possession—a cross or a pillar—bearing a suitable inscription. Although they varied in detail, these acts were the same in their effect inasmuch as the title thus established was regarded as good against all subsequent claims by other nations. It would seem that no government regarded the mere physical discovery without the performance of a symbolic act as sufficient to establish title. Numerous illustrations, skillfully handled, indicate how this principle of international law was established and likewise how its application enabled European nations in a systematic manner to extend their influence beyond the seas. The material for these illustrations was selected from the journals and letters of explorers, the records of chartered companies, and secondary historical writings. In their effort to follow a definite pattern and chronological sequence, so as to avoid too much variation in style and presentation, the authors have succeeded admirably. CARL J. KULSRUD.

Theory and Practice in International Relations. By SALVADOR DE MADARIAGA. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1937, pp. 105, \$1.50.) A series of five lectures given under the auspices of the William J. Cooper Foundation, Swarthmore College.

A History of Jewish Literature from the Close of the Bible to our Own Days. By MEYER WAXMAN. Volume I, *From the Close of the Canon to the End of the Twelfth Century.* Second edition, revised and enlarged. (New York, Bloch Publishing Company, 1938, pp. xvi, 562, \$3.50.)

Europe in the Seventeenth Century. By DAVID OGG. Third edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xi, 575, \$3.75.) The author states that the changes in this third edition are extensive and that the bibliography has been brought up to date.

The Quakers: Their Story and Message. By A. NEAVE BRAYSHAW. Third edition. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. 365, \$2.75.) This popular handbook on the history of the Quakers is probably the best short account that we have. Its weak-

ness is its inadequate treatment of Quaker history and biography in America and its neglect of Quaker history outside of the British Isles, except for recent occurrences since the World War. Its principal value lies in its explanation of the beliefs and "testimonies", or social reforms, which have distinguished the Quakers since the beginning of their history, and the reason for the origin and survival of these beliefs and testimonies. One chief strength of the book is the continual quotation from authoritative writers and official utterances of Quaker meetings.

WILLIAM I. HULL.

Dr. Bodo Otto and the Medical Background of the American Revolution. By JAMES E. GIBSON. (Springfield, Illinois, Charles C. Thomas, 1937, pp. ix, 345, \$4.00.)

Milestones in Medicine [Laity Lectures of the New York Academy of Medicine for 1936-37]. Introduction by James Alexander Miller. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. vii, 276, \$2.00.)

Landmarks in Medicine [Laity Lectures of the New York Academy of Medicine for 1937-38]. Introduction by James Alexander Miller. (*Ibid.*, 1939, pp. vii, 347, \$2.00.)

Publicaciones de la Catedra de Historia de la Medicina. Edited by Dr. JUAN RAMON BELTRAN. Volume I, *Conferencias y Trabajos*. (Buenos Aires, Imprenta de la Universidad, 1938, pp. 294.)

Medicine in Modern Society. By DAVID RIESMAN. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1938, pp. 226, \$2.50.)

The Conquest of Cholera, America's Greatest Scourge. By J. S. CHAMBERS. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xiv, 366, \$4.75.)

The Unicameral Legislature. By ALVIN W. JOHNSON. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1938, pp. ix, 198, \$2.00.) The debate on the question of whether a legislature should consist of one or two houses, though long continued and at times bitter, remains on the whole inconclusive. This volume by Professor Johnson, which covers the ground from Siéyès to Norris, is devoted mainly to a consideration of the arguments for and against the traditional bicameral form of legislatures and to a very moderate advocacy of the unicameral system. The early chapters present a brief account of the evolution of bicameralism abroad and in the United States. The book also contains an account of the growth of the movement for unicameralism in the United States since the Ohio proposal in 1912 and a valuable table on the constitutional amendments for unicameral legislatures proposed in 1937. Nebraska's recent experience with a single chambered legislature is given special treatment. The author is a discriminating advocate of unicameralism. He knows that forms of government are not all-important, that matters of personnel and problems concerning elections and representation, legislative procedure, legislative congestion, the relationship between legislatures and governors, and many others remain, whether the legislature has one or two houses. His conclusion, which certainly seems warranted, is that the unicameral legislature, because it is simpler in structure, probably makes legislative reform somewhat easier and therefore more probable. Hence, on the whole, he thinks it desirable. Experience as well as theory seems to the reviewer to justify the same conclusion. The book is well organized, interestingly written, and contains much useful material. It deserves serious attention now that the prolonged debate is being resumed throughout the country.

ELMER D. GRAPER.

Romanticism and the Gothic Revival. By AGNES ADDISON. (New York, Richard R. Smith, 1938, pp. viii, 187, \$2.50.) The subject of this work is the rise and decline of the Romantic movement in Europe and America and its effect on contemporary literature and architecture.

Le problème des nationalités. By PAUL HENRY. (Paris, Colin, 1937, pp. 214, 13 fr.)

Der Nationalgedanke von Rousseau bis Ranke. By OTTO VOSSLER. (Munich, Oldenbourg, 1937, pp. 187, 5.50 M.)

History of the Armenian Question to 1885. By A. O. SARKISSIAN. (Urbana, University of Illinois Press, 1938, pp. 151, \$2.00.) Mr. Sarkissian has studied the Armenian Question as "an offshoot of European diplomacy" and as "an important phase of the history of a people scattered far and wide in all parts of Asia Minor and surrounding countries". In the pursuit of his first objective he succumbed to the temptation to plunge into the murky waters of the imbroglio of 1875-78, and the reader wades through several swamps which contribute little more than distraction. The second objective provides the real contribution of the study. In dealing with the Armenian people the author directs his attention almost exclusively to those under the heavy yoke of the Turk. The major features of this tragic story are not new, but Mr. Sarkissian has merited gratitude for exploiting a considerable body of Armenian material, notably the records of the National Assembly. His last chapter gives a valuable survey of the cultural advance of the Armenians up to 1885. By any standard of morality the Armenian people were wronged, and no one can remonstrate when that fact is emphasized by one to whom those wrongs are not an academic subject. At the same time, the heavy judgment against the English might be contested. How much legal and moral obligation to protect the peoples of Asia Minor Lord Salisbury incurred could perhaps be debated. But after all is said, the new chapter in the old story of attempting to reform Turkey was largely incidental to the great game of national interest, and the rules of that game, unfortunately for the Armenians, dictated the conduct of Lord Salisbury no less than that of all other ministers under the paramount obligation of caring for national welfare in international relations. It is probably less useful to censure Lord Salisbury than to bring into question the rules of the game.

DAVID HARRIS.

Chronologie de la Guerre mondiale, de Serajevo à Versailles, 28 juin, 1914-28 juin, 1919. By F. DEBYSER. (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 263, 40 fr.) This chronology possesses the merits of completeness and accuracy in ample measure. Scarcely a day during the five years is without significant entries; tersely and impartially expressed. These notations indicate the military and naval actions of the war, diplomatic events, and relevant internal affairs of the important nations throughout the world. There are eight statistical tables of moderate worth, together with a large, really serviceable index. Primarily intended for French readers and as a reference guide for the other volumes in its series, the chronology is nevertheless independently useful and sometimes interesting reading.

ROGERS P. CHURCHILL.

Foreign Affairs, 1919-1937. By E. L. HASLUCK. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xvii, 347, \$2.50.) The author of this survey organizes the material according to five geographical zones: Central Europe, Western Europe, Eastern and Northern Europe, Asia and Africa, and the Americas. The result is a disconnected chronology of the various states situated in five continents, selected items of internal histories rather than topical problems in foreign

affairs. Of peculiar (and amusing) interest to American readers are the twenty-seven pages devoted to the United States, representing a harvest of details in British Americana, including prohibition; lynching and the Ku Klux Klan; crime and lawlessness (Huey Long, the "millionaire gangster"); pursuit of the "Almighty Dollar"; New Deal expenditures in pounds sterling; and the "sinister power of graft [which] hangs over American life as the Devil was believed to hover perpetually over the life of the medieval Christian". The value of this work for college courses is limited. Interpretation is confined to the introduction ("The Versailles Settlement") and the final chapter, which telescopes the principles, activities, and failures of the League of Nations, the World Court, and the International Labor Organization into eighteen pages. The last line of the book poses a conditioned prophecy: "Should a new Covenant bring in these Great Powers [the United States, Germany, Italy, and Japan] to the world confederation, the prospects of the League of Nations as a promoter of peace and prosperity should be far greater than they have hitherto been." The mind leaps instinctively to *1066 and All That*.

• BRUCE HOPPER.

The Whispering Gallery of Europe. By Major-General A. C. TEMPERLEY. With a Foreword by the Right Honourable Anthony Eden. (New York, Wm. Collins, 1938, pp. 359, \$3.50.) This account, written by a British military adviser at Geneva, covers the period 1920-35.

Franco-British Rivalry in the Post-War Near East: The Decline of French Influence. By HENRY H. CUMMING. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 229, \$3.00.) This doctoral dissertation, written at the University of Geneva, stresses "the background, nature, and general effects" of Franco-British rivalry in the Near East and purposes "to point out the progressive decline of French influence in the Levant under pressure of British attempts to dominate the region of the eastern Mediterranean". The first half of the volume is devoted to a historical portrayal of the rivalry and co-operation of the French and British in the Near East during the World War. The author outlines the Near Eastern interests of both countries, discusses the secret treaties of 1915-17 which partitioned the Ottoman Empire, describes the negotiations with the Arabs, characterizes the Zionist movement, and brings this part of his work to a close with the Mudros Armistice and the Paris Peace Conference. The latter half of the volume treats of the Near East after the war and carries the history of Anglo-French rivalry to the close of the Lausanne Conference in July, 1923. While the author has achieved the fundamental purposes set for the volume, two criticisms seem in order. The earlier part of his work might have been reduced somewhat, since some of its subject matter had been covered before. Secondly, a final chapter bringing the analysis of Franco-British rivalry in the Near East substantially down to date would have been advisable. The rivalry did not end at Lausanne. As it is, however, Mr. Cumming has written a very useful brief volume which will be of value to students who desire to unravel the threads of international politics in a region which once more promises to be a center of intense rivalry and conflict among the European Great Powers. The author's bibliography adds value to his volume.

HARRY N. HOWARD.

People at Bay: The Jewish Problem in East-Central Europe. By OSCAR I. JANOWSKY. With a Preface by Morris R. Cohen. [Submitted as a Report to the Conference on Jewish Relations.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 193, \$1.75.) The problems of the Jews in East-Central Europe have assumed a world-

wide importance during the last few years, especially because of the growing political and cultural influence of Nazi Germany throughout that region. The author of the present book has visited the countries, has studied the historical background and the current statistical material, and presents in this short and compact book a survey of the present situation which will help to throw some light on what is now going on in Central and East-Central Europe.

HANS KOHN.

Guide to Periodicals and Bibliographies dealing with Geography, Archaeology, and History. Compiled by E. JEFFRIES DAVIS and E. G. R. TAYLOR. (London, Published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, 1938, pp. 22, 1s.)

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 R. NOWAK. Die Slowakei im Rahmen des neuen Staates. *Zeitsch. f. Geopol.*, Jan.
 ANDREAS MEISNER. Die Deutschen in der Tschechoslowakei. *Deut. Arch. f. Landes- u. Volksforsch.*, II, no. 2.
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 A. J. JAFFE. The Use of Death Records to determine Jewish Population Characteristics. *Jewish Soc. Stud.*, Apr.
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* ANCIENT HISTORY¹

T. R. S. Broughton

The Conquest of Civilization. By JAMES HENRY BREASTED. Edited by Edith Williams Ware. New edition, fully revised and reset. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. xii, 669, \$4.00.) Before his death, Dr. Breasted had made considerable progress in preparing the manuscript of this volume, which represents his last labor and maturest conclusions.

Les peuples de l'Orient Méditerranéen. Volume I, *Le Proche-Orient asiatique.* By LOUIS DELAPORTE. Volume II, *L'Égypte.* By ÉTIENNE DRIOTON and JACQUES VANDIER. ["Clio".] (Paris, Presses Universitaires de France, 1938, pp. xxxv, 361; xlv, 640, 50 fr.; 75 fr.) These manuals, intended primarily as textbooks for university students, summarize clearly the history of Western Asia and of Egypt from prehistoric times to Alexander the Great. They do not make important contributions to historical research but present succinctly the results of the latest archaeological discoveries and technical investigations. Their chief value for American historians lies in the full, though not exhaustive, bibliographical notes, listing most of the important publications of the last ten years. Thus these volumes will be of great assistance in bringing up to date the great work of Eduard Meyer and the *Cambridge Ancient History*. ROBERT H. PFEIFFER.

Never to die: The Egyptians in their Own Words. Selected and arranged with Commentary by JOSEPHINE MAYER and TOM PRIDEAUX. (New York, Viking, 1938, pp. 224, \$3.50.) The style of this modest book is pleasing, and the texts and illustrations constitute a small but fairly representative selection from the literary and pictorial remains of ancient Egypt. The compilers, though wholly innocent of Egyptology, have succeeded in discovering some of the best translations of Egyptian texts and some of the most accurate copies of Egyptian pictures. But along with these they have also used translations which represent the scholarship of earlier generations and copies of pictures going back even as far as Champollion. The volume as a whole does not give a correct impression of the present state of knowledge. WILLIAM F. EDGERTON.

Geschichte der deutschen Stämme bis zum Ausgang der Völkerwanderung. By LUDWIG SCHMIDT. *Die Westgermanen*, Part I. Second, fully revised edition. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1938, pp. 227, 7.50 M.) This new edition of Schmidt's well-known work differs little from the earlier edition, although the author has tried to bring it up to date. In his various books about German tribes of classical and postclassical times, Schmidt shows himself familiar with the Latin and Greek historical records. Unfortunately, however, these records are anything but full and must be supplemented at every turn with evidence drawn from archaeological and linguistic treatises. Here the author is emphatically not at home, and his work suffers accordingly. Philology, too, seems to be outside Schmidt's field; certainly his interpretation of texts, classical and vernacular alike, leaves much to be desired. His book swarms with hoary errors, errors made (forgivably enough) by pioneers like Zeuss, Grimm, and Müllenhoff, but out of place in a publication of 1938. The author refers in his *nachträge* to my edition of *Widsith* (published in January, 1936), but he evidently made no

¹ Under this and the following headings unsigned notices are, in general, contributed by the persons whose names appear at the heads of the divisions and who are otherwise responsible only for the lists of articles and documents.

careful study of it; such a study would have saved him from several blunders. On the whole, Schmidt's book cannot be recommended. KEMP MALONE.

GENERAL ARTICLES

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MEDIEVAL HISTORY

G. C. Boyce

- A History of Europe from the Invasions to the XVI Century.* By HENRI PIRENNE. Translated by Bernard Miall from the French of the 8th edition. (New York, Norton, 1939, pp. 624, \$5.00.) The French edition of this volume was reviewed in this journal, Volume XLIII (April, 1938), pages 587-88.
The Middle Ages. By EDWARD MASLIN HULME. Revised edition. (New York, Henry Holt, 1938, pp. xvii, 1118, \$4.50.) Thirteen additional chapters include the history of England, which was not given in the first edition.

- The Medieval World.* By LOREN CAREY MACKINNEY. [The Civilization of the Western World.] (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1938, pp. xiii, 801, \$3.75.)
- Social Life in Britain from the Conquest to the Reformation.* Compiled by G. G. COULTON. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xx, 566, \$4.50.) The fourth printing of a source book which appeared first in 1918.
- Medieval Trade Routes.* By J. N. L. BAKER. (London, published for the Historical Association by G. Bell and Sons, 1938, pp. 19, 2s. 1d.)
- The Foundations of Scotland.* By AGNES MURE MACKENZIE. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xv, 316, \$3.75.)
- Der Handschuh im Recht, Ämterwesen, Brauch, und Volksglauben.* By BERENT SCHWINEKÖPER. With an Introduction, "Die Erforschung der Mittelalterlichen Symbole, Wege, und Methoden", by PERCY ERNST SCHRAMM. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. xxi, 161, 8 M.) The methodological theories of Professor Schramm concerning the history of symbols are tested in a practical, successful way by Dr. Schwineköper in his investigation of the glove, its use and significance.
- Dagobert, roi des Francs.* By R. BARROUX. [Bibliothèque historique.] (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 218, 30 fr.) The first four chapters of this book are a general essay on the Merovingian kingdoms in the seventh century. The best of them is chapter II, which deals with life in the towns and villages in the seventh century. The first chapter is a physical description of the four kingdoms of Austrasia, Neustria, Burgundy, and Aquitania. Chapter III is a fragmentary discussion of Merovingian society, which is a sad echo of Dalton or Marignan. Chapter IV, on the arts, is confined to architecture and the decorative arts. Probably the most stimulating part of the first portion of the book is the introduction, which places Dagobert among his contemporary sovereigns and gives a stimulating comparative glance at the seventh century. The latter half of the book, which deals with Dagobert's reign, is the better half. Kept more closely in check by the source material utilized, it does not suffer from the weakness which occasionally mars the first part. The section on Saint-Denis is an excellent summary and evaluation of modern critical literature. The chapter on Dagobert in history and legend goes far to discover the actual man under the layers of myth surrounding him. The chapters on external and internal politics are careful studies which are never extreme or fanciful in interpretation. For example, M. Barroux takes the sensible view (p. 157) that Dagobert did not, by receiving a mission from the Emperor Heraclius, thereby acknowledge himself a subject of the latter but that the embassy was simply the natural consequence of amicable relations existing between the two monarchs. He follows Lot in rescuing Dagobert's reputation from the blot of having instigated the massacre of the Bulgarians by the Bavarians a year or so after his death (p. 145).
HELEN ROBBINS BITTERMANN.
- The Pseudo-Turpin.* Edited from *Bibliothèque nationale, Fonds Latin, MS. 17656*, with an Annotated Synopsis, by H. M. SMYSER. (Cambridge, Mediaeval Academy of America, 1937, pp. 125, \$2.75.) Dr. Smyser's edition of the shorter Turpin Chronicle offers to scholars of the manuscript tradition an exceptionally accurate and well-presented text, accompanied by variant readings from five other manuscripts, carefully classified and related to each other. For the "antiquarian", as he calls him, there is in addition an abundantly, if at times curiously, annotated synopsis of the matter of the chronicle. It is unfortunate that the editor decided to add important footnotes to his synopsis rather than to his Latin text, for his

abridgment of an already quite brief chronicle is misleading and makes the notes sometimes meaningless. For example, he often has to supply in the footnote itself the detail which it is intended to explain. The modern French practice of a complete translation accompanying the Latin text would have served more adequately both his classes of readers. Dr. Smyser supports the late Joseph Bédier's view that the chronicle is merely a part of the Book of Saint James. He does not, however, bring forward any new arguments in answer to the objections made to this theory. His introduction does not give the reader an orderly account of the real problems involved, nor does it explain the reasons which led Dr. Smyser to take up his present position. As a transcription of the Latin text Dr. Smyser's book is a model of scholarly accuracy, but as an edition of the Turpin Chronicle it contains such varied material of such varying importance that both the manuscript student and the antiquarian are likely to regret its lack of proportion and completeness.

C. MEREDITH-JONES.

Englische Geschichtschreiber des 12. Jahrhunderts. By Dr. HEINZ RICHTER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. 180, 8 M.) Dr. Richter's book is an example of the current German approach to medieval chroniclers and historiography, which seeks to re-create the world as it appeared to different types of writers. He focuses his attention upon three monks: Eadmer of Canterbury, William of Malmesbury, and Ordericus of St. Evroul. Probably he does not allow sufficient latitude to the intrinsic individual differences in the personalities of these three unusual monks and thus tends to ascribe too much to "national" and "racial" influences. Their personalities, however, attract him less than their world outlook. His relative neglect of their life within their monasteries with its services, books, friendships, and other interests, rather leaves them at their windows looking out. What they see is a world torn by the investiture struggle between church and state, factional struggles within the church, feudal struggles within the state, and racial struggles between the suppressed but powerful Anglo-Saxons and the conquering Normans. An important contribution is the author's emphasis upon the influence of Bede both in setting up a high standard of historical accuracy and in limiting the range of their historical vision. Throughout the study a careful and methodical effort is apparent.

J. C. RUSSELL.

Per l'edizione dei notai Liguri del sec. XII. By MATTIA MORESCO and GIAN PIERO BOGNETTI. (Genoa, R. Deputazione di Storia Patria per la Liguria, 1938, pp. viii, 142, 20 l.) This book will be useful to all workers in the notarial archives in Genoa. It includes a record of all published documents from that collection as well as a description of the methods now being followed in the editing of entire registers of the early notaries. It is also of interest to American scholars owing to the official acceptance of the method of identification of certain notaries and the correct dating of their acts contributed by Professor Robert L. Reynolds of the University of Wisconsin.

EUGENE H. BYRNE.

Le comté d'Anjou sous Henri Plantagenêt et ses fils, 1151-1204. By JACQUES BOUSSARD. [Bibliothèque de l'École des hautes études.] (Paris, Champion, 1938, pp. xvi, 253.) The history of this county is especially interesting to students of medieval institutions. It was a typical feudal state, not a brilliant exception such as Normandy or Flanders, and the extremely slow development of its organs of government shows how hard it was to rebuild political organization in Europe once it had collapsed. M. Boussard has done us a real service in completing the story of the county, which was begun so many years ago by his master, Louis

Halphen. The book begins with a careful study of the extent of the county and the holdings of its feudal lords—a study which shows once more how impossible it is to draw precise boundaries in the twelfth century. Then M. Boussard takes up the subject which interests him most, the slow transfer of the purely personal power of the count to bureaucrats and courts. He believes that this process began only after the death of Geoffroy le Bel. He finds no permanent delegation of the count's judicial authority and no courts with power to constrain the nobles until well into the reign of Henry II. Perhaps M. Boussard underestimates the seneschal's position as a judge in the 1150's, but his main thesis seems amply proved. It appears exceedingly unlikely that Henry II found anything in the rudimentary institutions of Anjou which he could use in building up his government in England or Normandy. The scarcity of source material perhaps explains the absence of certain topics. There is nothing on the finances of the county, nothing on relations between the count and the towns, and very little on the church. On the credit side may be listed a very useful map of the county, some valuable documents among the *pièces justificatives*, and a very complete index.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

Cheshire in the Pipe Rolls, 1158-1301. Transcribed from 1237 by MABEL H. MILLS. Edited, with Notes, by R. STEWART-BROWN. (London, printed for the Record Society of Lancashire and Cheshire by J. W. Ruddock and Sons, 1938, pp. xviii, 250.) "As it appears unlikely that, even under its present energetic organization, the Pipe Roll Society will, within a measurable time, reach the date (1237) when the unpublished and regular series of Cheshire entries upon the Pipe Rolls begins, this volume of such accounts, not so far paralleled for any other county over so lengthy a period, was devised to link up the varied information afforded by the returns of the revenues of the earldom of Chester on the Pipe Rolls with that provided by the local rolls of the Chamberlain of Chester, commencing in 1301, some of which were made accessible in volume 59 of this Society."

Petri Pictaviensis Allegoriae super tabernaculum Moysi. By PHILIP S. MOORE and JAMES A. CORBETT. [Mediaeval Studies, III.] (Notre Dame, University of Notre Dame, 1938, pp. xxiii, 214, \$2.25.) The text of the *Allegoriae* published here for the first time has been established from six of the nine extant manuscripts. In their discussion of the medieval practice of interpreting Holy Scripture in accordance with the fourfold sense—historical, allegorical, anagogical, tropological—the editors faced Peter's distinction between allegory and history recounted metaphorically. This distinction still remains to them obscure; nevertheless their correction of Father P. S. Moore's transcription in *The Works of Peter of Poitiers*, 1936 (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XLIII, 681), of a sentence in Peter's exegesis helps materially towards a solution of the problem.

Curia Regis Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume VIII, 3-4 Henry III. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xiv, 539, \$9.00.) Continuing the series that has been favorably noticed in this *Review* (XLI, 795), this volume presents several of the earliest rolls of Henry III now extant. The text traverses some of the same ground covered by Bracton's Note Book. Since no sessions were held of the court *coram rege* during the king's minority, the proceedings are substantially those of a court of common pleas, among which are interspersed pleas of the crown, while at one point a so-called "Rogues' Roll" is introduced. For matters truly affecting the rights of the crown there could only be a succession of postponements in spite of the inconvenience. Naturally enough, in a period

of regency, the intervention of the council in the way of directing the proceedings, giving advice, and sometimes hearing the evidence was a new factor in the history of the court. A duplication of the rolls proves that sometimes *consilium* and *justiciarii* were interchangeable and equivalent terms. In consonance with the restrictive character of common law the cases tend toward formulaic actions with their respective writs and rules of evidence. Older actions like the possessory assizes were to be confined to their original purpose. The action of debt was not expanded, but that of detinue was coming into sight. Although there was no explicit jurisdiction in error, previous judgments of lesser courts were reviewed and sometimes reversed. For juries in all the variegations of the system the time seems to have been the very heyday, in spite of perpetual tardiness, abstention, and reluctance to serve. With all its faults the petit jury came into criminal trials during these same years. Together with the enrolment of charters, covenants, and quitclaims the records abound in allusions to villainage, socage, manorial services, and clerical privilege. Neither are personages like William Marshall and Fawkes de Breauté inconspicuous. Throughout the series editorial comment is confined to textual notes, but the indexes are comprehensive and admirable.

J. F. BALDWIN.

Close Rolls of the Reign of Henry III preserved in the Public Record Office. A. D. 1268-1272. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. vii, 694, \$10.30.) With this volume, the fourteenth in a series which was commenced in 1902, the publication of the close rolls of the reign of Henry III is completed. This particular volume contains the close rolls of the last four years of Henry III's reign, a period of relative calm after the tumult of baronial revolt. The royal orders, pardons, recognizances, fines, and memoranda that make up the rolls throw light on numerous aspects of the history of the time. Significant entries are to be found relating to tax administration, the supervision of sheriffs and other royal officials, the activities of the justices "ad custodiam Judeorum", prisage, forest pleas, the work of the itinerant justices, and the effect of the civil war on administrative and judicial activities. In the field of the regulation of business are to be noted the appearance in 1271 of the clerk of the market in connection with measure enforcement (p. 348) and the entries relating to the embargo on trade with Flanders (pp. 331, 439, 516). The index is to be commended for the detail of its subject analysis.

ARMAND B. DU BOIS.

Roger Bacon: A Biography. By F. WINTHROP WOODRUFF. (London, James Clarke, 1938, pp. vii, 160, 5s.) This is a popular biography based in part on the valuable collection of *Commemoration Essays* edited by A. G. Little (1914), on Bridges's introduction to Bacon's *Opus Majus*, and on selected passages from Bacon's writings. On the whole, it presents a clear picture of Bacon's education, the general state of knowledge in his period, and Bacon's own contributions to the advancement of civilization. Mr. Woodruff, however, makes the fundamental error, too often made by biographers, of imagining his hero to be the greatest man of his age and to have become great almost entirely by his own unaided efforts. Although he mentions certain teachers and writers who undoubtedly influenced Bacon, he does not give them credit enough. For instance, in discussing Bacon's work on the reform of the calendar he gives the impression that no other writer before Bacon had ever dealt with this subject although many earlier treatises had been written on it. In fact, Bacon's *Compotus* is based largely on that of Robert Grosseteste, Bacon's famous teacher. In controversial matters

concerning Bacon only one side of the question is presented and in such a way that the reader is not made aware of the fact that there is any other side. In spite, however, of these and other defects, Woodruff presents an excellent estimate of Bacon and his place in the history of learning.

MARY CATHERINE WELBORN.

Seignorial Administration in England. By N. DENHOLM-YOUNG. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. 196, \$3.50.) This study deals primarily with fiscal and judicial arrangements within certain of the major lay liberties of late thirteenth century England. Account rolls of magnates' officials, a type of source which has been little exploited, are here presented as rounding out the more familiar learning on private administration derived from quo warranto records, formbooks, and private court rolls. The continuity of particular series of documents is exploited in what are in effect a group of special studies. Most important of these is a chapter establishing the diplomatics of the account rolls. Two others should be mentioned, on the marketing of wool from Holderness, and a section under the harmless title "The Preservation of Liberties", which turns out to be a detailed study of the art of bribery with special reference to its utility in quo warranto proceedings. When the discussion turns, however, to the more familiar general problems of the liberty—quo warranto theory, honor and barony, the legal content of charter language—no attempt is made toward solution of controversial points, and the standard learning on these subjects is merely rehearsed in eclectic textbook fashion, although filled out conscientiously with detail supplied by any account roll that may happen to illustrate a point. Although local variation is exhibited, the account roll material is characterized by a uniformity of general pattern which is consistent with any one of the several disputed theories now current concerning the liberty. Consequently it seems apparent that the chief utility of this volume, notwithstanding the somewhat misleading generality of its title, lies in its disclosure of the possibilities of the private magnate's account roll as a neglected source of economic and social rather than legal or constitutional history.

IRWIN L. LANGBEIN.

Lodewijk van Velthem's Voortzetting van den Spiegel Historiae. Volume III. Edited by HERMAN VANDER LINDEN, PAUL DE KEYSER, and ADOLF VAN LOEY. [Académie royale de Belgique, Commission royale d'histoire.] (Brussels, Palais der Academiën, 1938, pp. x, 450.) This is the final volume of a new edition of Lodewijk van Velthem's chronicle—a rhyming chronicle which is all too little known among students of European affairs of the opening of the fourteenth century. The first volume appeared in 1906, but the World War and changes in the editorial personnel interfered in the preparation of the second volume (*Am. Hist. Rev.*, XXXVIII, 363). This edition may be regarded as definitive. It is provided with critical notes, index, sketch of the author's life, and comments on the significance of his chronicle.

HENRY S. LUCAS.

Calendar of Inquisitions Post Mortem and Other Analogous Documents preserved in the Public Record Office. Volume XII, *Edward III.* (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. xxix, 603, \$9.25.) This volume, with its extensive index of persons and places, will provide a rich hunting ground for topographers and genealogists, but there is also much of interest to the antiquarian and the historian for the years 39-43 Edward III. The inquisitions are particularly full as to details of service and the appurtenances of tenements. The reader observes that land is held increasingly by such services as

raising the right hand every year at Christmas toward the king or making "unum saltum, suffletum et pettum". The proofs of age reveal interesting practices: gifts of wood, silk purses, or a silver arrow are at times given to certain persons upon the birth of an heir so that they will remember his age; church missals are being used as birth and death registers. We note that jurors' verdicts can be annulled in parliament. There are references to the fact that a knight's fee can vary in content from five to twenty carucates; there is mention of the pestilence of 23 Edward III, of sea-coal, and of grants made officially under the seal of the Griffin. It must be noted that cross references to the chancery and parliament rolls would have enhanced the value of the calendar; so, too, the more accurate placing of certain manors, such as Redburn, which belonged to the Lincolnshire barony of Crevequer. On page 75 the "lord de Insula" is left unidentified.

G. L. HASKINS.

Kaiser Karl IV. By Dr. JOSEF PFITZNER. [Bilder aus dem deutschen Leben.] (Potsdam, Akademische Verlagsgesellschaft Athenaion, 1938, pp. 130, 4.80 M.) This is the first volume of a new German historical series. A number of historians are collaborating on a history of the Reich in which the emphasis will be on the hitherto much neglected personalities of the German kings and kaisers. If the remaining volumes prove to be of the high quality of Dr. Pfitzner's *Karl IV.*, the historical world will look forward to them with eager anticipation. At last a student of Hans Hirsch has taken the combined evidence of Czech and German sources and woven it into a well-integrated picture of the life and times of Charles IV. The result is a refreshing, new, historical personality, a German emperor and king of Bohemia who is not the "greatest statesman of all times", or the "Erzstiefvater des Reichs", or a mere "Pfaffenkaiser", but a shrewd, cool, conservative politician. In such chapters as "Charakter und Weltbild", "Gesetzgebung", "Hausmachtpolitik", "Reichspolitik", and "Kulturwerk", a wealth of new material is brought to light because Dr. Pfitzner knows Charles so much better than others less familiar with every aspect of his reign. That the author is an authority in this field will hardly be doubted by anyone who examines the twenty-two pages of *Anmerkungen* at the end.

E. G. SCHWIEBERT.

Cosimo de' Medici, Pater Patriae, 1389-1464. By CURT S. GUTKIND. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 340, \$5.00.) Mr. Gutkind's persistent inaccuracy and uncritical acceptance of whatever adds flavor to his theme unfortunately go far toward discounting the merits of this biography. The background covers all Florentine history from Dante to Charles V, and the mass of detail, not always relevant, is assembled with small regard for chronology and with even less appreciation of the forces which, during those centuries, were changing the commune into a modern state. Personages are frequently confused; there is an evident ignorance of Florentine topography and customs; and most serious of all is the author's disregard of all archival sources. While the manuscript material relating to Cosimo is fragmentary and difficult to read, it is of the utmost importance for any estimate of his agricultural activities and business interests. Mr. Gutkind's contribution to the former is negligible; for the latter he relies on M. Grunzweig's admirable edition of the letters written from the Medici agents at Bruges to the home office. He overlooks the equally important correspondence of the agents in Rome and in Venice, and while he pays some attention to the branch in Milan, what he offers is superficial and misleading. In his analysis of Cosimo's relation to the state, however, he has cast aside the traditions and prejudices of the centuries and taken a step forward in his evaluation of the

achievements of the Medici. Cosimo was, as he says, primarily a merchant, and was forced into public life against his will. But Mr. Gutkind's lack of historical perspective prevents his grasping the fact that in domestic affairs the banker's influence rested solely on popular confidence in his wisdom and common sense and was seldom used for political ends. In foreign affairs he was practically absolute, shaping international policies according to the dictates of Florentine commercial interests. Incidentally he gave to the Balance of Power the machinery necessary to its effective functioning, and his methods are still the tools of diplomacy.

GERTRUDE R. B. RICHARDS.

The Commentaries of Pius II. Translation by FLORENCE ALDEN GRAGG. With Historical Introduction and Notes by LEONA C. GABEL. (Northampton, Smith College Studies in History, Vol. XXII, Nos. 1-2, October, 1936-January, 1937, pp. 114, \$1.50.) As Leona Gabel remarks in the introduction, "the literary productivity of fifteenth century Italian humanism is more impressive for its bulk than for works of enduring quality or profound insight". Nevertheless, it has an immense significance for the history of European culture, for nowhere else can we find so clearly expressed the fundamental change in attitude and interests that followed the appearance of an educated urban laity. That many of the humanists were clerics and that two or three, like Aeneas Sylvius, rose to the highest office in the church is aside from the point. Pius II remained a characteristic product of Italian city life, viewing the world of men as a man of the world. This secular view of life found its best expression in historical writing. With the humanists modern historiography was born. *The Commentaries of Pius II* is one of the most interesting examples of the memoir type of humanist history. Few men had had such wide experience to draw upon, and every page reflects the charm and the disarmingly naïve vanity that made the "pious Aeneas" one of the best beloved of poets and diplomats. The present translation has especial value in that it is based on the original manuscript discovered by Ludwig von Pastor. It includes a number of very enlightening passages which were deleted, and not without reason, from the later official text and printed editions. The unexpurgated account of the election of Pius II is invaluable. The editors promise eventually to publish the text and a translation of the entire work, a consummation devoutly to be hoped for. The present volume contains only the translation of Book I, but for that, as well as for the useful explanatory notes, we are in the meantime very grateful.

WALLACE K. FERGUSON.

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MODERN EUROPEAN HISTORY

THE BRITISH EMPIRE

W. F. Craven

Sword, Lance & Bayonet: A Record of the Arms of the British Army & Navy. By CHARLES FFOULKES and Captain E. C. HOPKINSON. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xvi, 142, \$5.00.) Both authors have the necessary qualifications to give this book authority, and one can rely upon the information here set forth, obtained as it was in great part not only from the war office records but from a study of the representative exhibits of the weapons now preserved in the Tower and in the Imperial War Museum. This information is not otherwise easily available. The volume includes an account of the arms that have come into use since armor was discarded, dates for the introduction and elimination of the various types, and references to contemporary illustrations. It contains, as well, a bibliography, an index, and an appendix dealing with muskets, rifles, and carbines. The sword section, forming the principal part of the book, is a skillful marshaling of a myriad of facts that might prove tedious but for the interesting anecdotes, legends, and accounts of the effects of certain weapons on the fate of battles, which add a lively touch. Since the designs of army swords are not progressive but purely arbitrary, the illustrations of the royal ciphers are helpful in identifying the reign to which each belongs. The two plates of photographic illustrations of the swords are excellent, showing the hilts from slightly below the guard and looking up, bringing out differences lost in a profile view. The section on staff weapons is particularly welcome as little has been published in this field. The lance is treated in detail, and essential notes are given about pikes, linstocks, officers' spontoons, and sergeants' halberds, while the bayonet is dealt with at length. The book is indispensable to authors, artists, collectors, and military and naval people. It will save students untold hours of research, for without it one would have difficulty indeed in answering convincingly most questions coming within its scope. STEPHEN V. GRANCSAY.

Guide to the Reports of the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, 1870-1911. Part II, Index of Persons. Edited by FRANCIS BICKLEY. Second Section, *Lever—Z.* [Historical Manuscripts Commission.] (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. iii, 449-859, \$2.75.) The first section of this *Index of Persons* was noticed in Volume XLII, page 174.

Catalogue of Manuscripts and Other Objects in the Museum of the Public Record Office, with Brief Descriptive and Historical Notes. By Sir H. C. MAXWELL LYTE. Revised with Further Additions by R. L. ATKINSON. (London, H. M. Stationery Office; New York, British Library of Information, 1938, pp. x, 98, 30 cents.) A new and enlarged edition with illustrations.

Northamptonshire and Rutland Clergy from 1500. By the Rev. HENRY ISHAM LONGDEN. Volume I. (Northampton, Archer and Goodman, 1938, pp. 225, 10s. 6d.) This is an alphabetical list of the names of the clergy of two counties which were formed into the diocese of Peterborough in 1541. If completed this compilation will extend to many volumes as the present one does not go through the letter B.

Il regno di Enrico VIII d'Inghilterra secondo i documenti contemporanei. By CORRADO FATTA. Two volumes. (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1938, pp. 678; 736, 50 l.) This is an admirable and very detailed history of the reign of Henry VIII, based on a thorough knowledge of the *Letters and Papers, Foreign and Do-*

mestic, and other sources, and on careful reading of all the standard histories and special monographs which deal with the period. References are given for all important facts, and the bibliography at the beginning of the first volume affords additional evidence of the breadth of the author's reading. The emphasis is distinctly on the narrative side and especially on the effect of the divorce and breach with Rome upon England's relations to the Continental powers; at moments one almost feels as if one were rereading the famous *Prefaces* of Brewer and Gairdner. Signor Fatta tests his own impartiality from time to time, as his story goes on, and has ample justification for maintaining that his standpoint is neither pro- nor anti-Catholic. He simply tells the tale of "the majestic lord who broke the bonds of Rome" and thereby founded an "imperial state" emancipated from every sort of foreign intervention and influence (II, 67, 687). One naturally wonders where among his countrymen the author is likely to find readers for a book as long as this, dealing with the reign of a monarch who, though indubitably a most dramatic personality, was the ruler of a foreign land. At first sight one would not expect that Signor Fatta would find many outside the ranks of the professional historians; a book with so many footnotes and references gives the appearance of having been written primarily for the specialist. But a closer inspection, particularly of the concluding pages, reveals an attitude distinctly "simpático" to the totalitarian state; the author tells a story with which the present Italian government is probably not at all sorry to have its followers familiar. The fact that the book appears in the series known as the Biblioteca di Cultura is additional evidence in the same direction. ROGER B. MERRIMAN.

Henry Howard, Earl of Surrey. By EDWIN CASADY. (New York, Modern Language Association of America, 1938, pp. xii, 257, \$2.50.) A useful but uninspired biography of the sixteenth century sonneteer.

Ayr Burgh Accounts, 1534-1624. Transcribed and edited with an Introduction by GEORGE S. PRYDE. (Edinburgh, printed at the University Press by T. and A. Constable for the Scottish History Society, 1937, pp. cxxv, 313.) This volume forms an important addition to the publications of the Scottish Historical Society. Not only are the Ayr Burgh accounts themselves of special usefulness because they are the most complete in Scotland, but the manner of editing and the introduction also contribute to the high scholarly value of the volume. Dr. Pryde has reproduced in full the accounts of four selected years and a number of additional items of particular interest. He has given the accounts of other years in abstract, using an arrangement of headings and subheadings that classifies the material in readily available form. As a result we have before us an elaborate illustration of the life and government of the burgh, as well as of the technique used in accounting and auditing. The long introduction deals with the basis of burgh finance, the treasurer's revenue and expenditure, the activities of other financial officers, and extraordinary financial matters. It serves both to analyze and explain the material that follows. The nature of rents, taxes, and fees, the functions of burgh officials, the financial support of the church and education, problems arising from frequent occurrence of the plague—these are among the many matters discussed. In his treatment of them Dr. Pryde has made many comparisons with the usages of other burghs. Indeed it is not too much to say that the introduction provides an excellent brief survey of burgh government and finance in Scotland from the fifteenth to the seventeenth century.

F. G. MARCHAM.

The Mathematical Work of John Wallis, D. D., F. R. S., 1616-1703. By J. F. SCOTT. With a Foreword by E. N. da C. Andrade. (London, Taylor and Francis, 1938,

pp. xi, 240, 12s. 6d.) This is the narrative of the life and work of a distinguished though personally ambitious, unamiable, and uninteresting man—one whose notable contributions to the development of mathematical analysis and theoretical mechanics have been obscured and have remained in great measure unappreciated principally as a consequence of the more brilliant achievements of his immediate successors, notably Newton. The book will be of value to all students of the history of science, especially since in its fourth, ninth, and seventh chapters it presents summary analyses of the most important works of Wallis, his *Arithmetica Infinitorum* (1656) and *Treatise of Algebra* (1685)—the first of which is perhaps the closest approach to a general infinitesimal calculus made before Leibnitz and Newton—and his *Mechanica* (1670), in which a correspondingly significant, though imperfect, attempt was made to generalize the elementary theory of mechanics, and in which the correct results of his original researches on impact were recorded. In an adequate criticism these summaries would claim first attention; but the requisite discussion would be mathematical and too involved to find its proper place in these pages. One aspect of the study, however, would be of interest to the humanistic scholar: that, namely, which bears upon the history of the very slow clarification of those fundamental mechanical concepts in terms of which classical physical theory has come to be expressed. This matter is discussed in the opening pages of the seventh chapter, less judiciously, perhaps, than might be wished, since the confusion of thought that prevailed before Wallis appears to be overemphasized in comparison with that of Wallis himself, whose own ideas, though certain of them quite definitely anticipated those of Newton, were themselves still ambiguous or erratic, especially his concepts of force and infinity. Of incidental interest also, especially in the psychological clinic, would be the facts presented in the tenth chapter concerning the vicious and abnormally protracted polemic between Wallis and the philosopher Hobbes.

FREDERICK BARRY.

Public Order and Popular Disturbances, 1660-1714. By MAX BELOFF. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. viii, 168, \$3.50.) This work has been well planned and well executed. The author has examined in turn the social, political, and economic structure of England during half a century and in each case has discussed the riots which hard conditions or unpopular measures caused. He has cast his net widely and has carefully sifted a mass of information about disorders of all kinds. In view of the apparent rapid increase in the number of the poor and the harsher treatment of the indigent, it is surprising that poverty did not cause more unrest, but there is no reason to believe that the amount of rioting due to social or economic causes has been underestimated in this book. It may seem ungrateful in view of the valuable information actually supplied to ask for more, but the Sacheverell riots, familiar though they are, require more detailed treatment than they receive. Here was a startling phenomenon and one recognized as such by contemporaries. The London mob, which for a century had rioted for Protestantism (often nonconformity) and liberty, apparently turned around suddenly and shouted for Dr. Sacheverell and high church. The *volte face* is not satisfactorily explained by Mr. Beloff—or anyone else for that matter. Space prevents any serious attempt to remedy the defect here, but one suggestion may be hazarded. The various societies to improve manners, formed in London after 1689 by low churchmen or nonconformists, had alienated the poor beneficiaries, who were as ungrateful to the reformers as the recipients of Mrs. Jellyby's advice were to her.

G. DAVIES.

Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698-1709. Edited from the Manuscript in Edinburgh University Library, with Notes and Extracts from the Answers to these

Letters in the National Library of Scotland, by L. W. SHARP. (Edinburgh, University Press for the Scottish History Society, 1937, pp. lvi, 332.) This volume contains a portion of Wodrow's correspondence which was missing when Dr. McCrie published three volumes of letters in 1842-43. These earlier letters show the distinguished preacher, historian, and politician of the kirk at the beginning of his career, when he was librarian of the University of Glasgow and later a young minister at Eastwood. Though we find him wrestling with the absolute decree of reprobation before he had turned twenty, he was nevertheless a child of the Enlightenment in its straitened Scottish chapter. He collected not only books for his struggling library but antiquities and natural curiosities and vast quantities of scientific and pseudo-scientific information from correspondents in all parts of Europe. His letters build up a faithful picture of this Scottish decade: the close relations—religious, intellectual, and commercial—between Scotland and Holland; the passionate hopes and bitter despair which were the fruit of the Darien adventure; the fears and suspicions excited by the Union; the struggle with episcopacy and with Jacobitism; the clash of credulity with skepticism on the subject of witchcraft. The editor has done Wodrow too much honor in comparing him to Pepys and to Boswell, but he was a courageous swimmer in the strong tides of thought and emotion which swept his land and his time.

VIOLET BARBOUR.

A King in Toils. By J. D. GRIFFITH DAVIES. (London, Lindsay Drummond, 1938, pp. xiii, 375, 12s. 6d.) *A King in Toils* is a study of royal quarrels and political intrigues during the lifetime of the man who became George the Second, king of England. The chief characters, in addition to George II, include his wife Caroline, his son Frederick, his father George I, the royal mistresses, and the principal ministers, to say nothing of a host of minor personalities. In Mr. Davies's words, his work is "not a biography but rather a record of 'relationships'". As such it deals with a limited number of the factors that make political history. Scholars will not find that the period has been illumined by the fresh use of old sources or by the discovery of new. To students the lack of references for the innumerable quotations is likely to be annoying. The work does not, however, have a popular appeal, for the characters are too shadowy and lifeless to stir the imagination, and as a result their affairs, and even the scandal and gossip that abound in these pages, become dull and meaningless. To one unfamiliar with the period the unorganized masses of detail are certain to be confusing, while the breaking of the chapters into sections gives the narrative a disjointed effect. It is difficult to suggest, therefore, what class of readers such a political history can serve. The appendixes include a bibliography which, as the author notes, "does not pretend to be exhaustive", a convenient list of ministers, and a contemporary ballad. An index and a modern pictorial map illustrating the war in North America complete the contents.

DORA MAE CLARK.

The Making of an Evangelist: A Study of John Wesley's Early Years. By ELIZABETH KRISTINE NOTTINGHAM, Wheaton College. (Norton, privately printed, 1938, pp. v, 177, \$2.00.) Dr. Nottingham has written a valuable monograph based on the printed primary and secondary works dealing with the career of John Wesley. She is to be commended for her fresh approach to material already known. The characters of eighteenth century England, usually provincial by birth, provide that strange contrast between the man who quietly stayed at home and the one who ventured abroad to distant lands. The one might be a bookkeeper in Lombard Street, the other, Robert Clive in India. Miss Nottingham has hit upon the happy device of making this contrast between the quiet life of Parson James Woodforde, a conforming clergyman thoroughly settled into his English village

community, and the career of John Wesley, who, diverted from a similar village life through his frontier experiences in Georgia, later adapted his amazing abilities to the service of all classes and all faiths in the British Isles. In brief, Miss Nottingham presents the Georgia experiment as a miniature laboratory for the transformation of Wesley's philosophy and ideas into his later plan to minister to all men rather than to win the approval of the squire of the parish. The evolution of the evangelist's inner nature and outlook from the narrow high church convictions of his Oxford days is partially matched by the revolutionary changes of the century in industry and agriculture, with the resultant uprooting and migration of people within the islands. Incidentally, John Wesley's career, as well as that of Whitefield, furnishes striking eighteenth century evidence of the influence of new world societies on the home land through repatriation. The amount of space given to Parson Woodforde suggests a change of subtitle to indicate the treatment by contrasts between him and Wesley. In the bibliography the books on Charles Wesley alone are given without publication date.

FRANK J. KLINGBERG.

The Torrington Diaries. Edited by C. BRUYN ANDREWS. Volume IV. (New York, Henry Holt, 1938, pp. xi, 274, \$3.00.) This is the concluding volume of the diary of John Byng, fifth viscount Torrington, covering the years 1781 to 1794. It is valuable chiefly to students of social history.

British History in the Nineteenth Century and After, 1782-1919. By GEORGE MACAULAY TREVELYAN. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. xvi, 512, \$3.50.) In this edition "four new chapters have been added, which bring the narrative down to the Peace of 1919".

The London Miscellany: A Nineteenth Century Scrapbook. Compiled by ROBERT HARLING. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 256, \$3.00.) In his unnecessarily disarming prologue the author proffers this collection of extracts and graphic illustrations designed "to combine information with amusement" and points out that the making of scrapbooks is a personal affair. His tastes, however, are most catholic, and his examples are, on the whole, unfamiliar, so that students of London life will find much to reward them. The book is never dull, except perhaps in the amount of attention it gives to shops. It would have been more useful to historians had the references to sources been more exact and ample.

J. B. BREBNER.

Letters from Benjamin Disraeli to Frances Anne, Marchioness of Londonderry, 1837-1861. Edited with an Introduction by the MARCHIONESS OF LONDONDERRY. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxv, 195, \$3.25.) "This is trifling stuff—but I thought it might amuse you", wrote Disraeli to Lady Londonderry on September 5, 1848. This opinion can be applied to his whole correspondence with her, admirably edited by the present marchioness, a daughter of Henry Chaplin, one of Disraeli's most loyal supporters. Most of the letters were written between 1845 and 1858, the period of Disraeli's rise to power in his party, but they add little to what is already known. They were consulted by G. E. Buckle for his continuation of the *Life of Benjamin Disraeli*, and the most important parts of them were printed in Volumes III and IV. Besides being pleasant reading, this collection is interesting in providing a check on the accuracy of the quotations in the Monypenny and Buckle biography of Disraeli, still the sole source for much of the history of Conservative party politics. Comparison of this edition of the letters to Lady Londonderry with Buckle's quotations from them shows that the latter reparagraphed the sentences and expanded abbreviations but otherwise

made no changes. Buckle's numerous omissions are of trivial comment or of matter irrelevant to his subject. The few differences in wording are probably due to Disraeli's handwriting and do not change the sense except in the case of a quotation from a letter of December 26, 1846, stating that the protectionist section of the party could do better than Peel's late ministry if they did not lack "genuine inspiration". The bantering letter in the new complete version reads "feminine inspiration"! Disraeli could not have failed to receive this personally from one to whom he wrote with such a light touch and such pleasant flattery.

FRANCIS H. HERRICK.

A Century of Bank Rate. By R. G. HAWTREY. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. x, 328, \$4.00.) "A history of the practice of the Bank of England in employing its discount rate as an instrument of monetary regulation".

Parnell, Joseph Chamberlain, and Mr. Garvin. By HENRY HARRISON. (London, Robert Hale, 1938, pp. ix, 255, 10s. 6d.) This book offers a nice little analysis in historical criticism. The author has a hero, Parnell, and his hero is disparaged by another author, J. L. Garvin, in order that the latter may praise all the more highly his own hero and Parnell's enemy, Joseph Chamberlain. Therefore Mr. Harrison writes this book to attack Mr. Garvin's biography of Chamberlain. He proves that it is too laudatory, a fact upon which most historians would agree, and also demonstrates clearly that the British cabinet knew, and that Chamberlain also knew, all about Parnell's liaison with Mrs. O'Shea many years before divorce proceedings were begun, a fact which he thinks Mr. Garvin should have elucidated. More serious is Mr. Harrison's major charge against Chamberlain. After that statesman finally broke with Parnell he saw, according to our author, a chance to ruin the Irish Home Ruler by getting Captain O'Shea to divorce his wife, naming Parnell as correspondent. The evidence, however, to back this charge is purely circumstantial. Direct evidence there is none. Lacking further substantiation, about all one can say is that presumably Chamberlain regarded Parnell's downfall with equanimity, quite a different thing from his engaging in low plots to bring it to pass. Both Parnell and Chamberlain may well be criticized for associating with O'Shea as much as they did. On the other hand, the long and labored argument of this book to prove Chamberlain and his biographer not only bitterly prejudiced but deliberately unfair does not seem very convincing.

WALTER P. HALL.

The Chamberlain Tradition. By Sir CHARLES PETRIE. (New York, Stokes, 1938, pp. x, 361, \$2.50.) Sir Charles Petrie, in his story of the three Chamberlains, is convincing in his characterization of them as statesmen "distinguished by leadership, courage, initiative and realism". The services of Joseph Chamberlain as mayor of Birmingham during the seventies deserve the author's conclusion that "no man in modern times has done more to raise the standard of municipal life". During the World War his son Neville, in his mayoralty, carried on this tradition of high-minded service. Sir Austen, carefully trained for a parliamentary career, gave himself unreservedly to the nation for forty-five years. In their advocacy of national social reform England owes the Chamberlains a further debt. Sir Charles evaluates very highly Joseph Chamberlain's influence upon Conservative policy, but the social legislation of the Conservatives was meager in comparison with Mr. Chamberlain's earlier aspirations as a Radical within the Liberal party. Interest in social welfare became a Chamberlain tradition, and Neville, as minister of health, devoted himself to the housing and health of the people. After 1900 the Chamberlains' conception of social welfare

came to include tariff reform, and in initiating and carrying through this program their contribution is outstanding. The world today associates the Chamberlain trio mainly with imperialism and foreign affairs: Joseph, the director of South African policy which terminated in the Boer War; Sir Austen, in 1925 the much applauded diplomat of the Locarno Pact; Neville, the spiritual father of the Munich Agreement, the ratification of which by the house of commons is the concluding episode in Sir Charles's story. In each situation the author's analysis of the statesmanship involved is that of a stanch Conservative who sees in their actions "a perfect blend of realism and idealism". For the American reader the book gives a useful and somewhat critical, though undocumented, exposition of the Chamberlain contribution to British public life.

ELSIE E. GULLEY.

The Silent Social Revolution: An Account of the Expansion of Public Education in England and Wales, 1895-1935. By G. A. N. LOWNDES. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. xii, 274, \$2.25.) The English public is not as a rule credited with great enthusiasm for education. As compared with the United States there are in England few of the fervid expressions of faith in education as an instrument of social progress. Except when the issue of religious instruction in the schools was uppermost, as at the beginning of the century, interest in educational legislation has been neither serious nor widespread. And yet although the progress of English education has not been spectacular, it has nevertheless been marked and continuous since the abolition of the system of "payment by results" in 1895. It is to this period that Mr. Lowndes has devoted his attention, and he has produced a book that presents an interesting and scholarly account of the interplay between social forces and education which has led to the development of a national system of education that has the merit of being flexible and capable of responding to modern requirements. Mr. Lowndes is not blind to some of the defects of English education, and he does not claim to have undertaken more than to prove that "the task was worthily begun". How well it has been begun is strikingly shown in the too few illustrations contrasting the past and the present. Mr. Lowndes has no cause to apologize, as he appears to do in his preface, for "adding to the already weighty pile of works upon education"; he has provided a substitute for a number of less readable and less scholarly histories of English education.

I. L. KANDEL.

The Law and the Constitution. By IVOR JENNINGS. Second edition. (London, University of London Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 322.) Many passages in the first edition of this book, which was published in 1933, have been rewritten, and the material has been considerably reorganized in the interest of more effective exposition.

An Introduction to the History of Bermuda. By WESLEY FRANK CRAVEN. [Reprinted from *William and Mary College Quarterly*.] (New York, Scholars' Facsimiles and Reprints, pp. 172, v, \$2.00.) This book is a by-product of Professor Craven's *Dissolution of the Virginia Company*, the close connection between that and the Bermuda Company having led him from one to the other, and it deals with the first period of colonization in Bermuda. It supplements Henry Wilkinson's *Adventurers of Bermuda*, which carries the story to 1684 and is written from the viewpoint of the islanders. Professor Craven confines himself to the period from 1609 to 1623 and writes chiefly from the viewpoint of the company. He explains that he has not consulted all possible sources and professes to have presented merely an essay. But certainly he has used the most important sources for his purposes and makes worthwhile contributions to the history of

colonization. He puts Bermuda in its rightful place in the colonization of America. Historians of the thirteen colonies have displayed a certain insularity and to their own loss have neglected the other colonies of British North America. Professor Craven has corrected this defect in respect of his period, and within the limits he has set himself he has done a good piece of work. W. B. KERR.

The Canadians: The Story of a People. By GEORGE M. WRONG. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. viii, 455, \$3.50.) This book does not profess to be either a comprehensive work to be used as a textbook or a new interpretation of Canadian history but is avowedly a popular history aimed at the general reader. It is eminently readable and, within the limits set by the author, fresh and informing. Leading personages, whether explorers, missionaries, or political figures, are skillfully drawn, and the historical narrative is organized in large part around their careers. An urbane breadth of view marks the treatment; the reader is frequently reminded that Canadian problems and developments have had their wider relationships to currents in the world outside. Relations with the United States receive marked attention. Generous space, more than two thirds of the whole, is given to the period of the Old Regime, when the foundations of French Canada were being laid and the rivalry between French and English for mastery of the continent was running its course. Attention to events since the conquest is divided almost equally at the close of the War of 1812 and the consummation of federation in 1867. A concluding chapter presents a picture of the Canadians of today as they live their lives in the several well-marked regions lying between Atlantic and Pacific. It would be invidious to ask that a work aimed at one target should also be aimed at another, and it may well be, moreover, that the appropriate time has not yet arrived for the sort of single volume interpreting Canadian history in comprehensive fashion which some students will wish that Professor Wrong had now preferred to write. At any rate a large audience should find in the book he has written pleasant evidence that Canadian history is both interesting and significant. REGINALD G. TROTTER.

Ontario Historical Society Papers and Records. Volume XXXII. (Toronto, the Society, 1937, pp. 225.) The following articles should be noted: "The Invasion of Navy Island in 1837-8" by E. A. Cruikshank; "Gananoque Block House, 1813-1859" by Frank Eames; "The Proudfoot Papers" (concluded) by M. A. Garland; "The Industrial Development of Ontario, 1783-1820" by Mary Quayle Innis; "The History of the Newspaper Press in London, 1830-1875" by H. Orlo Miller; "A U.E. Loyalist Family" by W. L. Scott; "The Upper Canada Central School" by George W. Spragge.

The Missisquoi Loyalists. By THOMAS C. LAMPEE. (Brattleboro, Proceedings of the Vermont Historical Society, 1938, pp. 62, 75 cents.) During the American Revolution, and particularly after the surrender of Burgoyne, many streams of refugee Loyalists flowed into Canada, and the settlement on Missisquoi Bay, at the head of Lake Champlain, made in the spring of 1784, was only one of the numerous reservoirs into which these streams poured. The author sketches the antecedents and background of the settlers, illustrating his narrative by the personal experiences of one Peter Miller. The settlement created something of a problem for the Canadian authorities, while for themselves the settlers found new worries in the conflicting land titles. E. C. BURNETT.

Journal of Occurrences in the Athabasca Department by George Simpson, 1820 and 1821, and Report. Edited by E. E. RICH. With a Foreword by Lord Tweedsmuir. [Hudson's Bay Company Series.] (Toronto, Champlain Society, 1938, pp. lix,

498, xiii.) This volume is important as the first of a series making the archives of the Hudson's Bay Company available through an arrangement for publication with the Champlain Society. It is an account of the writer's visit to the important fur trading region on the Athabasca in the last year of intense competition between the Hudson's Bay Company and the North West Company and in the first year of a long period of the writer's dominance over the trading activities of the modern Hudson's Bay Company. As the journal covers his first visit, it is detailed in its account of the country through which the trip was made, the activities of the traders, the Indians, and every aspect which threw light on the possibility of increasing the profits of the trade. It was written with an eye to impressing his employers, and his comments on his rivals in the Hudson's Bay Company and on his competitors in the North West Company were not free of prejudice. The document has been edited exhaustively, perhaps too exhaustively, and appendixes of descriptions of posts and districts and of biographical notes have been added. There is an index and valuable maps. Professor Chester Martin has written an introduction which traces the struggle in the Selkirk settlement and the recognition by the government of the advantages of union, describes the second effort of the Hudson's Bay Company to defeat the North West Company in the rich fur trading region beyond the territory granted in its charter on the Athabasca, and gives an account of the steps toward coalition. From this background one can approach the significance of Simpson's activities and appreciate the character of the baptism of fire which converted him from an inexperienced trader to the master of Rupert's Land. H. A. INNIS.

Egerton Ryerson: His Life and Letters. By C. B. Sissons. With a Foreword by E. W. Wallace. Volume I. (New York, Oxford University Press, 1937, pp. x, 601, \$5.00.) When the history of Ontario comes to be written, the name of Egerton Ryerson should occupy a prominent place. He touched the life of this still plastic province in such varied fields as journalism, religion, politics, and education, and where he touched it he left his mark. Part of his strength lay in the fact that he was in every sense native born. This kept him from getting too far ahead of his time. It also made it possible for him to espouse weak causes yet always to be on the winning side. This first volume of his life and letters reproduces documents from the Ryerson Papers in the Victoria University library, Toronto. It covers the period 1825-1841, from the beginning of Ryerson's career as an itinerant Methodist preacher—he was reared a Tory Anglican—to his appointment as principal of the newly established Victoria College. It includes the period of his editorship of the *Christian Guardian*, an organ which he used as a sounding board for his denunciations of the pretensions of the Anglican oligarchy to regard themselves as "established". He particularly urged the secularization of the "clergy reserves". Perhaps, however, his most significant act in this period was his repudiation of radicalism in 1833, thereby condemning the Mackenzie movement to violence and defeat. Opinions will likely continue to differ on the decisiveness of his influence on the elections of 1836. Although this volume consists principally of documents, there is a substantial amount of interlocutory material. The author shows an obvious enthusiasm for his subject which leads him, despite his intentions, to celebrate Ryerson's career while explaining the setting of the documents. It is to be hoped that the second volume may not long be delayed. Meanwhile historians also await biographies of Ryerson's opponents.

W. MENZIES WHITELAW.

The Dairy Industry in Canada. By J. A. RUDDICK, W. M. DRUMMOND, R. E. ENGLISH, and J. E. LATTIMER. Edited by H. A. Innis. [The Relations of Canada and

the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1937, pp. xxxii, 299, \$3.75.) Following a brief but illuminating sketch of the historical background of the dairy industry by Professor Innis, in which twentieth century trends are emphasized, a little over a hundred pages are devoted to the development of the industry from the seventeenth century to the present. Prepared by Dr. Ruddick, grand old man of the Canadian dairy industry, this part of the book emphasizes five items, namely, the introduction of dairy cattle into Canada and their improvement, the butter and cheese industry, the production and marketing of milk, the organization of Canadian dairymen, and governmental assistance to the dairy industry. The author here apparently drew heavily upon his experience and memory. After noting the place of dairying in Canadian agriculture, Professor Drummond in Part III of the volume stresses the major economic problems which confront the industry: stability of output, prices, cost of production, and marketing. His consideration of the tremendous supplies of dairy products flooding the British markets in recent years should give pause to the Canadian dairymen intent on expansion. The brief account of dairying in the lower Fraser River valley by R. E. English, which constitutes Part IV, throws much light upon the effort of the dairy industry to develop in a region of western Canada. Part V, entitled "American Tariff Policy and the Canadian Dairy Industry", shows succinctly that the trend toward self-sufficiency in the United States accentuates the trend toward self-sufficiency in Canada. The benefits of reciprocity in this connection are duly weighed. A summary note on the dairy industry in the Maritime Provinces by S. A. Saunders is included as one of the appendixes. The others are concerned with statistics of the industry. Despite its good points, this book is not a well-rounded, integrated, and definitive history of the Canadian dairy industry. It is, rather, a compendium to which future students of this subject will turn for much valuable factual material.

HARRY J. CARMAN.

A History of Transportation in Canada. By G. P. DE T. GLAZEBROOK. Foreword by H. A. Innis. [The Relations of Canada and the United States, James T. Shotwell, General Editor.] (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xxv, 475, \$4.00.) This book deserves wide reading. It is a history of transportation, but since the history of Canada, like the history of the United States, is largely the record of the growth of its transportation facilities, which, pushed westward across the continent, gradually opened to development and exploitation the vast resources of field, mine, and forest, it is really a good economic history of Canada. Natural waterways, the first crude highways, artificial waterways, steam railroads, electric roads, and paved highways for local transit and trade, and finally the airplane—all the varied forms of transportation which have had a part in the economic development of Canada come within the scope of Professor Glazebrook's work. The book is well organized and well balanced, the largest part being devoted, naturally, to the railroads. The American reader will be interested to find in the record of Canadian railway development the same stories of high finance, speculation, construction frauds, excessive competition, wasteful duplication of facilities, ill-considered projects, political maneuvering, and governmental problems that have characterized the development of railroads in the United States. Canada has taken one step in the solution of her railroad problem, however, which this country so far has been able to avoid; her government has taken over the ownership and operation of a substantial portion of the railroad network. One of the most interesting parts of Professor Glazebrook's work is his impartial and informative discussion of Canada's present railway difficulties, with the

roads about equally divided between private and public ownership, and the entire business in financial distress. The proposed St. Lawrence waterway comes in for consideration in one of the later chapters. While he is somewhat noncommittal in his opinion as to the merits of this project, it is easy to see that Professor Glazebrook is doubtful whether it would, if carried out, fulfill the expectations of its more ardent advocates and promoters.

T. W. VAN METRE.

Die koloniale Entwicklung des Anglo-Ägyptischen Sudans. By Dr. WALTER KRÄMER. [Neue deutsche Forschungen.] (Berlin, Junker und Dünhaupt, 1938, pp. 239, 10.50 M.) This volume is one more in the rapidly growing series of colonial studies emanating from Germany. After giving a conventional description of the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the author retells the region's varying history under its changing masters since 1820. Emphasis is placed upon the period of the condominium established in 1899. Not much attention is given to the relations of England and Egypt which developed as a result of the feeling of each that the Sudan was a "vital necessity". The author wonders whether the treaty signed by the two countries in 1936 is the beginning of a new chapter in this unusual history. He believes that this agreement was hastened by Italy's control of Lake Tana and thinks the future may have real surprises as a consequence of Egypt's desire to be sole master of the upper Nile. The economic development of the Sudan receives most detailed treatment, in particular the production of cotton in the *Gezira*, the "island" lying between the Blue and White Niles. For what England has achieved in economic and political reconstruction since the devastation of the Mahdist era the author has nothing but warm praise. It is surprising that the author has made so little use of the numerous studies by French writers on Egyptian and Sudanese history. The book would have been improved in minor respects if attention had been given to Professor W. L. Langer's recent researches into the activities of European countries in the Sudan in the nineties. The book has two inadequate maps and no index.

HARRY R. RUDIN.

The Colonial Empire and its Civil Service. By CHARLES JEFFRIES. With a Foreword by the Rt. Hon. Lord Harlech. (Cambridge, University Press; New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xxv, 259, \$3.00.) The British colonial service, rather than the empire it serves, is the subject of this historical and descriptive volume. The only previous comparable book is Sir Anton Beogram's *The Colonial Service* (1930), but this is now out of date, as it was written before the recent reorganizations in the service. Unification is Mr. Jeffries's central theme. Until lately the public service of each colony was, with a few exceptions, treated as a separate and self-sufficient unit, and the exceptions were in the direction of regional rather than empire-wide services. A unified colonial administrative service was established in 1932, following the report of the Warren Fisher Committee in 1930, and similar services—medical, veterinary, agricultural, and others—have since been created. These unified services "are a part of the general structure of the Colonial Service. . . . An officer who is a member of one of these Services is not the less for that reason a member of the public service of the Colony in which he is employed and by which he is paid. . . . But the membership of the larger community implies a professional status, a readiness and capacity for general service, the prospect of a wider career, a guarantee of supervision by the Secretary of State of the conditions of employment." Mr. Jeffries has written an authoritative and very useful book, based on official documents and on information gained in the course of his work at the Colonial Office.

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FRANCE, BELGIUM, AND THE NETHERLANDS

S. B. Clough

Histoire du Nivernais. By ALFRED MASSÉ. [Les vieilles provinces de France.] (Paris, Boivin, 1938, pp. 307, 27 fr.) A history of the Nivernais should be very interesting. This province, long independent of the French crown, had a character of its own. At the same time, lying as it did in the heart of France, it reflected many of the interests and activities of the rest of the country. Unfortunately M. Massé has given us only fragments of the history of the province. The social, political, and economic life of the Nivernais is described fully only for the Celtic and Roman periods. Between 700 and 1789 its history becomes a history of the counts and dukes of Nevers. Genealogical and biographical details crowd out almost everything else. Medieval institutions and laws are not discussed, except for a brief chapter listing charters granted to communes. There are only a few incidental references to the government of the duchy in the seventeenth century. There is no description of urban or rural economic activities before 1600, and the few scattered remarks on the subject which creep into the text are not always very accurate. As a result the very period in which the individuality of the province was most clearly marked is the period about which we are given the least information. It is difficult, even in writing the history of a small province, to compress the events of three thousand years into three hundred pages. It is impossible to do so if half the space is given to details of family history.

JOSEPH R. STRAYER.

L'évolution pédagogique en France. By ÉMILE DURKHEIM. Two volumes. With an Introduction by Maurice Halbwachs. [Bibliothèque de Philosophie contemporaine.] (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. 221; 226, 50 fr.) Durkheim is a trained historian whose career has been devoted to the training and supervision of teachers. In this book he presents an interpretation of well-known facts in the history of educational institutions and theory. He makes no effort to add to the body of historical knowledge in the field, but he does make a definite contribution in his use of known facts to illustrate the characteristics of pedagogical theory in various periods. The book would be more useful to historians if it contained more facts; if, for example, it showed at what times and in which places certain theories were put into practice and certain types of schools were founded. It would have provided historians with a valuable reference work if it had devoted some space to the universities and schools of the French provinces. The book is a series of lectures published in the form in which they were delivered

at the Sorbonne. Some chapters consist almost entirely of critical studies of quoted and translated sources, and it is clear that the conclusions of the author are the result of an intensive study of these and other sources, many of which are habitually ignored by writers in this field. These sources, incidentally, are taken as illustrating the purpose and practice of the education of the period, not as samples of misguided idealism judged from the standpoint of present-day custom and practice. It is unfortunate that the extensive bibliography which, according to the introduction, Durkheim gave to his students with each lecture is not available to his readers and that the absence of footnotes makes a further search of the author's sources impossible for many who are not students of special fields of history or literature. The style is brilliant and colorful.

DOROTHY MACKAY QUINN.

La Universidad de Paris durante los estudios de Francisco de Vitoria O. P. (1507-1522). By RICARDO G. VILLOSLADA. [Analecta Gregoriana.] (Rome, apud Aedes Universitatis Gregoriana, 1938, pp. xxvi, 468, 30 l.) The career of the Dominican Francisco de Vitoria is part of the story of Spain in the Golden Age. It is, however, a story of tendencies unlike those most characteristic of that splendid period of Spanish history, for it was Francisco who introduced a strict, though modified, Thomistic method and discipline into the Spanish universities. Villoslada has limited his work to a study of those forces which helped to mold Francisco's mind, to condition his approach to intellectual problems, and to determine his methods of study and teaching. He describes with much detail the atmosphere in which this Spanish Dominican lived and the influences under which he studied. Especially interesting are Villoslada's accounts of the position accorded Aquinas's *Summa* and of "la práctica del dictado en las aulas". Considerable space is given to a discussion of the humanism prevalent in Paris during Francisco's stay there. The author naturally has considerable sympathy for this humanism of the sixteenth century, a sympathy which even medievalists can comprehend; nevertheless they will not receive with favor his reference (p. 77) to the renaissance of the twelfth century as "tímido y no muy vital". On page 82, note 26, the author does, however, show more consideration for what he appears to have condemned a few pages earlier. In spite of its positive merits, the volume is unnecessarily long. Sections dealing with well-known fact and custom could have been curtailed to advantage. The bibliography, with its many references to manuscript as well as printed sources, is a useful addition to the references in D'Irsay's general survey. Though some works in English have been consulted, the omission of Rashdall is surprising. Volumes III and IV of the *Auctarium* to the Parisian chartulary should have been listed. There is an index for names, but unfortunately none for subjects.

GRAY C. BOYCE.

Pascal: The Life of Genius. By MORRIS BISHOP. (New York, Reynal and Hitchcock, 1936, pp. x, 398, \$3.50.) It would be difficult to imagine a task more skillfully done than Professor Bishop's delineation of the remarkable Frenchman whose life of less than forty years was a constant battle between an extraordinarily keen intellect and an emotional religiosity often verging on sheer superstition. For Blaise Pascal was a curiously divided personality, a perfect example of what the psychoanalyst calls the "schizoid". Early enamored of science, he made lasting contributions to physics and mathematics. But a craving as intense as St. Augustine's for religious peace would not let him rest content with the intellectual satisfaction and the social recognition of his scientific achievements. His burning thirst for God led him to belittle and despise the "vanity" of his intellect, while all the time he was haunted by the temptation to return to his

mathematical studies. So he lived in perpetual mental and spiritual torment intensified, if not wholly induced, by the physical affliction (intestinal tuberculosis) which from the age of eighteen gave him "not a single year free from suffering". Pascal's "conversion" in the year 1654 marked the turning point in his life. He embraced with characteristic fervor the cause of Jansenism, "the fundamentalist Catholicism" of the seventeenth century. In the *Lettres provinciales* he not only furnished his fellow believers with their most effective weapons of controversy but gave the French language a form and style which Voltaire called perfection. Pascal's *Pensées* have been a storehouse of striking aphorisms and penetrating moral insights rejoicing the lover of the perfect wedding of word and thought from Pascal's day to ours. Professor Bishop is concerned to let Pascal explain himself; but one gathers from his pages that he feels that the true Pascal is the thinker and not the devotee. He was "a genius attempting sainthood". The genius was indigenous, inescapable, real; the sainthood was assiduously cultivated, exotic, never without a touch of feverish artificiality.

DAVID S. MUZZEY.

Louis XIV. By HILAIRE BELLOC. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. xii, 393, \$3.75.)

Members of the historical gild will doubtless find this an exasperating book; laymen not possessing a fairly detailed acquaintance with the Great Age will be flattered by the deference accorded their prejudices in historical interpretation. Belloc intends the work not as a biography of Louis XIV but as a "study of the principle of Monarchy", now returning (1938), in the form of despotism or dictatorship, after a long eclipse by that alternative form of rule—class government or aristocracy. His main theme, presented topically, traces the process by which the rising money power destroys the effectiveness of monarchy, the ancient guardian of the people against the greed and ruthlessness of plutocracy. Historians, economists, and political scientists will be affronted by the author's numerous assumptions and generalizations, by the freedom with which he indulges his bias, and by the absence of substantiating evidence. Laymen may be misled. In spite of these defects, however, Belloc's indifference to the conventional, his vigorous demolition of old clichés and his resourceful substitution of new ones, and his provocative if sometimes untenable comparisons between the twentieth century and the seventeenth will compel admiration—and possibly some revision of existing views. We may perhaps all agree that Louis XIV presented "the most perfect example of Monarchy in all its advantages and disadvantages".

LAURENCE B. PACKARD.

The Journal of Jean Cavalier: The Account of a Survivor of La Salle's Texas Expedition, 1684-1688. Translated and annotated by JEAN DELANGLEZ. (Chicago, Institute of Jesuit History, 1938, pp. 179, \$2.50.) The Institute of Jesuit History at Loyola University, Chicago, is undertaking, under the leadership of Father Delanglez, to evaluate and republish the seventeenth century sources for the life and explorations of La Salle. Among these is the journal of the explorer's brother, Jean Cavalier, on the last years of La Salle's life and his fateful death in the wilderness of Texas. This journal was published in Margry and translated by Shea, but a newly discovered copy in the Spanish archives, sent there by no less a person than Baron Lahontan, is more complete and deserves the fine presentation given in this book, with the French text and the English translation on opposite pages. With the journal was a curious map of the Mississippi valley, also reproduced in this edition. The erudite editor contributes an introduction discussing the credit to be assigned to this journal of Cavalier, the circumstances of its writing, and the propaganda intended. He concludes from very careful

study that Cavelier was also the author of the untrustworthy pseudo-Tonty narrative and probably of parts of Le Clercq's *Premier établissement de la foi dans la Nouvelle France*. The journal of Henri Joutel emerges from this study as the only reliable source for the last journey of La Salle and for the incidents of his assassination. The editor also presents Cavelier's character as it appeared to his contemporaries as well as to moderns—that of a grasping, avaricious man of bad faith. As is well known, he concealed his brother's murder to obtain his property and by this deceit was responsible in large measure for the loss of the colonists La Salle had left on the shores of Texas. An excellent bibliography and a discussion of contemporary maps complete a volume that no student of the French discovery of the Mississippi valley can afford to ignore.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG.

The Physiocratic Doctrine of Judicial Control. By MARIO EINAUDI. With an Introduction by Charles Howard McIlwain. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. x, 96, \$1.50.) In his foreword Mr. McIlwain stresses the neglect accorded the political, as opposed to the economic, ideas of the physiocrats. Mr. Einaudi in this brief study attempts to redress the balance, suggesting withal that their economic views also have lacked adequate analysis. The physiocrats, in full sympathy with their times and in keeping with their own economic doctrines, sought a government controlled by natural law, but one and all, they experienced difficulty in formulating coercive machinery. A natural order, the necessary interdependence between positive and natural law, and the power of judges to estimate positive laws in the light of eternal principles summed up physiocratic suggestions. If, however, judicial control was to be established, it must be freed from the danger of being overruled. Some physiocrats looked to the *parlements*, but for centuries the king's edicts had been registered through *lets de justice*; moreover, the Paris *parlement* had nullified the physiocratic economic platform as it found expression in Turgot's reforms. To others a written constitution appeared the answer. In general, physiocratic constitutionalism lagged behind political theory, and some of the leaders seemingly despaired of finding a way out. Nevertheless, the physiocrats were agitating a problem of politics which, regardless of terminology, has persisted from the first political societies to the present. At times Mr. Einaudi has been a little confusing. His statements that Quesnay "seemed to ignore" the problem (p. 12) and that the physiocrats erected no "defenseless bulwark" (p. 5) and his remarks on Mirabeau's vagueness (p. 14) do not square with the treatment of Quesnay (pp. 29-32), the whole of chapter vi on the "ways and limits of judicial control", and Mirabeau's "clearer vision" and "best explanation" (pp. 23, 28). Nevertheless, his pertinent discussion has both increased our knowledge and suggested further explorations in historical political theory.

CHARLES F. MULLETT.

The Spirit of Voltaire. By NORMAN L. TORREY. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 314, \$3.00.) The general public, no less than students of Voltaire, will welcome this book, which consists of essays on various aspects of the life, character, and ideas of the great *philosophe*. Professor Torrey has a masterly knowledge of his material, has digested it thoroughly, and presents his views with a lucidity that the subject so well merits. Consistent, even passionate, humanism is the key to Voltaire's "inner nature". It is shown in his hatred of theology, in his love of life, and in his unchanging conviction that only through intelligence, knowledge, and reason can the world be made better. Even Voltaire's deism was essentially humanistic. The author's admiration for

Voltaire, while expressed with reserve, is nevertheless wholehearted. And Voltaire emerges from these pages the hero in the war for intellectual liberation that was waged in eighteenth century France. Voltaire lived dangerously, seizing any weapon at hand and resorting to any stratagem in his conflicts with his many powerful foes. "Protective lying" was his way of circumventing the censorship. Professor Torrey defends Voltaire against the charges of superficiality and cynicism that have so often been made from his day to our own. His "superficiality", argues the author, was more apparent than real; it comes from the brightness of his style rather than from a lack of knowledge. Voltaire's library, now in Leningrad, which the author has studied, bears witness "to the seriousness with which he undertook his critical works". And Voltaire's cynicism was "a literary device, not a deep-seated conviction". He was ever ready to throw himself into the fight against injustice and was constantly urging his fellow *philosophes* to do likewise. Professor Torrey's book is to be welcomed as an addition to the small list of scholarly works on Voltaire available in English.

J. SALWYN SCHAPIRO.

Necker, 1732-1804. By EDOUARD CHAPUISAT. [Institut international d'histoire de la Révolution française, Société de l'histoire de la Révolution française.] (Paris, Sirey, 1938, pp. 331, 35 fr.) History has dealt strangely with Jacques Necker. It has characterized him as a stuffed shirt, as a financial genius, and as a "commissary" of the French Revolution. That such divergent opinions should have prevailed in scholarly circles needs explanation—an explanation that is provided by this book. According to the author, Necker was called to the administration of French finances at a moment when nothing short of magic could have brought order out of chaos. But Necker was not a magician. He was only a highly successful banker who had little actual authority at court and no natural gifts for diplomacy and compromise. Handicapped as he was by his scruples, his Protestantism, and his foreign citizenship, and yet desiring to effect much needed reforms, Necker "pleased no one by trying to please all". The last word on Necker is not, however, to be found in the work of Chapuisat. Here there is practically nothing concerning the Genevan's activity as a banker or as a merchant, nor is there a careful account of his role as director of the financial affairs of France. In fact, this volume seems to be the story of Necker as told by contemporary gossips. Fortunately, there are illuminating pages concerning the banker's economic views, drawn from the work of Vacher de Lapouge; there are touching side lights upon Madame Necker and their daughter, the future Baroness de Staël; and there is some account of other of Necker's writings than the apologetic *Administration*. At all events, this volume comes as a considerable relief after the outpourings of the Abbé Lavaquery in his *Necker, fournisseur de la Révolution*.

J.-P. Marat, "l'œil et l'ami du peuple". By GASTON-MARTIN. (Paris, Rieder, 1938, pp. 260, 15 fr.)

Madame de Staël d'après ses portraits. By YVONNE BEZARD. (Paris, Victor Attinger, 1938, pp. 40, 12 fr.) "This iconographic study is accompanied by eleven illustrations . . . two among them of pictures which have never before been reproduced".

Lafayette. By W. E. WOODWARD. (New York, Farrar and Rinehart, 1938, pp. xii, 472, \$3.50) This book is a good example of the effect of the Industrial Revolution on the publishing business. Before the days of quantity production and high pressure sales methods, a book, to be a success, had to have, besides

the reputation of the author and the enterprise of the publisher, a certain degree of merit. Merit was measured by timeliness, good style, interesting presentation, scholarliness, and other factors. This book bids fair to be a success—at least it has been conspicuously advertised by the publishers and has received several “puffs” in the popular book review magazines (even from reviewers who ought to have known better). It is, however, almost devoid of merit. The style, which occasionally reaches the heights of good prose, too often descends to the level of cheap journalese. The scholarship is lamentable, being characterized by inaccuracy, irrelevance, and a haphazard sampling of sources. Since there has appeared in the last decade an average of nearly one biography of Lafayette a year (most of them better than this one), it lacks timeliness; and while it gives a fairly interesting presentation of Lafayette’s character, it does so at the expense of subtlety and shading.

LOUIS GOTTSCHALK.

Maximilien Robespierre: Nationalist Dictator. By JAMES MICHAEL EAGAN. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 242, \$2.75.) Dr. Eagan has performed a distinct service in drawing attention to the importance of national patriotism in the life and work of Robespierre. The immaculate dictator does not fit into any pattern, even the nationalist one that Dr. Eagan weaves. And yet the nationalist pattern is probably better than most, and the vital significance of national patriotism in the Revolution has been overlooked far too often. The purpose of the volume is to present the “nationalist thought of Robespierre in its origins and development”. Robespierre’s career is traced only insofar as is necessary to depict his transition from the liberal humanitarian patriotism of ’89 to the fanatical dictatorial nationalism of ’93. Robespierre was an ardent patriot who went far because he believed everything he said. He extolled patriotism. He practiced it. When he was in power he tried to see that all Frenchmen fought with him for “what is dearest and most sacred, the nation”. As long as Dr. Eagan sticks to his chief purpose he is successful. But his comparisons of Robespierre with the present dictatorships are not so fortunate. At times he is guilty of anachronisms which vitiate his case. Modern dictators, it is true, resemble Robespierre in “their use of patriotic appeals and their desire to unite the nation”, but comparisons may be carried too far. More power and influence are attributed to Robespierre than the evidence seems to warrant. Dr. Eagan’s thought, like Robespierre’s, is not always logically and felicitously put. Nevertheless his study, the result of painstaking scholarly effort, does contribute to an understanding of one nationalist dictator and the forces which brought about his rise.

BOYD C. SHAFER.

Revellière-lépeaux, Citizen Director, 1753-1824. By GEORGIA ROBISON. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. 307, \$3.50.) Students in general know little more about Revellière-lépeaux than that he was one of the five Directors and had something to do with a passing religious phenomenon called Theophilanthropy. Miss Robison has pulled him forth from the limbo of forgotten revolutionary players, somewhat earnestly and with studied determination not to allow any of his thoughts or deeds to pass unrecorded. Her account of his life owes much to Revellière-lépeaux’s own memoirs. The years from 1795 to 1799 were his moment in history. He concerned himself with protecting republican learning and the arts and threw his support to Bonaparte’s generous decision to safeguard in Paris itself the art treasures which the unclean hands of nonrevolutionary Italian princes were unworthy of holding. His diplomatic efforts were unfortunate but luckily of no consequence. He achieved renown, though not praise, for his support of Theophilanthropy; and for the first and

only time in his life he exercised political influence in the seamy intrigues which culminated in the coup of Prairial. In the spring of 1799 his political career ended with his forced resignation from the Directory. All this the author tells us in her solid work of scholarly erudition, which incorporates the best printed researches and the fine combings of public and private archives. Despite her pronounced sense of organization, the narrative occasionally lags from the weight of its details. Her own text bears out her general conclusion concerning Revellière-Lépeaux's political incompetence and naïvete, but her final verdict that he may be remembered for his preoccupation with problems of developing and adapting techniques of social control seems scarcely borne out by the evidence. It seems as likely that he will continue to be remembered, if at all, as one of the more pompous of the rhetoricians who blew clouds of words on the revolutionary stage.

LEO GERSHOX.

Louis-Henri-Joseph de Bourbon, le dernier Condé. By ÉMILE LESUEUR. (Paris, Alcan, 1937, pp. 302, 18 fr.)

Chateaubriand; Poet, Statesman, Lover. By ANDRÉ MAUROIS. Translated from the French by Vera Fraser. (New York, Harper, 1938, pp. x, 352, \$3.50.) This biography is not exactly what one would expect from its author; it is careful, accurate, and dull: a detailed account of the events of Chateaubriand's private life and public career with plenty of emphasis on the ladies he knew. If one would realize Chateaubriand's significance in the history of French and of European civilization, he will hardly find it here. There is more of this in a few pages of Sainte-Beuve, George Brandes, Faguet, Lemaitre, or Babbitt.

FREDERICK B. ARTZ.

Documents diplomatiques français, 1871-1914. Série I (1871-1900), tome VI², 4 mars, 1885-29 décembre, 1887. [Ministère des Affaires étrangères.] (Paris, Imprimerie nationale, 1938, pp. xiii, 162, 30 fr.) To a considerable extent these seventy-one documents fill, as the editors claim, the *lacunae* in Volume VI¹. Four (nos. 56, 58, 61, 71) reveal the papacy's desire, doubtless because of Bismarck's failure to pay for its aid during the reichstag elections with support in the Roman Question, for an entente with France. In the resignation of Robilant, foreign minister in the Depretis cabinet, following the Italian defeat near Massawa by the Abyssinians, the French ambassador seems to have had some influence (no. 35). Both Waddington and Flourens believed fantastic reports that Herbert Bismarck, during his visit in August, 1887, had asked England to join Germany and Italy in a preventive war with France; Salisbury, however, assured France of England's independence of the Triple Alliance (nos. 62, 63, 68). Newest and perhaps most valuable are the dozen documents relating to Belgium's neutrality and to the strengthening of her fortifications in the Meuse valley. On the latter question the French were at first cool, for they feared that strong forts there would aid a German invasion unless Belgium was able and determined to defend her neutrality (no. 3). In fact, Boulanger suspected that the initiative had come from Germany (no. 9). On February 20, 1887, Prince de Chimay, the foreign minister, gave France a formal assurance that Belgium would resist a violation of her neutrality to the end (no. 25); there was even a rumor that England had promised to send troops to Antwerp (no. 42). In return, the listing of bonds of the Congo Free State on the Paris Bourse was asked for and later granted (nos. 25, 34), but France also tried, with what success is not clear, to secure some orders for her munition companies (no. 38). Most disappointing is the inclusion of only one dispatch from Boulanger (no. 9).

E. MALCOLM CARROLL.

The Life of Jules Cambon. By GENEVIÈVE TABOUIS. Translated from the French by C. F. Atkinson. (London, Jonathan Cape, 1938, pp. 399, 15s.) This life of the famous French diplomat by a near relative is an interesting account, presenting a fair picture of the man and his work. It shows M. Cambon in his early environment and stresses his work as governor general of Algeria, where he acquired the understanding of the French colonial problem in North Africa which stood him in good stead later in his fight for Morocco. Throughout, the author is at pains to show her hero in the best possible light. The part he played at Berlin is rightly emphasized, and the picture of his difficulties with his own government during the 1911 negotiations over Morocco is well done. M. Cambon seems to have had a high regard for Kiderlen-Waechter, though the biographer gives the impression that Cambon not only got the best bargain possible but rather overreached his German adversary. In the account of the hectic days preceding the Great War one wonders whether the author is describing M. Cambon's work or trying to prove Germany's sole responsibility for the conflict. Belgium's pro-French attitude is rather naïvely taken for granted and stressed. In M. Cambon's later work at the end of the war and at the Peace Conference he is again pictured as an almost perfect hero, albeit a very nationalistic Frenchman. The author's use of source material seems designed to bolster up opinions already formed. The bibliography includes governmental documentary material, but the text shows little familiarity with it. In fact the account seems a trifle thin and leaves the reviewer with the feeling that there is still room for a more thorough study. Nevertheless the author has an easy and very readable style, and the book holds one's interest.

OSWALD HENRY WEDEL.

Élie Halévy, 6 septembre, 1870-21 août, 1937. (Paris, École libre des sciences politiques, n.d., pp. 93.) A collection of some of the articles on Halévy and his work which appeared in France and England soon after his death.

Pour une politique d'empire: Doctrine et action. By EUGÈNE GUERNIER. (Paris, Alcan, 1938, pp. 208, 30 fr.)

La France dans le monde. By PIERRE CLERGET and MARCEL CLERGET. [Collection de documents et de témoignages pour servir à l'histoire de notre temps.] (Paris, Payot, 1938, pp. 276, 32 fr.) The first of these books is made up largely of quotations from newspapers and other articles of variable age and quality. European France is said to be "indifferent to the colonial idea" (p. 32). An oratorical conclusion with liberal quotations from Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" goes very well with the theme that French business and finance should be grooved more in colonial directions; but the question of how this is to be accomplished in a liberal system, where business presumably calculates probable returns and risks, is left unanswered. The authors of the second work have not had enough space, or have not used what they had to best advantage, to make the most of the excellent idea of treating European and oversea France together, by chapters. Within the chapters the materials are mainly separated, so that the reader will not get an integrated picture of economic, social, and political France as a nucleus of empire. Even the best chapter (that on economic life, pp. 184-272) is illuminating largely for its "economic geography" point of view, not for any rigorous analysis of the decline of private business and the rise of public expenditures. It is a good sketch, nevertheless, with graphs portraying the outstanding features of the decline. As an introduction to French colonization this book is not bad, but much of it will be merely scanned by the reader who already has a moderate familiarity with the subject. A short con-

clusion on the "spiritual radiation" of France is apparently designed to lighten the pessimism of the preceding one on French and French-imperial economy.

M. M. KNIGHT.

Erflaters van onze Beschaving: Nederlandse Gestalten uit zes Eeuwen. By JAN and ANNIE ROMEIN. Volume I, *14e-16e Eeuw*; Volume II, *17e Eeuw*. (Amsterdam, N. V. Em. Querido, 1938, pp. 283; 323, 3.25 fl. each.) These volumes form a kind of biographical supplement to the authors' history of Netherland culture, which appeared in 1934 under the title *De Lage Landen bij de Zee* (The Low Countries by the Sea). The personal element had been crowded out of that story by the wealth of other material that had to be discussed. The authors, convinced Marxists though they are, feel that in the conflict of forces by which history is made the *dramatis personae* deserve recognition as products and molders of their age. Volume I contains the biographies of Filips van Leiden, Geert Groote, Jeroen Bosch, Erasmus, William of Orange, Filips van Marnix, Johan van Oldenbarnevelt, and Simon Stevin. William of Orange was not born in the territory now comprising the kingdom of the Netherlands but was a German by birth and descent. Marnix and Stevin came from the southern Netherlands, now called Belgium, but both were builders, with the Prince of Orange, of the Dutch Republic. Volume II deals with Sweelinck, the composer and forerunner of Bach, Hugo Grotius, Coen, who laid the foundations of Holland's colonial empire in the Far East, De Geer, merchant prince, Vondel the poet, Rembrandt the painter, De Ruyter, the admiral, Johan de Wit, the statesman, Christian Huygens, the scientist, and Spinoza, the philosopher. Mr. and Mrs. Romein write well and entertainingly. No reader will regret the few hours he spent in these first two rooms of their national portrait gallery. We look forward in pleasant anticipation to the opening of the other two.

A. J. BARNOUW.

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NORTHERN EUROPE

O. J. Falnes

Det norske folks Liv og Historie i vår egen Tid. By WILHELM KEILHAU. (Oslo, H. Aschehoug, 1938, pp. 500, 8 kr.) Five Norwegian scholars collaborated on the ten-volume *Det norske folks Liv og Historie gjennom Tidene*, which was completed in 1935 (several volumes were here reviewed, XXVII, 154). Keilhau did the last three volumes, but he made no effort to carry the story beyond 1920 and, in fact, the treatment was a summary one after 1905. Now he has issued what is in effect a supplementary volume, uniform in format and design with the earlier set and covering the period from 1905 to the present. The difficulties that attend the writing of the history of "our own time" remain evident. Several topics are not carried beyond the twenties. The reference to what the author considers America's incorrigibly subjective attitude toward the Nansen mission is somewhat oblique (p. 313). From one who has for years been centrally placed in both circles, it is disappointing to have no paragraphs on Norway's Peace Union or on the Storting's Nobel Committee and the Norwegian Nobel Institute. However, any particular shortcomings of the book are far outweighed by its general virtues. Some of these, such as the broad interpretation of the material included, from problems of demography to

the fields of art and of sport, and the high standard of excellence in popularizing historical material, it shares with the series as a whole. But others are Professor Keilhau's own—a discerning psychological analysis of significant personalities, a skillful portrayal of social forces at work in the intimacies of everyday living, and a lively crackling style. This volume will remain for some time to come the standard treatise on modern Norway's first generation of independence.

Lychnos: Lärdomshistoriska Samfundets Årsbok. 1938. Annual of the Swedish History of Science Society. (Uppsala and Stockholm, Almqvist & Wiksell, 1938, pp. xii, 654, 12 kr.) Some of the articles in this annual—most of them naturally appeal to the specialist in the history of science—have a wider appeal, such as the discussions on early Dutch and French newspapers, the “Recherche de la vérité par la lumière naturelle” by Descartes, the introduction to Sweden's basic law of 1734, and the Bengt Bergius Collection of Correspondence. The long book review section—nearly two hundred pages—is devoted to Western culture in general and discusses many works that lie beyond the strict confines of the history of science.

Skrifter utgivna av Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskapssamfundet i Uppsala. 1934-1938. Volume XXIX. (Uppsala, Almqvist & Wiksell; Leipzig, Otto Harrassowitz, 1938, pp. 28, 190, 64, 66, xxiv, 91, 40, 48, 20 kr.) In this volume the monographs of interest to the historian are those on the Indian travels of Apollonius of Tyana, the treatise on astronomy by the sixteenth century Uppsala professor, Olof Luth, and the analysis of the Viminacium find of coins on the lower Danube, uncovered early in this century.

Fornvännen: Meddelanden från K. Vitterhets Historie och Antikvitets Akademien. 1938. Edited by SIGURD CURMAN. Volume XXXIII. (Stockholm, Generalstabens Litografiska Anstalt, 1938, pp. 380.) Articles in this issue of interest to historians as well as archaeologists are those on the easterly placement of the direction North among the early Scandinavians, the Hanseatic art of the Baltic region, and a leading article by the editor on the concerted measures being taken to preserve the material remains of Swedish history.

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GERMANY, SWITZERLAND, AND HUNGARY

E. N. Anderson

Entwicklungsgeschichte des deutschen Heerwesens. Volume II¹, *Das Heerwesen in der Zeit des freien Söldnertums: Landsknechtszeit*. Volume III¹, *Das Heerwesen in der Zeit des Dreissigjährigen Krieges: Das Söldnertum*. By EUGEN VON FRAUENHOLZ. (Munich, C. H. Beck, 1937; 1938, pp. x, 323; viii, 437, 16 M.; 18 M.) These two volumes represent further installments of Professor Frauenholz's history of the evolution of the German army, the previous volumes of which were reviewed in this journal (XLI, 122; XLIII, 188). In the case of both volumes the narrative embraces scarcely more than one third of the entire book, the remainder being given over to documents. Is the puzzled reviewer to regard these documents as supporting the text, or is he to regard the text as a mere introduction to the documents? If the former, he cannot lay these volumes aside without a sense of profound disappointment. The narrative, to be sure, is no mere propagandistic or patriotic military history; the method of approach is thoroughly modern and scholarly, and the judgment of the author is critical and sound throughout. But anyone familiar with the works of Delbrueck, Jaehns, Meynert, and Heischmann (*Die Anfänge des stehenden Heeres in Oesterreich*, Vienna, 1925, a book which appears to be unknown to the author) will find little that is novel. The documents, which the student must recognize as the most valuable feature of the entire publication, are numerous, intelligently selected, and important: contemporary descriptions of important battles, military commissions, contracts between emperor and officers, articles of war, infantry and cavalry tactics, etc. Many of these have never been published before or were generally inaccessible. Historians will be grateful to the author for publishing the contemporary account of the Czech Ziška's system of military organization in 1423, the complete documents setting forth the martial law of the emperor, Gustavus Adolphus, Poland, Holland, and Bavaria. But the gems of the entire collection are two hitherto unpublished documents which describe the military tactics of Maurice of Orange and their influence on Gustavus Adolphus.

WALTER L. DORN.

Archiv des Historischen Vereins des Kantons Bern. Volume XXXIV, no. 1. (Berne, Gustav Grunau, 1937, pp. xxxi, 224.) This volume contains Dr. Fritz Bürki's monograph entitled "Berns Wirtschaftslage im Dreissigjährigen Krieg". The work is more than an economic study, for monetary regulations, prices, and wages in Berne during the first half of the seventeenth century have been

carefully analyzed in order to illustrate the growth of the centralized state. The interference of the government was necessitated by two factors: a rapidly increasing population and the repercussions of the war. A city patriciate therefore imposed ever stricter economic regulations for the benefit of the whole population. Mistakes were made, particularly in monetary regulation. A careless disregard of the feelings of a peasantry harking back to a mythical age of liberty led to revolt in 1653. But at least the patriciate did not attempt to imitate the all-powerful government then in formation in contemporary France. For Berne this was a period of transition leading to a model state in the eighteenth century.

E. A. BELLER.

Lettres de Sophie de La Roche à C.-M. Wieland, précédées d'une étude sur Sophie de La Roche. By VICTOR MICHEL. [Annales de l'Est, publiées par la Faculté des lettres de l'Université de Nancy.] (Nancy, Berger-Levrault, 1938, pp. xlix, 109.) Seventy-five hitherto unpublished letters running from 1759 to 1784 are printed here. Their author, Sophie de La Roche, was a minor German writer to some extent in touch with important people and events. She was once the fiancée of Wieland, is thought to have influenced Goethe, started an early and short-lived women's magazine, and had a son who went with Lafayette to America. These letters to Wieland are an expression of *Sturm und Drang*. The very language, alternating between German and fluent but unschooled French, shows the spiritual uncertainty of the time. She was an escapist, reading Richardson, Young, and Wieland's translation of "Schaquespear", given to introspection and sentimentality, losing herself in the moral attitudes of her own literary characters. She was humanitarian and concerned about the poor and at times nationalistic in the German manner, declaring in protest against foreign influence that the soul to become strong must become entirely German. It is noteworthy, in contrast with a similar French woman, Mme. Roland, that these humanitarian and nationalist feelings remained completely nonpolitical. The present letters are so filled with small talk and general sentiments that their utility as a historical source is greatly limited. The editor's introduction, however, is illuminating and valuable.

R. R. PALMER.

The German Civil Service Act. By JAMES K. POLLOCK and ALFRED V. BOERNER, JR. (Chicago, Civil Service Assembly of the United States and Canada, 1938, pp. 54, \$1.75.)

Nazi Germany: Its Women and Family Life. By CLIFFORD KIRKPATRICK. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938, pp. xiii, 353, \$3.00.) A sociological study based on a year's research in Germany.

Zeitschrift für Politik. Volume XXIX, nos. 1-2. (Berlin, Carl Heymann, pp. 155.) This volume is devoted to the colonial question and includes such articles as the following: Heinrich Schnee, "Leistungen und Ziele der deutschen Kolonialverwaltung"; Dr. Zeitschel, "Die Geschichte der deutschen Kolonien bis zum Kriegeausbruch"; M. E. Pasemann, "Deutsche Kolonialpioniere—ihr Lebensbild: Carl Peters, Adolf Lüderitz, Hermann Wissmann, Gustav Nachtigal".

Schmollers Jahrbuch für Gesetzgebung, Verwaltung und Volkswirtschaft. Volume LXII, numbers 4-6. (Berlin, Duncker and Humblot, 1938.) This double number issued in honor of the hundredth anniversary of Schmoller's birth is devoted to articles on his intellectual position. They are by German professors in the fields of history, economics, sociology, and philosophy, covering subjects like the following: Leopold von Wiese, "Aristokratie und Demokratie bei

Gustav von Schmoller"; August Skalweit, "Gustav von Schmoller und der Merkantilismus"; Fritz Hartung, "Gustav von Schmoller und die preussische Geschichtsschreibung".

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- F. HAHN. Faber Stapulensis und Luther. *Zeitsch. f. Kirchengesch.*, LVII, nos. 3-4.
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- MARY CATHERINE WELBORN. An Intellectual Father of Modern Business [Konrad Peutinger, 1465-1547]. *Bull. Business Hist. Soc.*, Apr.
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- R. W. SETON-WATSON. Metternich and Internal Austrian Policy [cont.]. *Slav. Rev.*, XVII, no. 51.
- WILHELM WEIZSÄCKER. Das Nationalbewusstsein als Faktor der böhmischen Geschichte. *Mitteil. Ver. f. Gesch. Deut. in Böhmen*, LXXVI, no. 3.
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- HUBERT LENDL. Das gesellschaftliche Gefüge des Landvolks im deutsch-madjarischen Grenzraum östlich des Neusiedler Sees. *Ibid.*
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- BÉLA GUNDA. Sammelwirtschaft bei den Ungarn. *Ibid.*
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- VERNON DUCKWORTH BARKER. Frigyes Karinthy, 1888-1938. *Ibid.*
- FRITZ VALJAVEC. Das älteste Zeugnis für das völkische Erwachen des Donauschwabentums. *Hist. Zeitsch.*, CLIX, no. 2.
- BÉLA MENCZER. Joseph Eötvös and Hungarian Liberalism. *Slav. Rev.*, XVII, no. 51.

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ITALY

Gaudens Megaro

Costumes and Festivals of Milanese Society under Spanish Rule. By F. SAXL. [Annual Lecture of the British Academy, 1936, from the Proceedings of the British Academy.] (New York, Oxford University Press, 1938, pp. 61, plates 48, \$3.00.) A lecture based on intensive study of "an ordinary stock-book of a firm of tailors active in Milan in the second half of the sixteenth century".

Carteggi di Vincenzo Gioberti. Edited by LUIGI MADARO. Volume VI, *Lettere di illustri stranieri a Vincenzo Gioberti.* (Rome, Regio Istituto per la Storia del Risorgimento Italiano, 1938, pp. xv, 185, 15 l.)

Discorsi parlamentari. By C. BENSO DI CAVOUR. Volume VI, 1852-1853. Edited by LUIGI RUSSO. ["Documenti di Storia Italiana."] (Florence, "La Nuova Italia", 1937, pp. 648, 54 l.) This is the sixth volume of what will doubtless be the definitive edition of Cavour's parliamentary speeches. During the period covered by the present volume Cavour served as deputy, as minister of navy, agriculture, commerce and finance, and as president of the council of ministers and minister of finance in what came to be known as the Great Ministry.

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RUSSIA AND POLAND

Avrahm Yarmolinsky

Mezhdunarodnye otnosheniya v epokhu imperializma: Dokumenty iz arkhivov tzarskovo i vremennovo pravitel'stv, 1878-1917. Seriya vtoraya, 1900-13 [international relations in the epoch of imperialism: documents from the archives of the imperial and provisional governments. Series 2, 1900-13]. Volume XVIII, parts 1-2, edited by A. S. YERUSALIMSKI; Volume XIX, part 2, edited by L. A. TELESHEVA. (Leningrad, Gos. izdat. polit. literatury, 1938, pp. 470; 382; 551, each part 12 r.) Up to the present the Soviet Commission for the Publication of the Documents of the Epoch of Imperialism has issued ten volumes (in thirteen books) of the third, the so-called war series. They cover the period of January 14, 1914, to April 13, 1916. Volumes containing the rest of the material, through November 7, 1917, will follow. Meanwhile, the commission has started issuing the second, the prewar series, which will cover the years 1900-13 in twenty-four

volumes. Volume XVIII, parts 1 and 2, and Volume XIX, part 2, are the first ones to be published. These three parts contain papers dated May 1 to October 31, 1911, and January 2 to April 30, 1912 (all dates are Old Style). The text consists chiefly of letters and dispatches exchanged by the Russian foreign office with the diplomatic representatives of the empire in various countries and with other ministries. Each volume is provided with an index of names and a separate register of organizations and individuals that acted as correspondents. A third index lists the subjects of the correspondence by country.

Dokumenty velikiĭ proletarskoĭ revolyutzii [documents of the great proletarian revolution]. Volume I. Compiled by E. N. GORODETZKI and I. M. RAZGON. (Moscow, Ogiz, 1938, pp. 372, 7 r.) This work forms part of the series, "Materials and documents for the study of the history of the great proletarian revolution and the civil war", issued by the state publishing house, and it contains the hitherto unpublished minutes and correspondence of the Military-Revolutionary Committee of the Petrograd Soviet. In all, 540 papers dated October 9-December 5, 1917, are printed. There are explanatory notes, a list of sources, chiefly the Central Archives of the October Revolution, and indexes of names and subjects.

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BORIS NIKOLAYEVSKI. Historique de la presse périodique de l'émigration socialiste russe, 1917-1937. *Bull. Internat. Inst. Soc. Hist.*, Leiden, 1938, no. 1.

T. CHERNAVIN. The Home of the Last Czar as Material for a Study of his Character. *Slav. Rev.*, Apr.

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FAR EASTERN HISTORY

C. H. Peake

Bulletin of Far Eastern Bibliography. Edited by EARL H. PRITCHARD. Vol. III. (Washington, Committees on Far Eastern Studies of the American Council of Learned Societies, 1938, pp. 163, mimeographed.) This bulletin, now in its fourth

year of publication, is the most comprehensive and useful bibliography of current articles and books relating to Eastern Asia that is available. All subjects and historical periods are covered. Over 3000 items are listed each year. Bound volumes of past years, in so far as they are available, sell for \$2.50 each, while the current subscription price is \$2.00 a year.

Chinese Traditional Historiography. By CHARLES S. GARDNER. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xi, 120, \$1.25.) In this pioneer work Professor Gardner has attempted "to delineate . . . those characteristics which distinguish sharply the traditional forms of Chinese history from most historical composition in western lands" (p. 3). His compact essay is documented by full and precise footnotes more extensive than the text itself. These notes refer to writings throughout the whole range of Chinese historical literature and to the research of the best European sinologists, upon whose work "the present essay is largely based" (p. x). Almost half the book is devoted to an excellent chapter on "Textual Criticism". Here the Chinese historians were at their best. The authentication, establishment, and meaning of texts "has absorbed much of the attention of the best Chinese scholars from the second century before Christ to our own day" (p. 18). Other chapters deal with "Motivation", "Historical Criticism" (a part which needs much further elaboration), "Style", and the differences between Chinese synthesis and that of the West. In the chapter on "Synthesis" some exception may be taken to an emphasis on the Chinese lack of attention to causation and intimate pictures of life. Ssu-ma Kuang and the authors of historical biographies give us more from these points of view than some of Dr. Gardner's statements would lead us to believe. Several other phases of Chinese historiography are admirably presented. The history of Chinese bibliographical records, the development of modern libraries, the manner of compilation of dynastic histories, the traditional Chinese scheme of classification for works on "history", special problems of chronology and biography, and (incidentally throughout the book) the translation of bibliographical terms peculiar to the Chinese—all these contribute to make of this work an invaluable handbook for students of sinology and Chinese history.

WOODBIDGE BINGHAM.

A Union List of Selected Western Books on China in American Libraries. Compiled by CHARLES S. GARDNER. Second edition, revised and enlarged. (Washington, Committee on Chinese Studies, American Council of Learned Societies, 1938, pp. xi, 111, 75 cents.)

Government in Republican China. By PAUL MYRON ANTHONY LINEBARGER. Foreword by Fritz Morstein Marx. (New York, McGraw-Hill, 1938, pp. xv, 203, \$1.50.) Instead of concerning himself with the structure of successive shadow governments based upon various blueprint constitutions since 1912, Professor Linebarger has turned his attention to the ideological, social, and economic foundations upon which government in China has rested and must continue to rest. The old scholastic empire, having aspects of universality, maintained a measure of peace, directed education, upheld the social proprieties, and was ornamental rather than an engine of power. It was a superstructure resting upon such foundations as the kinship group, the village republic, and the guilds, which together performed most of the functions which, in the West, have long since been delegated to the government. Treaties imposed upon the old Chinese government burdens which it was never designed to carry. At the same time the economic and cultural penetration of the West destroyed the ideological foundations upon which that government rested. What followed was not merely a political collapse

but the collapse of a civilization. In their efforts to rebuild the foundations of national strength and unity the Chinese have since toyed with revamped Confucianism, nationalism, Marxism, Christianity, and pro-Japanism. The author, already well known for his basic study of Kuomintang principles, considers Sun Yat-sen's program of political reform the soundest yet advanced as a solution of the problem of the political modernization in China. Part III is a careful analysis of political possibilities, the most promising being the government headed since 1927 by Chiang Kai-shek. The book is a distinct, if unorthodox, contribution to political literature dealing with modern China. Montesquieu distinguished between the form and the spirit of government. The Chinese have always considered the latter more important than the former, and Professor Linebarger has rendered the political scientist a service by calling attention to the fact.

ROBERT T. POLLARD.

Tokugawa Japan. Volume I, Introduction, Resources and Population, Communications and Trade. Edited by NEIL SKENE SMITH. [Materials on Japanese Social and Economic History.] (London, P. S. King, 1937, pp. xvi, 176, 5s.) Excellent judgment has been shown, on the whole, both in the selection of the materials to be translated and in the items to be presented in this first of a series of volumes—drawn chiefly from Japanese sources—on the social and economic history of pre-Restoration Japan. It is hoped that publication of the further materials promised on agriculture, manufacturing, social classes, money, etc., will not be delayed. Population, communications, and trade occupy most of this first volume, which contains also sixty-four illuminating illustrations, done by Tokugawa artists, portraying various aspects of life in feudal Japan. The editor should be encouraged in his plan to publish these pictures, with others, in a separate volume along with detailed explanations. One fold-in map is included, but little can be said in its favor. There is a list of the authors whose works have been used and convenient tables, but no index. More complete annotation or the use of local source materials or both might have rectified some misleading details. It is stated, for example, that "On the Tokaido, there were 100 men and 100 horses at each station". While this was the general pattern, there were many exceptions. A more precise dating of the facts presented would have been of value, as conditions naturally changed during the long Tokugawa era. These, however, are but details of secondary importance. A great deal of credit is due Professor Neil Skene Smith for undertaking so comprehensive and valuable a task and for carrying it through with such unusual success. This same work was published in 1937 in the *Transactions* of the Asiatic Society of Japan, Second Series, Volume XIV, pages 1-176.

ROBERT BURNETT HALL.

Japan in Transition. By EMIL LEDERER and EMY LEDERER-SEIDLER. (New Haven, Yale University Press, 1938, pp. xi, 260, \$3.00.) The distinctive merit of this volume lies in its interpretation of Japanese life, culture, and current economic problems, not in its historical content. Only in the chapter on Japanese foreign policy is a chronological narrative attempted, and it adds little if anything to the many secondary accounts on which it has, of necessity, been based. Occasional errors of statement elsewhere do not detract seriously from the very stimulating interpretation of the Japanese "ethos", which constitutes the heart of the book. Deeply rooted in an island homeland, the Japanese nation, we are told, has been integrated by a fusion of religion, myth, and history, infused with loyalty and authority under Tokugawa feudalism, and given a peculiar intellectual cast by linguistic preoccupation with "the forty thousand symbols". The resulting "static" system of "unparalleled solidity" is threatened with collapse by "dy-

namic" influences accompanying the alien industrial system which Japan's desire to meet the West on an equal plane, economically and militarily, has forced her to adopt. This crisis, which is avowedly the central theme of *Japan in Transition*, can, perhaps, be solved only by the transformation of Japan "into a new Japan that will have nothing in common with the old except a name", for "the idea of synthesis between West and East can never become more than a utopian dream". No brief outline could reproduce the charm and insight of the Lederers' analysis. In a final and very able summary of Japan's grave economic problems the authors conclude on a pessimistic note. If this pessimism is intended as a prediction that Japan will be less successful in meeting future problems than, for example, the United States or France, the reviewer considers it misleading, not because he presumes to know a solution to Japan's difficulties but because he believes that more allowance must be made for our inability to predict the trends and needs of future society in a country with which we are, at best, but superficially acquainted.

CHARLES B. FAHS.

The Pageant of Japanese History. By MARION MAY DILTS. (New York, Longmans, Green, 1938, pp. xvi, 380, \$3.00.) This is a history of Japan for the general reader. The best thing about it is that the author has made an effort to treat evenly the various periods with which she has dealt, giving to each an equal amount of attention. In this her work compares very favorably with other popular histories of Japan, in most of which a few periods are treated of at length and others disposed of in a few paragraphs. In the chapters on the importation of Chinese culture she does full justice to the role of the Chinese immigrants, a factor usually neglected in popular histories of Japan. The chapters on the introduction of Western civilization are perhaps the best. The chief defects of the book come from a disposition on the part of the author to talk down to her readers, which at times leads her to write in a kind of bedtime story style. It is no doubt this attitude towards her readers which led her to omit all diacritical marks from the Japanese words in the book (e.g., Horyuji for Hōryūji), with the result that about half of these words that appear in the text are not Japanese. It is just as though one were to write a history of France, omitting all accents from the French words in order to avoid frightening the timid reader away. Students will not use this book, but it will no doubt afford informative and pleasant reading to many who merely want a general idea of Japanese history.

WILLIAM R. ACKER.

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UNITED STATES HISTORY

E. C. Burnett

GENERAL

The Navy: A History, the Story of a Service in Action. By FLETCHER PRATT. (Garden City, Doubleday, Doran, 1938, pp. xvi, 496, \$4.00.) This book is quite different from those which academic historians have heretofore written about our navy. Mr. Pratt has presented his history in the form of an unbroken stream of tradition transmitted from hand to hand from the Revolution to the present day. Instead of an account of events and naval battles, the author has given us a series of interlocking biographies under picturesque headings. Based on a solid bibliographical background and provided with numerous notes and references, the volume presents a very readable inside history of the service in an entertaining and popular form. The book closes with an interesting study of the various disarmament conferences and a summary of our present naval service. Throughout there runs a vivid account of the daily life of the seaman, many of the most important events being seen through his eyes. The author has made extensive use of the records and files of the Navy Department; his excerpts from official documents are well chosen. He refers only once to Admiral de Grasse, and then not in connection with the Yorktown campaign. True, these naval operations concerned a French fleet, but it was the presence of this naval force which prevented the British from bringing relief to Lord Cornwallis and enabled Washington to carry his famous land campaign to a victorious close. The list of ships which appears at the end of the volume, while forming a valuable supplement, is unnecessarily complicated by the insertion of numerous foreign vessels, which, though captured in action, were never added to the service under the American flag. The index contains names of ships and men only, no mention being made of places.

ROBERT W. NEESER.

Historical Records and Studies. Edited by THOMAS F. MEEHAN. Volume XXIX. (New York, United States Catholic Historical Society, 1938, pp. 136, \$3.00.)

This collection includes among other shorter items the following articles: "The Constitution and the Church" by Philip J. Furlong; "A Century of Catholicism in the Oregon Country" by Thomas F. O'Connor; "The First New England Nuns" by Gertrude M. Larkin; "American Catholic Universities" by Francis M. Crowley.

Peculiarities of the Presidents: Strange and Intimate Facts not found in History.

By DON SMITH. (Van Wert, privately printed, 1938, pp. 132, \$2.00.) The author of this little volume says that he has spent nine years gathering the materials, has searched "many musty volumes", has written "countless letters", and has traveled "many thousands of miles" to talk with presidential relatives and other authorities. Squinting at the subtitle, the reviewer is tempted to remark that, while most of the items may be characterized as "intimate", a great many of them are not "strange", and a goodly number of them are to be found in history—that is, in books pertaining to the period or the person concerned. If, however, many of the facts recorded may not properly be classified as rarities, so many of them are in that category, and all of them are of such interest, that the book is bound to have a strong appeal for the museum type of mind and for that kindred type that likes its history well seasoned or cares mainly for the human interest story. The reviewer has good ground for this conclusion because he has tried it out on his young son, just entered high school. As a collection of "peculiarities" of the Presidents, the book may appropriately be characterized as an assemblage of footnotes to history. Indeed, with regard to much of its content, it would scarcely be amiss to call it a collection of historical exclamation points. Furthermore, peculiarity inheres in the arrangement of the materials; for the book is in good part arranged on the model of the conundrum column of a newspaper or magazine, the answers to be found on a succeeding page or in a succeeding issue. There are pictures of nearly all the Presidents from Washington to Benjamin Harrison.

Benjamin Franklin in Scotland and Ireland, 1759 and 1771. By J. BENNETT NOLAN.

(Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1938, pp. 229, \$2.50.) This book will delight Franklin enthusiasts. The author follows his hero's progress through Scotland and Ireland with infectious pleasure and discourses at length on the men he met and the sights he saw. At times Mr. Nolan suffers a twinge of conscience at his own discursiveness. After dealing for three pages with a person whom Franklin may have seen in Edinburgh, he remarks (p. 67): "To be sure, Benjamin nowhere mentions him, but if we were restricted to the few sentences of original description which survive, the narrative of the Caledonian trips would be compressed into sparse paragraphs", and that is, perhaps, the best comment on the book. Its chief weakness is that it makes little attempt to estimate the influence of the important Scottish school of thinkers on Franklin's own political and social ideas. The following minor points may be noticed in an otherwise careful book. Chilbolton and Twyford (pp. 2, 6, and 127) are used as if they were identical. Shipley, who became vicar of Chilbolton in 1760, inherited Twyford in 1765. It is misleading to describe him as bishop of Llandaff and St. Asaph (p. 127). He was bishop of Llandaff for a few months only before he was transferred to St. Asaph in 1769. The undiluted praise bestowed on him might have been qualified by a reflection that he scarcely ever visited his diocese and that he bestowed seven lucrative benefices on his son, who, like himself,

was nonresident from them all and, indeed, rented one of his rectories to be used as a public house. "Gardey loo", the traditional cry in Edinburgh when slops are thrown out of the window, is surely not from *gardez l'eau* (p. 45), for that is what no one would wish to do, but from *prenez garde à l'eau*.

DAVID WILLIAMS.

Benjamin Franklin's Library (printed, 1936, as "*The First American Library*"): *A Short Account of the Library Company of Philadelphia, 1731-1931*. By AUSTIN K. GRAY. (New York, Macmillan, 1937, pp. xi, 80, \$2.00.)

Gallant John Barry, 1745-1803: The Story of a Naval Hero of Two Wars. By WILLIAM BELL CLARK. (New York, Macmillan, 1938, pp. xii, 530, \$3.50.) This biography refutes the claim of Barry's too ardent admirers that he was the "Father of the American Navy". But neither John Paul Jones nor any other naval leader, through priority of rank or glory of achievement, deserves such a distinction. As for Barry, his remarkable cruises in the *Lexington*, the *Raleigh*, and the *Alliance*, during which he captured many prizes and fought valorously against enemy men-of-war at heavy odds, placed him at the close of the Revolution, by both popular acclaim and official recognition, next to John Paul Jones, whose achievements, though more spectacular, were probably not more important than those of Barry. It was upon this excellent record that Washington on February 22, 1797, issued to Barry Commission No. 1 as captain in the new navy of the United States. In the undeclared war against France he proudly commanded a squadron led by the brand new frigate *United States* and thus became "A Naval Hero of Two Wars". After his death this significant tribute appeared in the Philadelphia *Aurora*: "America may boast that most of the officers she now possesses were reared under her gallant Barry" (p. 492). This valuable biography shows much painstaking research. It is not fictional in any respect. Those interested primarily in the romance of war will find many monotonous pages; but it truly pictures sea warfare under sail, with its long months of preparation and hardship and its brief infrequent thrilling battles. The style, though clear and straightforward, lacks distinction and is marred by such expressions as "nary", "suspicioned", and "enthused". Also, Barry's language in dialogue does not agree with the quoted picturesque spelling of his letters. But these are slight imperfections in an important addition to American naval biography.

CHARLES LEE LEWIS.

James Madison, Philosopher of the Constitution. By EDWARD McNALL BURNS. (New Brunswick, Rutgers University Press, 1938, pp. x, 212, \$2.50.) This book is the first to attempt a complete exposition and analysis of Madison's political philosophy and constitutional theory together with some discussion of the influence and importance of his views. It fills a real need and does so excellently. After a short biographical introduction, two chapters describe Madison's general theories of the state and of democracy, two more are concerned mainly with his interpretations of the Constitution, and a final one discusses the sources of his ideas and their significance. Since Madison never worked his ideas into a system they must be gathered from remarks spread through his many speeches and writings, and the author has made a very full and adequate collection. This method works well enough in the realm of political philosophy, for Madison's thought may be related to the general scheme of Locke and his followers. In constitutional theory, however, it is less satisfactory. One cannot make all the various pronouncements of Madison, written in the manifold vicissitudes of politics from 1787 to 1836, fit into a harmonious design. Mr. Burns fully realizes

this and probably does as well as anyone could within the scope of his book to solve the problem, yet sometimes it seems, especially in chapter v, that he does not properly distribute emphasis between the broad principles of constitutional construction to which Madison clung and other points of less importance which had a more temporary significance. This, however, is a fault which could only be remedied by sacrificing completeness or by writing a very full biography. Mr. Burns has admirably fulfilled his purpose, and his book should be of permanent value.

ABBOT SMITH.

Francis Scott Key: Life and Times. By EDWARD S. DELAPLAINE. (New York, Biography Press, 1937, pp. xiv, 506, \$5.00.) Though Francis Scott Key is remembered almost solely as the author of our national anthem, his life is chiefly interesting for its contacts with the social and political developments of his time. His boyhood at Terra Rubra, near Frederick, Maryland, and as a student at St. John's College, Annapolis, 1789-96, affords a lively picture of Maryland gentry in the post-Revolution period. He was later a prominent Washington lawyer, brother-in-law of Chief Justice Taney, follower and friend of Jackson and a go-between in the quarrels of Jackson's first cabinet, defender of Sam Houston in his trial before the House in 1832, U. S. District Attorney for the District of Columbia, 1833-41, and federal negotiator in the settlement of the Creek Indian Lands dispute of 1833. The opportunities for historical study thus offered are fully utilized for the first time by Key's present biographer. As a close student of Maryland history, a resident of Frederick, and an incorporator of the Taney Home there with its Key Museum, Judge Delapaine (he was appointed to the Maryland Circuit bench last year) has made excellent use of family manuscripts, court records, contemporary newspapers, and other valuable source material, and has written what must be regarded as a definitive biography. Without overrating Key's slender poetical gifts, he has told in new detail the dramatic story of the composition of his famous song. If the author leans toward diffuseness, it is chiefly in his extended recapitulations of Key's occasional speeches. Though an upright lawyer of pleasing personality, Key was not markedly original, and in an age of prolix pleaders he was, as his biographer admits, "one of the most prolix".

ALLAN WESTCOTT.

My Century: The Story of Andreas Franz Hofer. By AMALIE HOFER JEROME. (Boston, Bruce Humphries, 1937, pp. 266, \$2.75.) "Personal diaries which were kept over a long period of years have been freely utilized in making this record, as well as other manuscripts, editorial files, letters, and autobiographical sketches, all of which have been carefully verified." The book is in the form of an autobiography.

Nativism in Connecticut, 1829-1860. By CARROLL JOHN NOONAN. (Washington, Catholic University of America, 1938, pp. vi, 351, \$2.00.)

Political Nativism in Tennessee to 1860. By SISTER MARY DE LOURDES GOHMANN. (*Ibid.*, pp. vii, 192, \$2.00.) These two doctoral dissertations, the latest in a series dealing with American nativism prepared under the able direction of Professor Richard J. Purcell at the Catholic University of America, are similar in many respects. Both deal primarily with Know-Nothingism: Father Noonan devotes only 111 of his 334 pages of text to the period before 1850, and Sister Mary de Lourdes only 64 of her 172 pages. Both books are based largely on newspaper and legislative sources and are concerned primarily with the history of nativistic political parties rather than with the forces that called those parties into being. Sister Mary de Lourdes explains the growth of Know-Nothingism in Tennessee

largely in terms of local political factionalism, aided, however, by the personal campaign against Rome waged by the fiery Parson William G. Brownlow. Father Noonan, delving more deeply into causal factors, finds that the heavy Irish-Catholic immigration, the persistent anti-Catholic propaganda which was so rampant in New England, and the zealous Protestantism of the Congregational Church were forces which contributed to the success of the American Party in Connecticut. He concludes that nativism before the Civil War was not based primarily on fear of the immigrant as an economic competitor but on hatred of Catholicism. Both of these authors have done a valuable service by preparing their readable, well-documented studies. When the definitive history of Know-Nothingism is written, it will be based on such works as these.

RAY ALLEN BILLINGTON.

Semmes of the Alabama. By W. ADOLPHE ROBERTS. (Indianapolis, Bobbs-Merrill, 1938, pp. 320, \$3.50.) This is an interesting, readable biography of the leading naval officer of the Confederacy and is based upon an extensive study of the pertinent books, periodicals, and newspapers. The author does not show the impartiality of the more objective biographer or of one who reads extensively in the general literature of the period. His racy narrative, however, will doubtless find more readers than did the scholarly *Life of Semmes* by Colyer Meriwether, published in 1913. Like many men of action Semmes was reticent about his inner self. Few intimate revelations have survived—almost no family letters. It is true that he wrote several books, and from them something may be gleaned of his engaging personality. In any life of him his achievements form the subject of prime interest; and to these, chiefly those in the period of the Civil War, Mr. Roberts devotes four fifths of his book. Semmes's reputation as an eminent naval officer rests upon his successful deep-sea raiding, first in the *Sumter* and later in the *Alabama*. The tactical skill required in the capture of an unarmed merchantman by an armed cruiser is negligible. On the other hand, to escape from the pursuing enemy for more than three years in waters stretching from the Caribbean Sea to the Indian Ocean requires careful planning and skillful methods. Although Semmes captured eighty-seven prizes, his deep-sea raiding had relatively little effect on Northern commerce. Its effect on American shipping, however, was great, for that industry has never approximated the standing it had before the Civil War. In Semmes's one first-class sea fight, his engagement with the *Kearsarge*, he exhibited great courage but poor judgment.

CHARLES O. PAULLIN.

Recollections of War and Peace, 1861-1868. By ANNA PIERPONT SIVITER. Edited by CHARLES HENRY AMBLER. (New York, Putnam's, 1938, pp. xxxviii, 393, \$3.50.) Anna Pierpont Siviter (1858-1932) was the only daughter of Francis H. Pierpont, Union war governor of Virginia and "Father of West Virginia". Intensely loyal to the memory and achievements of her father, who, "because of the conditions under which he lived and wrought, was frequently misunderstood and sometimes misrepresented", she began late in life the task of recording her recollections of that phase of his career beginning with the secession of Virginia and ending with his removal from the headship of the "Restored Government" in 1868. The projected work was never finished, but, in accordance with arrangements made by Mrs. Siviter shortly before her death, her manuscript has been edited and prepared for publication by Professor Ambler. It is obvious that writing which describes events occurring when the author was a very small child and not recorded until nearly fifty years afterward and which, so far as it

purports to be a historical account, is based largely upon the same letters and papers which have been subjected to much more scientific and scholarly treatment by Professor Ambler in his recent biography of Francis H. Pierpont, can add little of positive value to the knowledge of the period already available. Numerous accounts of childhood pleasures and sorrows are vividly presented; and the volume possesses a certain merit in describing the attitude of a loyal Union woman both during the war and in the years that followed and as such may be read as a welcome antidote to the voluminous postwar reminiscences of Southern women who lay claim for their side to all virtue and justice in the great conflict. The editorial work of Professor Ambler, which includes a biographical sketch of Mrs. Siviter and other members of the Pierpont family, is competently executed.

JAMES W. PATTON.

The Yankee Cheese Box. By ROBERT STANLEY MCCORDOCK. (Philadelphia, Dorrance, 1938, pp. 470, \$3.00.)

The Confederate Ironclad "Virginia" ("Merrimac"). By HARRISON A. TREXLER. (Chicago, University of Chicago Press, 1938, pp. vii, 95, \$2.00.) Both of these books present a straightforward account of the naval campaign of Hampton Roads and will serve as an introduction to the subject. The latter, as its title implies, is primarily restricted to the Confederate side of the campaign. The former emphasizes the Northern side of the struggle but devotes some space to the Confederate activities. It is especially valuable for its numerous quotations from contemporary newspapers, magazines, and official accounts. In neither of the books is an attempt made to clear up the many controversial points. Some accounts of participants have not been used. The documentation of both works is given in a series of notes at the end.

GEORGE F. HAUGH.

Two Soldiers: The Campaign Diaries of Thomas J. Key, C. S. A., December 7, 1863-May 17, 1865, and Robert J. Campbell, U. S. A., January 1, 1864-July 21, 1864. Edited with an Introduction, Notes, and Maps, by WIRT ARMISTEAD CATE. (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xiii, 277, \$2.50.)

These two diaries are unusual in that they are the contemporary products of opponents whose attitudes toward war were so different. The diary of Robert J. Campbell, Company E, Third Iowa Infantry, is impersonally gay but not vindictive. He takes the incidents of war in his stride, neither moralizing on nor discussing the daily happenings. The Confederate Captain Thomas J. Key's entries reveal an entirely different attitude, both toward war and toward the enemy. Key was a married man with a family who expressed all the longing of a sensitive soul for home and fireside. In addition to the more personal entries, his comments on military leaders and movements are extended, fair, and remarkably accurate and will be helpful to any student of the period. They reflect the general confidence in General J. E. Johnston and the lack of it in his successor, Hood. Key, closely associated with General Pat Cleburne, perhaps the best division leader in the Confederate army, was not present at the battle of Franklin, where Cleburne was killed. His diary, however, conveys all the heart-break and sorrow of defeat at Franklin and Nashville and in the subsequent bitter retreat, stubborn defense, and final dispersal. Campbell's diary ends with his capture at the battle of Atlanta; Key's, with his surrender and parole in May, 1865. Their one common note is the dislike for mud and rain and cold weather. Dr. Cate has rendered a service to all historians of the period by making available this well-edited contribution, one of the most valuable of its kind for the period covered. There are several reproductions of diary pages, a number of useful maps, a bibliographical note, and an index.

THOMAS ROBSON HAY.

The Unpublished Letters of Bayard Taylor in the Huntington Library. Edited with an Introduction by JOHN RICHIE SCHULTZ. (San Marino, Huntington Library, 1937, pp. xxvi, 231, \$3.00.) "The letters printed here should be considered as supplementary to those in the *Life and Letters*" (1884). Six letters from Russia, "written during the critical winter of 1862-63, give new information about Taylor's short diplomatic career".

Merchants of Peace: Twenty Years of Business Diplomacy through the International Chamber of Commerce, 1919-1938. By GEORGE L. RIDGEWAY. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 419, \$3.75.) "There has always been a tendency on the part of students of government to underestimate the immediate practical importance of private international movements outside the orbit of governmental action", says Mr. Ridgeway (p. 386), and in this volume he undertakes to show the influence of business leaders organized in the International Chamber of Commerce upon postwar reconstruction efforts and upon economic diplomacy generally. Occasionally one suspects that he goes a little too far in redressing the balance, perhaps giving resolutions and reports of the I.C.C. a greater weight in determining governmental action than they would be given if appraised in the perspective of other influences. But the book is well done and worthy of attention. There is no doubt about the interest and importance for historians of the connection the author traces between the private deliberations of businessmen like Owen D. Young, Alberto Pirelli, and Albert E. Janssen on reconstruction committees of the I.C.C. and the "business settlement" of reparations which these same men helped to work out in the Dawes Plan and Young Plan. One of the outstanding achievements of the I.C.C. has been its promotion of international commercial arbitration. On subjects like simplification of customs formalities, communications and transit, double taxation, and securing uniform bills of lading, its technical committees have worked closely with the organs of the League. The Chamber has taken a leading part in the struggle against trade barriers, from its influential participation in the World Economic Conference of 1927 to its recent joint program of research and education (with the Carnegie Endowment) on commercial and monetary policy. Mr. Ridgeway, and also the reviewer, would like to see future economic conferences have a regular place for nongovernmental delegates from the I.C.C. and from other representative voluntary organizations of economic groups. EUGENE STALEY.

American Regionalism: A Cultural-Historical Approach to National Integration. By HOWARD W. ODUM and HARRY ESTILL MOORE. (New York, Holt, 1938, pp. x, 693, \$3.80.) If this detailed sociological study proves of any particular use to the historian, it will probably be as a reminder that there is a difference between the older sectionalism and the newer regionalism in America. Few historians, however, will care to wade through the masses of details, solid pages of proper nouns, and multitudes of quotations (from Hermann Keyserling to Dorothy Thompson) to find out just what the distinction is. Even the sectionalism before the Civil War was made up of different bundles of regional problems segregated by a few issues that could be injected into national politics. No doubt proper planning could develop the present regionalism into a national interdependence of innumerable localities, but the lack of it (or improper planning) could produce sectional bickerings second only to the present-day international discord. Meanwhile, the historian can sit on the side line and determine ultimately whether Professors Odum and Moore were the prophets of a new order or the promulgators of another unattainable Utopia. FRED A. SHANNON.

The Rise of a New Federalism: Federal-State Cooperation in the United States. By JANE PERRY CLARK. (New York, Columbia University Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 347, \$3.50.) This book is devoted to one of the most important and least understood problems of present-day public policy—federalism. As the title indicates, the subject matter is that of a new, at least relatively new, approach to the problem. For example, a chapter deals with “informal co-operation” between federal and state governments. Co-operation proves to be conferences, exchange of personnel and facilities, and reciprocal performance of services. Another chapter deals with “agreements and contracts”, both formal and informal, for federal-state activity. A third chapter concentrates on co-operative use of personnel—for example, in World War draft organization, in C.C.C. work, and in the enforcement of prohibition. Another chapter deals with “interdependent law and administration”, including national co-operation with state conservation, liquor, and prison-made goods through use and relinquishment of the power over interstate commerce. Three more chapters are devoted to grants-in-aid and one to federal credits for state taxation. These new angles on federalism require industrious research and much careful thought before they can be appraised in the light of long-run goals of federalism. Miss Clark and her research assistants have industriously made an extremely useful reference volume for students of federalism. But in spite of the wealth of factual material, the book misses fire from the interpretative standpoint. Important controversies arising out of the “new federalism” are often mentioned but never thoroughly discussed. The significance of new devices is rarely tied to the goals of American federalism. The trouble seems to be that the book wants to be both a legal textbook on federal-state relations and a political scientist’s appraisal. Unfortunately for the reader, just as a promising political science fox appears in the open, the hunt is shifted to some minor legalistic rabbit hole. In fairness to the author it should be noted that her introduction recognizes much of this difficulty.

GEORGE C. S. BENSON.

A Second Constitution for the United States of America. By HUGH L. HAMILTON. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1938, pp. viii, 166, \$3.00.)

America Now: An Inquiry into Civilization in the United States. By Thirty-Six Americans. Edited, with an Introduction, by HAROLD E. STEARNS. (New York, Scribner’s, 1938, pp. x, 606, \$3.00.) Taken as a whole, *America Now* does not meet the standards of 1938 or contribute significantly to an understanding of contemporary American life. It is essentially a collection of personal essays, some good and some poor, many superficial and loosely general. Here and there a distinguished piece of work appears in the collection. The two essays on religion, Protestant and Catholic, are mature and illuminating analyses of the subjects with which they deal. The essay on psychiatry usefully summarizes the impact of psychiatry on various fields of thought and endeavor. The subjects of the essays appear to have been selected almost at random. Neither the list of subjects nor their arrangement suggests an effort to view the whole American scene, pick out its major elements, and organize an analysis of American culture in those terms. For example, a section on “Types of Living” is made up of essays on “The Small Town”, “Sports”, and “The Family”—no discussion of the city and none of the farm. If the volume can be said to have a unifying point of view, it is the vaguely liberal, inclined to dwell on the weaknesses of spokesmen for the Left and to plead for tolerance and personal values. The section on “Politics” consists of essays on “Public Opinion”, “Radicalism”, “Communist Mentalities”, “War”, and “The Law”. The New Deal and all its works are passed

over in silence. In short, this volume, though interesting in spots, springs neither from the grass roots of experience and observation nor from the files of research workers, nor is it the matured statement of a person with wide familiarities and penetrating comprehension.

CAROLINE F. WARE.

Die deutsche Einwanderung der Dreissiger und Achtundvierziger in die Vereinigten Staaten und ihre Stellung zur Nordamerikanischen Politik. By IRMGARD ERHORN. (Hamburg, Hans Christian, 1937, pp. 118, 3.75 M.) Those who have sought to explain the role of the Germans in America in terms of the career or character of Carl Schurz have inevitably been misled, for the greatest German-American politician was also the least typical. Far sooner than any of his compatriots, Schurz saw that he could not remain a German in America, and he was courageous enough to make the choice. This decision freed him to serve both his adopted country and his fellow Germans, while his companions in exile were still enmeshed in tantalizing projects for saving the old fatherland or for creating a new one in the United States. Miss Erhorn has grasped this fundamental difference, and Schurz plays a relatively small role in this study of the influence of the German political exiles of 1830 and 1848 upon American politics between 1830 and 1876. Attention throughout is focused upon the great body of exiles who never accepted Schurz's position. The author gives a concise and lucid account of all shades of German-American political opinion from the conservatism of Körner to the arch-radicalism of Heinzen. Within its own scope the work is a useful summary of their ideas and attitudes. But just as Schurz was not representative of the exiles, so the exiles were not representative of the German-American community, the character and motives of whose immigration were completely different. Because she has not even considered the political position of the main body of German-Americans, Miss Erhorn has been unable to deal with such important questions as the influence of German Catholicism or the relations of the Germans with the Irish and other minority groups and has generally failed to penetrate beneath the more superficial aspects of political motivation.

OSCAR HANDLIN.

Candleday Art. By MARION NICHOLL RAWSON. (New York, Dutton, 1938, pp. 383, \$5.00.) American art from colonial times to about 1850 is the subject of this work. The author's sketches of various examples of folk art are valuable for the study of social history.

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NEW ENGLAND AND MIDDLE COLONIES AND STATES

- Apostle of New Jersey: John Talbot, 1645-1727*. By EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON. (Philadelphia, Church Historical Society, 1938, pp. xii, 217, \$2.50.) This book contains a biography of John Talbot, copies of his letters, excerpts from the journal of George Keith, and a bibliography of the works of and about Talbot.
- Isaac Watts and his Gifts of Books to Yale College*. By ANN STOKELY PRATT. (New Haven, Yale University Library, 1938, pp. vi, 116, \$3.00.) This study "adds to our understanding of the character of the famous hymn writer and to our knowledge of his religious contemporaries in America".
- The Middlesex Canal, 1793-1860*. By CHRISTOPHER ROBERTS. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xii, 252, \$3.00.) The Middlesex was perhaps the most important to its time of the very early completed canal projects in America, but like most of the others, its importance was short-lived, principally because of rapidly developing competition. It connected the Merrimac River at the site of Lowell with an arm of Boston Harbor, twenty-seven miles distant,

and thus gave an outlet for the products of New Hampshire to Boston, city and port, without their having to go by sea from the mouth of the Merrimac. The company was organized in 1793; the canal was not completed until ten years later, and by 1854 it was dead. Mr. Roberts's well-written volume on this old waterway's history is the result of exhaustive research—as is shown by the copious bibliography, including the manuscript records of the company—and is well documented. In his first chapter the author paints in interesting style the social and industrial background of the canal's beginnings. Personalities connected with the project are sketched with pleasant touches of humor. The primitive condition of our engineering and industry at the time, the enormous difficulties to be overcome, are all carefully set forth. The appendixes appear to this reviewer uncommonly interesting—setting forth, as they do, the superintendent's notes on wages and men employed, carpenters' craft rules of the period, lottery information, the varied products carried through the canal, extracts from the diary of Loammi Baldwin, a leading promoter, etc. The book is a noteworthy contribution to our Americana and leaves nothing more to be said upon its particular subject.

ALVIN F. HARLOW.

The Journals of Bronson Alcott. Selected and edited by ODELL SHEPARD. (Boston, Little, Brown, 1938, pp. xxx, 559, \$5.00.) Bronson Alcott, a great name in the "Golden Day", regarded with respect, amusement, or moral condemnation, was allowed in subsequent years to become a myth, a synonym for windy rhetoric and neglect of parental duties, far less known than his daughter Louisa. In his *Pedlar's Progress* Professor Shepard revived Alcott's reputation, re-created the man, and restored him to his just place as the third in the triumvirate of transcendentalists. This admirably edited volume of Alcott's journals which now follows the biography is a necessary companion piece to the earlier work. Long as it is, the volume includes only the twentieth part of Alcott's enormous diaries, but it covers his entire life from 1826, when he began to teach school at Cheshire, Connecticut, down to 1882, when a stroke of paralysis deprived him of the power of writing, with the exception of six intervening years for which the journals were lost. The missing part unfortunately included the record of Alcott's experience at Fruitlands, but Professor Shepard makes the best substitution possible by printing selections from Mrs. Alcott's diary for the same period. Each year of Alcott's journals is prefixed by a short running account of his reading, his friendships, and his main activities during the year. Professor Shepard has done for his subject all that one can demand of an editor. The journals do not reveal Alcott as a great thinker, a great writer, or a great man, but they do reveal a charming and original personality, whose transcendentalism was developed before his contact with Emerson or Thoreau, who influenced both of them deeply, and who was associated with nearly all the important men and important movements in America during his lifetime. The volume is thus an invaluable source book for the study of American letters and history.

ERNEST SUTHERLAND BATES.

Louisa May Alcott. By KATHARINE ANTHONY. (New York, Knopf, 1938, pp. xiii, 304, xi, \$3.00.) This is a biography designed, we are assured, for adults. It is a psychological interpretation, and it is much concerned with matters of health and nerves, with inhibitions and frustrations and complexes. It suggests that in her long series of stories Miss Alcott revealed not only nostalgia but escapism, that she was taking refuge from unhappiness and loneliness and illness in her own glorified past. She was doubtless doing that, and she was doing other things as well—among them making a very handsome living for her impe-

cunious family. Whatever the motivation of the books, Miss Anthony admits that they did not reflect frustration or misery, so the problem is to some extent irrelevant. What they do reflect, says Miss Anthony, is American life, and they are therefore documents for the social historian. They are not merely children's books—not in the sense in which the Elsie or the Rollo or the Alger stories are children's books—and they have been popular with adults even before sanctification by the screen. Aside from this literary lance which she breaks for her heroine, Miss Anthony is not disposed to belligerent defense. She confines herself rather to details, some not without interest. She says a good word for the novel *Work*, "a picture of middle-class working-woman before the war", and a harsh word for the revised *Moods*; she resurrects some curious criticism by young Henry James; she condescends to Bronson Alcott and reminds us that sister May had genuine artistic talent. For the most part, however, she adds little to what we already know of the author of *Little Women*; her contribution, such as it is, lies in the appreciation of character.

HENRY STEELE COMMAGER.

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SOUTHERN COLONIES AND STATES

In Memoriam William Kenneth Boyd, January 10, 1879-January 19, 1938. [Historical Papers of the Trinity College Historical Society.] (Durham, Duke University Press, 1938, pp. vii, 97, \$1.00.)

Jamestown and St. Mary's, Buried Cities of Romance. By HENRY CHANDLER FORMAN. (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1938, pp. xvii, 355, \$4.50.) This volume represents the careful investigation of an archaeologist and historian. It is profusely illustrated, attractively presented, and leaves, altogether, a fine impression. All that remains of old Jamestown to visitors are the ruins of a brick church, and of St. Mary's City two brick-and-frame houses and an out-building, but to the expert archaeologist and artist a couple of dozen foundations of the former and five of the latter have yielded an astonishing amount of information. Gauged bricks, tiles, ornamented hinges, lattices, lattice casements, plaster ceilings, and other relics, studied in relation to the written records, recall to life the settlers of old Jamestown and St. Mary's. Dr. Forman reconstructs in drawings many buildings of the two towns; in end maps he definitely locates these in relation to the land grants made to the settlers and to the general topography. The vividness with which the ancient scene is recreated evokes in the reader a distinct yearning for the actual reconstruction of these two famous ancestral towns.

CYRUS H. KARRAKER.

Chronicles of Old Berkeley: A Narrative History of a Virginia County from its Beginnings to 1926. By MABEL HENSHAW GARDINER and ANN HENSHAW GARDINER. (Martinsburg, privately printed, 119 North Maple Avenue, 1938, pp. ix, 323, \$5.00.)

Old Sherry: Portrait of a Virginia Family. By FRANK J. KLINGBERG. (Richmond, Garrett and Massie, 1938, pp. xi, 218, \$3.00.) It is one thing to talk of the importance to the social historian of letters revealing intimate, everyday matters and another to make fruitful and illuminating use of them. Professor Klingberg has achieved a rare degree of success in his reconstruction of the history of a family in southwestern Virginia over a period of some two hundred years. The letters reproduced in this volume are those written by William Wirt Wysor, a descendant of Conrad Weiser, during his consulship in Spain from 1893 to 1897. Wysor, a Confederate veteran and newspaperman, wrote simply and charmingly, and yet concretely, of social and cultural conditions in Cadiz

and Jerez de la Frontera. But the chief value of the letters lies in their revelation of the psychology not only of the writer but of his forefathers and kinsfolk. Dr. Klingberg's book is a scholarly and engaging story of the family's history in terms of the national stocks comprising it and of the impact of southwestern Virginia's environment on it. The letters remind one of a cameo, which, sharp and clear in miniature, awakens in the mind larger contours and images. Professor Klingberg specifically shows how, by a judicious use of such materials as the books in the old family library, keepsakes, tombstone inscriptions, courthouse records, and memories, a family's history can be made to illuminate a provincial culture. The tragedies endured by the courageous people in this record are all the more poignant because they are put into relationship with great forces and conflicts. It is to be hoped that Professor Klingberg will, in editing additional letters and materials from this family collection, carry still further his stimulating psychological and philosophical reflections on the problems in social history which he has raised.

MERLE CURTI.

Georgia as Colony and State. By AMANDA JOHNSON. (Milledgeville, privately published, 1938, pp. ix, 1064, \$5.00.) Apart from brief accounts, the histories of Georgia heretofore have given most of their attention to the colonial and Revolutionary periods; the two best-known of the older histories (W. B. Stevens's and C. C. Jones's) do not extend beyond 1800. Hence there was real need for a complete history of the state. Dr. Johnson has done much to help the situation, for she has searched the records, primary and secondary, and she has emerged with a great many facts never before included in book form. She has apportioned her space well. The colony, so often written about, gets little more than a tenth of the pages; the whole period down to 1800 receives less than a fifth; and in keeping with modern trends, the recent period (since Reconstruction) is given almost half the book. In handling her facts Dr. Johnson has been somewhat less successful. Though she has produced an enlarged picture of the state by bringing in not only political and military events but also economic, social, literary, and other developments, she has tended more toward cataloguing them chapter by chapter under much the same subheadings than listing fewer details and giving broader interpretations. The work is highly objective, so much so that to Dr. Johnson's credit even Sherman's march receives a straightforward account. There are minor blemishes, such as *Quarterly* for *Collections* (p. 50), Matthews for Mathews (p. 177 and elsewhere), Johnson for Johnston (p. 189), *a* for *the* in the first line of poetry on page 435, Boss for Bass (p. 523), Cote for Cate (p. 601), Bacock for Bocock (p. 1039), and so on. The work is highly documented with footnotes on practically every page and with bibliographies at the end of each chapter. There are also a general bibliography and an index. Thirty-four maps and charts are scattered throughout the book, but many of them are on so small a scale as to be almost illegible.

E. MERTON COULTER.

Church-State Relationships in Education in North Carolina since 1776. By LUTHER L. GOBBEL. (Durham, Duke University Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 251, \$3.00.) This monograph is a scholarly contribution to the understanding of one important aspect of our social and cultural history. In accord with our democratic tradition, "free enterprise" has characterized the development of higher education in this country, and "competition", often ruthless and wasteful, has marked the growth of our private colleges and state universities. The competitive principle has been maintained by constitutional provisions for religious liberty and by the decision of the Supreme Court in the Dartmouth College case. Dr.

Gobbel has chosen the state of North Carolina as a laboratory for the study of the dramatic conflicts which have taken place between church and state institutions in almost every state in the union. He has drawn extensively upon original sources and documented his narrative with numerous extracts from the writings and speeches of leaders in the long warfare between state and church in North Carolina. The rivalry between the University of North Carolina, one of the first state universities to be established in the country, and the church colleges of Wake Forest, Davidson, Guilford, Trinity, Greensboro, and Catawba, is depicted with genuine restraint yet with a vivid sense of the drama of conflicting personalities and social forces. For students of religious as well as educational history in the United States the volume is illuminating and invaluable.

DONALD G. TEWKSBURY.

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WESTERN TERRITORIES AND STATES

Sons of the Wilderness: John and William Conner. By CHARLES N. THOMPSON. (Indianapolis, Indiana Historical Society, 1937, pp. ix, 283, \$2.00.) This volume contains matter of considerable interest to the local historian and not a little that has a wider appeal. From a variety of published and unpublished sources (none of them, unfortunately, very personal) Mr. Thompson has traced the careers of the two Conner brothers. Their lives spanned and typified the transition of the Ohio valley from perilous Indian frontier to well-established white civilization—a transition of which either brother might justly have written, *magna pars fui*. Brought up in intimate association with the Delaware Indians, both brothers chose, in their young manhood, to follow that tribe into Indiana Territory. Here they set up trading posts, married Indian girls, and reared half-breed families. They served Governor Harrison as interpreters, participated in the making of numerous Indian treaties, and on the eve of the War of 1812 helped to immunize the Delaware to the blandishments of Tecumseh, the Prophet, and the British. Unlike some other backwoodsmen, however, both Conners found it easy to adapt themselves to the ways of white civilization when it caught up with them. After John's Indian wife had died and William's had gone west with her tribe (taking her children with her),

both married women of their own race, and each raised a second brood of children. Both served in the state legislature. Both made successfully the transition from Indian trader to town merchant, and William lived long enough to become a promoter of railroads. It appears that both kept to the end, however, the esteem and confidence of the Delaware Indians. The story is well told and well documented.

JULIUS W. PRATT.

Josiah Bushnell Grinnell. By CHARLES E. PAYNE. [Iowa Biographical Series.] (Iowa City, State Historical Society of Iowa, 1938, pp. xii, 338, \$2.00.) In 1854 Grinnell founded the Iowa community which bears his name. This unique outpost, truer to New England ideals than Boston itself, is described in this biography with a wealth of detail invaluable to a student of the westward movement. After his abolitionism had forced him to give up his church in Washington, Grinnell worked with Horace Greeley in New York City. Greeley's famous advice, "Go West, young Man", was first given to Grinnell. Hearing the tramp of coming millions, he established a colony of New Englanders who would "energize" any state. Such was their puritan zeal for education that within two years they had a college with assets of \$45,000; Grinnell served as president of its board of trustees. He subscribed to twenty newspapers, chief of which was the *New York Tribune*, read by a surprising number in this distant frontier state. Greeley's columns were always open to Grinnell's letters. To these letters the author casually refers, but a fine opportunity was missed in not making a thorough search in the *Tribune* and at least listing all such letters and perhaps printing the series as an appendix. Only one note out of 518 refers directly to the *Tribune*, and 108 give as authority Grinnell's *Men and Events of Forty Years*; yet the author writes that "Grinnell was constitutionally inaccurate and his reminiscences [were] written when he was old and suffering" (n. 39). Space is wasted in referring to textbooks, thus obscuring really worthwhile references, such as Eastman's diary (p. 19). Lois K. Mathews's *Expansion of New England* is not once mentioned. The format of the notes and lack of a bibliography—not even a complete citation is given in the case of first references in notes—indicate that the editorial policy of the sponsoring society might well be reconsidered. For the period of Grinnell's Washington residence apparently no attempt was made to use contemporary newspapers or church records, nor was use made of relevant manuscript collections in various localities. These defects prevent this book from being definitive, though its excellent literary style and beautiful bookmaking delight the reader.

A. T. VOLWILER.

Southern Plainsmen. By CARL COKE RISTER. (Norman, University of Oklahoma Press, 1938, pp. xviii, 289, \$3.00.) In eighteen chapters on as many different phases of pioneer life Professor Rister has assembled his material on the folkways of the southern plains. Preceded by descriptions of such transient figures as the buffalo hunter, bullwhacker, and range rider, the major portion of the volume relates the hardships, work, and play of the agricultural settler. In sketching the development of overland staging across the plains and in recounting the days of the Oklahoma boomers, a chronological narrative style is employed, but elsewhere there is an attempt to draw composite pictures of frontier life and types. Illustrations are taken from incidents separated in space and time, for the author has avoided too strict an adherence to the often imperceptible geographic bounds of his region and the even more uncertain time limit to the frontier character of its society. His generalizations, however, cover rather broad ground, and too strong an impression is given that life

everywhere on the plains followed a uniform pattern. Within the scope of this volume all phases of frontier life could not be presented. The author has chosen to describe the bull teams and stagecoaches but not the early railroads; he has stressed the heroism of pioneer women rather than that of the men. Supplementing *The Southwestern Frontier*, his earlier work on the subjugation and occupation of this region, and *The Greater Southwest*, a work of collaboration, Professor Rister's latest volume is essentially a tribute to the intrepidity and perseverance of southern plainsmen in overcoming their environment.

WALCOTT WATSON.

Debates of the Missouri Constitutional Convention of 1875. Edited by ISIDOR LOEB and FLOYD C. SHOEMAKER. Volumes IV and V. (Columbia, State Historical Society of Missouri, 1938, pp. 563; 504.)

Owatonna: The Social Development of a Minnesota Community. By EDGAR BRUCE WESLEY. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1938, pp. xvi, 168, \$2.00.)

ARTICLES

WILLARD ROUSE JILLSON. A Sketch of the Life and Times of Rebecca Witten Graham of Floyd County, Kentucky, 1775-1843. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, Apr.

HUNTLEY DUPRE. Kentucky and the Greek War of Independence, 1821-1828. *Filson Club Hist. Quar.*, Apr.

FREDERICK COYNE HAMIL. Fairfield on the River Thames [Moravian settlement]. *Ohio Archaeol. and Hist. Quar.*, Jan.

JOSEPHINE E. PHILLIPS. Ohio's Deep Roots in Connecticut. *Ibid.*

JAMES H. RODABAUGH. Miami University, Calvinism, and the Anti-Slavery Movement. *Ibid.*

HARRY WILLIAMS. Benjamin F. Wade and the Atrocity Propaganda of the Civil War. *Ibid.*

PAUL W. GATES. Land Policy and Tenancy in the Prairie Counties of Indiana. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Mar.

JOHN F. CADY. Isaac McCoy's Mission to the Indians of Indiana and Michigan. *Indiana Hist. Bull.*, Feb.

IRVING MCKEE. The Centennial of "The Trail of Death" [emigration of Indians from Indiana to the Osage River in Kansas, Sept. 4, 1838]. *Indiana Mag. Hist.*, Mar.

STEPHEN S. VISHNER. The Geography of Indiana's Governors. *Ibid.*

ROY M. ROBBINS. Horace Greeley and the Quest for Social Justice, 1837-1862. *Indiana Hist. Bull.*, Feb.

JAMES HALEY WHITE. Early Days in St. Louis. *Missouri Hist. Soc., Glimpses of the Past*, Jan.

STELLA M. DRUM. St. Louis in Patches. *Ibid.*

MARGARET McMILLAN and MONIA COOK MORRIS. Educational Opportunities in Early Missouri [cont.]. *Missouri Hist. Rev.*, Apr.

LOIS RANKIN. Detroit Nationality Groups. *Michigan Hist. Mag.*, Spring.

KENNETH E. COLTON. Pioneer Lawmakers of Iowa. *An. Iowa*, Apr.

JOHN ELY BRIGGS. County Evolution in 1839. *Palimpsest*, Mar.

JACK T. JOHNSON. Guides to Iowa Territory. *Ibid.*

M. M. HOFFMANN. The Abbé Pelamourgues [died 1875]. *Ibid.*, Apr.

LEONORA SCHOLTE. A Stranger in a Strange Land: Romance in Pella History. *Iowa Jour. Hist. and Pol.*, Apr.

LOUISE PHELPS KELLOGG. An Old Indian Agency House Association. *Wisconsin Mag. Hist.*, Mar.

LILLIAN KRUEGER. Social Life in Wisconsin: Pre-Territorial through the Mid-Sixties. *Ibid.*

MARGARET RYAN KELLEY. A Soldier of the Iron Brigade [William W. Ryan]. *Ibid.*

ELLWORTH T. CARLSTEDT. When Fond du Lac was British. *Minnesota Hist.*, Mar.

WILLIAM J. MEREDITH. The Old Plum Grove Colony in Jefferson County, 1854-1855. *Kansas Hist. Quar.*, Nov.

JAMES C. MALIN. John Brown and the Manes Incident. *Ibid.*

- JOHN F. FRANKLIN. The Fort Kearny Block House. *Nebraska Hist.*, Apr.
 JOHN H. NANKIVELL. Fort Garland, Colorado. *Colorado Mag.*, Jan.
 RICHARD L. STEARNS. Who have the Power? *Ibid.*
 FRANK S. BURRAGE. Bill Nye [Edgar Wilson Nye], 1850-1896. *Wyoming An.*, Jan.
 GEORGE J. BALÉ. A History of the Development of Territorial Public Education in the State of Wyoming, 1869-1890. *Ibid.*
 ROLAND HINDS. Early Creek Missions. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Mar.
 PETER JAMES HUDSON. A Story of Choctaw Chiefs. *Ibid.*
 ROLAND D. HUSSEY. Pacific History in Spanish American Historical Reviews, 1935-1937. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
 MILTON H. SHUTES. Colonel E. D. Baker. *California Hist. Soc. Quar.*, Dec., pt. 1.
 FRED R. YODER. Pioneer Social Adaptation in the Palouse Country of Eastern Washington, 1870-1890. *Research Stud. State College of Washington*, Dec.
 J. H. HÖRNER and GRACE BUTTERFIELD. The Nez-Perce Findley Affair. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Mar.
 ANNIE LAURIE BIRD. Thomas McKay. *Ibid.*

DOCUMENTS

- JAMES A. PADGETT. Letters [1829-41] of James Chamberlayne Pickett [1793-1872]. *Reg. Kentucky State Hist. Soc.*, Apr.
 HENRY T. SHANKS. Documents relating to the Diocese of Arkansas, 1861-1865, and Bishop Henry C. Lay Papers. *Hist. Mag. Prot. Epis. Church*, Mar.
 J. NEILSON BARRY. Journal of E. Willard Smith [1839-40]. *Wyoming An.*, Jan.
 BERLIN B. CHAPMAN. The Cherokee Commission at Kickapoo Village. *Chron. Oklahoma*, Mar.
 DAN W. PEERY. Autobiography of Governor A. J. Seay. *Ibid.*
 ROBERT J. PARKER. California Bound: [Thomas O.] Larkin in 1831. *Pacific Hist. Rev.*, Apr.
 E. RUTH ROCKWOOD. Diary of Rev. George Henry Atkinson, D.D., 1847-1858 [cont.]. *Oregon Hist. Quar.*, Mar.

LATIN-AMERICAN HISTORY

Handbook of Latin American Studies: A Selective Guide to the Material published in 1937 on Anthropology, Art, Economics, Education, Folklore, Geography, Government, History, International Relations, Law, Language, and Literature. By a number of scholars. Edited by LEWIS HANKE. (Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1938, pp. xv, 635, \$4.00.) Unfortunately the grouping of materials for the different subjects covered in this handbook does not follow a uniform plan. Anthropology is divided between Middle and South America, art between Brazil and Spanish America, economics is distributed between Brazil, South America, and the Caribbean area (which is made to include Colombia, Venezuela, and British Guiana), whereas education and folklore have no geographic classification either by area or country, while materials dealing with government are separately grouped by arranging the countries in alphabetic order. The other subjects treated follow plans equally irregular. The volume would have been simpler and more useful if it had been possible to group all the materials under a similar plan. A more serious criticism has to do with the index. The justification for the labor involved in publishing such a volume is to be found in its usability. Unfortunately there is only an index of names. It would add materially to the usefulness of the handbook if in future editions a subject index, grouped as far as possible under each country, were included. A student interested in a special subject relating to Peru, Mexico, or Costa Rica, for example, has to search through the entire volume to gather what significant materials are included, and if interested in a country rather than in a

subject, he would never be certain that he had not missed relevant items without scrutinizing each of the thousands of references included in the handbook. This edition of the handbook, however, has greatly increased its usefulness by including citations from the periodical literature of Latin America. The articles on Brazil deserve special mention.

FRANK TANNENBAUM.

Catálogo de los fondos americanos del Archivo de Protocolos de Sevilla. Volume V, *Siglos XV y XVI.* (Seville, Instituto Hispano-Cubano de Historia de América, 1937, pp. 564.) It is not a little remarkable that the present volume of this series was completed and published in the midst of the late civil war in Spain. Even this severely scholarly work about an age long past bears some traces of the war, for it was published not at Madrid, as were the first four volumes (1930-35), but at Seville, and a note on the flyleaf at the end of the volume states that the printing was completed on June 24, 1938, "El Año Triunfal". Once more, as in the earlier volumes, the editors have levied upon manuscript sources in the municipal archives of Seville for materials relating to the history of the Spanish empire in its golden age. In this volume they have calendared sixteen hundred documents, the first of which is dated April 27, 1497, and the last January 21, 1603. In that period Seville was the main channel of communication between Spain and its American colonies; and while the reviewer has not noted any spectacular "finds" among the documents here calendared, they constitute a valuable source for the social and economic history of both Spain and Spanish America, for they contain a mass of information about such topics as contracts, prices, slaves, commerce, and emigration, and about a host of persons, both eminent and obscure, whose activities related in one way or another to Spanish America. The value of the work is greatly enhanced by the inclusion of detailed indexes of subjects, persons, places, and ships.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

The Mormon Colonies in Mexico. By THOMAS C. ROMNEY. (Salt Lake City, Deseret Press, 1938, pp. 338, \$2.50.) This is the first and the only published account of the activities of the Mormons in Mexico. The fact that Dr. Romney writes of events in which he himself participated, having lived for some twenty-five years in the Mormon colonies of Chihuahua and Sonora, gives to his book the vividness of an eyewitness account and an intimate personal touch that make it really fascinating. In a foreword Dr. Herbert E. Bolton remarks: "A loyal Mormon, Dr. Romney manifests in this work . . . a deep affection for the land where he spent the golden years of early manhood. Of necessity he treats some topics that may be controversial, but always with fair-mindedness."

MILTON R. HUNTER.

Máximo Gómez: Obra premiada en el Concurso Extraordinario del Centenario de su nacimiento. By RAMÓN INFESTA. [Academia de la Historia de Cuba.] (Havana, Imprenta "El Siglo XX", A. Muñiz y Hno., 1937, pp. xii, 252.) A lyrical and literary biography of one of the great figures of Cuban independence. The volume was specially honored in a competition with other contributions to the celebration of the centenary of the Cuban patriot.

History of Colombia. By JESÚS MARÍA HENAO and GERARDO ARRUBLA. Translated and edited by J. Fred Rippy. [The Inter-American Historical Series, edited by James A. Robertson.] (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1938, pp. xii, 578, \$5.00.) The present translation of a standard history of Colombia, written by two thoroughly competent Colombian scholars, contains a bibliography, a glossary of Spanish terms, and two maps. As Professor Rippy states, he

has omitted some parts of the original, abridged others, and added several pages to the last chapter. Several paragraphs on pages 534-35 were reproduced from Professor Rippy's *The Capitalists in Colombia* (1931), pages 177-79. Since these consist largely of comparative figures showing the social and economic development of Colombia in the present century, the passage should have been revised in order to provide more recent figures and also to show how the means of transportation and communication have been improved by the greatly increased use of airplanes and radios. One of the best reasons for publishing translations of these national histories of Latin America is that they enable readers unfamiliar with Spanish and Portuguese to see the history of the Latin-American countries through Latin-American eyes. With this in mind, the reviewer compared several passages in the original Spanish text with Mr. Rippy's translation. He found that, while the translation follows the original closely for the most part and is generally excellent, the passages omitted by the translator include some of the most characteristic details, such as anecdotes, tropical flowers of rhetoric, and expressions of devout Roman Catholicism. The reviewer agrees with Professor Rippy that the original was too long, but he is inclined to think that it would have been better either to make a thorough revision of it (especially by condensing the disproportionately long section on the wars of independence) or else to reproduce the Colombian self-portrait with the utmost fidelity, wart and all. Perhaps neither of these alternatives was practicable; and even as it stands, the book is a valuable addition to the literature in English on Latin America.

ARTHUR P. WHITAKER.

Storia dell' America Latina (Argentina e Brasile). By GINO DORIA. (MILAN, Ulrico Hoepli, 1937, pp. xxiii, 298, 15 l.) An interesting and well-written history of the Argentine and Brazil, emphasizing Italian contributions to their development. Only sixty-three pages are devoted to the colonial period. In spite of the broad strokes with which the Spanish colonial system is sketched, the volume, emphasizing as it does only two countries in Latin America, scarcely deserves the title under which it is published. Excellent bibliographies are attached to the three parts into which the book is divided.

Latin America and the United States. By GRAHAM H. STUART. Third edition, thoroughly revised. (New York, Appleton-Century, 1938, pp. x, 510, \$4.00.)

Latin America in World Politics: An Outline Survey. By J. FRED RIPPY. Third edition. (New York, Crofts, 1938, pp. 303, \$5.00.) Chapter xvi has been rewritten in the light of recent changes in the policy of the United States toward Latin America. Slight revisions have been made in other parts of the work.

Conferencias internacionales americanas, 1889-1936. (Washington, Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1938, pp. lviii, 746, \$4.00.) This volume in Spanish contains the texts of the treaties, conventions, recommendations, resolutions, and motions adopted by the first seven International Conferences of American States, the International Conference of American States on Conciliation and Arbitration, and the Inter-American Conference on Consolidation of Peace. It also has documents relative to the organization of these conferences. The preface is written by Dr. Leo S. Rowe, and Dr. James Brown Scott contributes a historical introduction with illustrative documents. There are a bibliography, appendixes showing the status of the conventions, and a good index. The volume is a useful manual for Spanish readers.

ROSCOE R. HILL.

HISTORICAL NEWS

THE AMERICAN HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION

The Executive Secretary of the Association has received only 682 returns out of a membership of more than three thousand for the proposed new list of members and research projects. Please send in your return at once to Professor Conyers Read, 226 South 16th Street, Philadelphia. Material must go to press on August 31.

The following should be added to the *List of Research Projects in History, exclusive of Doctoral Dissertations*, published as a supplement to Volume XXXIX, No. 3, of the *American Historical Review*:

IV. Modern Europe

Spain, Portugal, and the Powers, 1866-1871: Diplomacy and Revolution. Prog. Chester W. Clark, *State University of Iowa*.

VIII. Germany

Beust and Bismarck. Prog. 20 pp. *Id.*

OTHER HISTORICAL ACTIVITIES

Among recent accessions to the Division of Manuscripts in the Library of Congress the following may be noted: photostats of nearly one hundred additional papers of the Rumsey family, dated 1662 to 1870; photostat of probate records relating to estate of one Patrick Calhoun, dated 1741 and 1743; one portfolio of additional papers of James and Henry Ritchie, merchants of Essex County, Virginia, dated 1761 to 1813; index (typescript) to the files of the House of Representatives, First to Seventy-fourth Congresses, 1789 to 1936; two volumes of typescript copies of Common Pleas Court Minutes, Knox County, Indiana, 1796-99; additional photostats of letters of George Washington; photostats of nine pieces of official correspondence between Joaquín del Real Alencaster and Nemesio Salcedo y Salcedo, dated 1806, 1807, 1810; five additional portfolios of papers of Alexander S. Palmer and Nathaniel B. Palmer, sea captains of Stonington, Connecticut, dated 1813 to 1906; five portfolios of papers, mainly personal, of Daniel D. Brodhead, navy agent at Boston, dated 1821 to 1855; two portfolios of papers of Francis Preston Blair, jr., and other members of the Blair family, dated 1852 to 1874; eight papers relating to Frank T. Sands (undertaker, Washington, D. C., who, with others, was in charge of the remains of Abraham Lincoln), dated 1862 and 1865; two portfolios of additional papers of George Bancroft and Alexander Bliss, dated 1862 to 1872; journal of Darwin Weaver, from Austin, Texas, to Fort Craig, N. M., July 21-October 4, 1869,

and back from Fort Selden, N. M., to San Antonio, Texas, October 22-December 15, 1869; letter copy-book (letters sent) and copies of 107 letters of Benjamin Harrison (1833-1901), dated 1880 to 1892; copy of a letter of Alfred Thayer Mahan relating to Admiral Sampson and Commodore Schley, August 5, 1898; pamphlet consisting of copies of important papers of Philippe Bunau-Varilla relating to Panama, with a foreword dated November 3, 1938; seven boxes of additional papers of Tasker Howard Bliss; papers relating to the history of the Library of Congress, collected and prepared by Dr. William Dawson Johnston.

The National Archives has received from the United States District Court for the Southern District of Ohio papers concerning the Burr conspiracy and the preparations to try Aaron Burr and Harmon Blennerhassett in the United States Circuit Court at Chillicothe. The documents date from 1805 to 1808 and include the recognizances of the defendants given at Richmond, following the trials there; the bills of indictment returned by the Ohio grand jury, charging Burr and Blennerhassett with high misdemeanors; and various evidentiary papers. Experiences of the American privateer *Yankee* in African waters in 1814-15 are described in a fragmentary log found among customhouse records in the National Archives. Also of interest to students of American maritime history is the receipt from the Bureau of Customs of correspondence with collectors of customs, 1789-1907, and, from the customhouse in New York, of crew lists of vessels entering or clearing there, 1803-1919, and shipping articles for the crews of ships sailing thence, 1840-1914. Other records recently transferred to the National Archives include correspondence of the Division of Insolvent National Banks, from the Office of the Comptroller of the Currency, 1865-1937; maps, many of which deal with the Seminole Indian wars in Florida, from the Office of the Chief of Engineers, 1817-57; personnel records relating to the Department of Justice and the federal judiciary, 1870-1908; requisitions and contracts from the Bureau of Ordnance, 1899-1935; correspondence of the Forester's Office, 1883-1905; correspondence relating to entomological activities, from the Bureau of Entomology and Plant Quarantine, 1883-1924; and records of the International Fisheries Commissions established in 1908 and 1924.

Among recent accessions to the Naval Historical Foundation are the following: fourteen letters relating to Captain Samuel Chester Reid, 1852; log of the *John Adams*, 1842-44; several letters of Commander Alexander Claxton, 1832-41; twelve journals, 1887-1920, by Captain J. C. Leonard; rare print of John Paul Jones, 1779.

Collections of private papers recently acquired by the State Historical Society of Wisconsin include those of Adolphus P. Nelson, Republican congressman from the Eleventh District from 1918 to 1923; personal correspondence of Joseph W. Babcock, congressman from the Third District from

1893 to 1907 and for many years chairman of the Republican Congressional Campaign Committee; about one hundred letters received by Charles S. Benton, member of Congress from Mohawk, New York, and leader of the radical Democratic faction in that state in the decade of the forties; additional letters of Charles R. Van Hise written during his presidency of the University of Wisconsin, 1903-18; three letter books, 1888-89, kept by General Edward S. Bragg while minister to Mexico. The society, in its capacity of official custodian of noncurrent state archives, has received from the secretary of state the complete set of original legislative bills for the territory and state from 1836 to 1887 and a large quantity of miscellaneous material known as "legislative papers" dating from 1836 to 1929, consisting of governors' messages, committee reports, papers on contested elections, impeachment case records, legislative investigations, and a vast number of resolutions, memorials, and petitions.

The Rutherford B. Hayes—Lucy Webb Hayes Foundation has announced that it is prepared to offer a number of grants-in-aid to students to assist them in carrying on studies in American history within the period from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War. The grants, which are to be administered by a committee of which Carl Wittke, dean of Oberlin College, is chairman, are intended to promote productive scholarship in the following fields: the economic, educational, and cultural history of the South, the reconciliation and knitting together of the sections, the history of the development of federal and state administration, and some phases of the cultural, social, and political history of the United States as well as of Ohio beginning in the 1840's. The committee will consider only the applications of persons of requisite training and experience who have made substantial progress in the research for which the grant is needed. Grants may supplement university research funds or other sources of aid to the grantee, and in that case application should first be made to such other agencies. The committee will make its selection from applications filed with it by January 15. Awards will be made in March and will be payable by June 15. Inquiries should be addressed to Dr. Curtis W. Garrison, secretary of the Committee on Grants of the Hayes Foundation, Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

The first informal conference of professors and university lecturers interested in American studies in Great Britain was held by arrangement with the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace at Dunford House, Midhurst, Sussex, on June 3 and 4. The principal topics of discussion were the position of American studies in Great Britain, American postgraduate studies in British universities, and preuniversity studies of American history in British schools. The following were present at the Conference: R. M. McElroy, Harmsworth Professor of American History at the University of Oxford;

H. H. Bellot, Commonwealth Fund Professor of American History at the University of London; W. K. Hancock, professor of history at the University of Birmingham; R. B. Mowat, professor of history at the University of Bristol; D. W. Brogan, professor of political science at the University of Cambridge (from October, 1939); Preston Slosson, professor of history at the University of Michigan (Visiting Carnegie Professor for the year 1938-39); J. A. Hawgood, reader in medieval and modern history at the University of Birmingham; R. A. Humphreys, lecturer in history at the University of London; F. R. Hyde, lecturer in economic history at the University of Liverpool; R. I. James, lecturer in history at the University of Bristol; A. Simpson, lecturer in history at the University of St. Andrews. It was decided that similar meetings should be held every year.

PERSONAL

Howard Carter, discoverer of the tomb of King Tut-ankh-Amûn, died in London on March 2 at the age of sixty-six. His formal education ended in 1890 when he was 17, at which time a post was obtained for him as a draftsman with the Archaeological Survey of Egypt, conducted by the Egypt Exploration Fund (now the Egypt Exploration Society). From that time on he spent the greater part of nearly every year in Egypt. In 1892 he assisted Petrie at El Amarnah, and from 1893 to 1899 he worked under the Swiss Egyptologist Naville at the heavy task of uncovering the famous temple of Queen Hat-shepsût on the west bank at Thebes and copying its reliefs. The folio volumes on this temple at Deir el Bahri contain 174 plates nearly all of which are by Carter. At the turn of the century Carter became inspector general for Upper Egypt in the Egyptian Antiquities Service, and not long after that he began his first work in the Valley of the Kings at Thebes as director of the excavations supported by Theodore M. Davies, the American antiquarian, clearing the tombs of Queen Hat-shepsût and King Thut-mose IV and several private tombs. In 1907 Carter began his long association with the late Earl of Carnarvon, whose excavations he directed until Lord Carnarvon's death in 1923. Before the World War these excavations were in the Theban necropolis. Just before the war Carnarvon received the concession in the Valley of the Kings relinquished by Theodore Davies, for he and Carter felt that the unknown resting-place of Tut-ankh-Amûn might well prove to be there. In the spring of 1922, when, after several seasons' strenuous labor, no tomb had appeared, the excavators considered abandoning the valley but decided to try one more season. A few days after beginning work in the autumn of 1922, Carter discovered the entrance to Tut-ankh-Amûn's tomb. From then until his death he was engaged in the clearing of the tomb and the study and publication of its contents. The facts in regard to the climax of his life work are too well known to need repetition. Let it suffice to say

that Carter handled the many unprecedented problems involved with masterly ingenuity. Never a scholar in the language or history of ancient Egypt, Carter was nevertheless a great excavator, and his discoveries, reported in several volumes and in numerous articles in archaeological journals, are valuable contributions to our knowledge of Egyptian civilization in the Middle and New Kingdoms.

Dr. James Alexander Robertson, a noted specialist in the history of the Philippine Islands and Latin America, died at his home in Annapolis, Maryland, on March 20 at the age of sixty-four. Although he wrote a number of articles and monographs, he excelled as an editor and bibliographer. For a quarter of a century he was outstanding in his field, having published a bibliography of the Philippines and a guide to a section of the Spanish archives and having edited either alone or in collaboration some seventy volumes of documents and original narratives. He was one of the founders of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* and its managing editor from the beginning. He spent years in the libraries and archives of Europe, was head of the Philippine Library from 1910 to 1916, served in the Department of Commerce at Washington from 1917 to 1923, was from time to time research assistant of the Carnegie Institution, occupied the post of research professor of American history at John B. Stetson for a decade, and at his death was archivist of the State of Maryland. His latest project was the editing of translations of several of the national histories of the Latin-American countries, "The Inter-American Series", three volumes of which have already appeared. Always gentle, kind, and easily approached, he was ever ready to aid and encourage younger scholars, by whom his loss will be distinctly felt.

Ettore Pais, professor emeritus of ancient history at the University of Rome and dean of the Italian writers on Roman history, died on March 28 at the age of eighty-two. Although influenced by Mommsen in his earlier work, he soon struck out along independent paths and developed a school of his own. In contrast to Mommsen's legalistic interpretation of the Roman constitution Pais adopted a more realistic and evolutionary point of view. Imbued with the idea that the Romans and not the later Germanic invaders were the real founders of Italian civilization, and hence that Roman history is really Italian history, he strove with success to reawaken among Italian historians an interest in a period which they had abandoned largely to foreign, and especially German, scholars. Pais paid particular attention to the Romanization of the various regions of Italy and to the contributions of their culture to Roman civilization. This resulted in his well-known works on Sardinia, Sicily, and Magna Graecia. But his name is, perhaps, most generally associated with his drastic critique of the traditions of early Roman history, which he considered almost wholly unreliable for the period prior to 400 B.C. Even though his skepticism may have been pushed too far, it

was essentially healthy and a necessary prelude to a proper reappraisal of the sources for this period. Pais's researches extended from pre-Roman Italy to the time of Augustus, but he did not carry his narrative reconstruction beyond the Roman conquest of the Mediterranean. The long list of his honorary doctorates, which includes degrees from Chicago and Oxford, testifies to the respect inspired by his scholarship among contemporary historians.

Tenney Frank, professor of Latin at the Johns Hopkins University since 1919 and a recent member of the Board of Editors of the *American Historical Review*, died at Oxford, England, on April 3 at the age of sixty-two. A graduate of the University of Kansas, he received his doctorate from the University of Chicago and subsequently studied at Göttingen and Berlin. Prior to his appointment at Johns Hopkins he taught at Chicago and Bryn Mawr and in 1923-25 was in charge of the School of Classical Studies of the American Academy in Rome. Professor Frank was a tireless worker and wrote widely on questions of Roman literature and history. His *Roman Imperialism*, his *History of Rome*, and his chapters on Roman history in Volumes VII and VIII of the *Cambridge Ancient History* show a general command of the latter field, but his major contribution was on the economic side. In addition to his *Economic History of Rome* he planned and served as general editor of the *Economic Survey of Rome*, to which he contributed Volume I, *Rome and Italy of the Republic*, and for which he left a virtually completed manuscript of Volume V, *Rome and Italy of the Empire*, which will conclude the series. Besides his writing and teaching Professor Frank found time to act as editor of the *American Journal of Philology* and as associate editor of the *Classical Quarterly* and the *English Classical Review*. He had the distinction of being appointed Horace White Lecturer at Bryn Mawr, Sather Lecturer at the University of California, Martin Lecturer at Oberlin, and of delivering the Herz Foundation Lectures for the British Academy in 1931-32. Other honors included the presidency of the American Philological Association and fellowships in the British Academy and the American Academy of Arts and Sciences. At the time of his death Professor Frank was holder of the Eastman Visiting Professorship at Oxford for 1939.

Robert Thomas Pollard, professor of Oriental studies at the University of Washington, died suddenly in Seattle on April 12. Born in Chambersburg, Pennsylvania, on November 26, 1897, he graduated from the Ohio State University in 1922 and received a master of arts-degree from the same institution a year later. From 1923 to 1926 he taught at St. Johns University in Shanghai, at the end of which time he returned to teach in his alma mater for a year or two. Immediately upon being awarded the degree of doctor of philosophy by the University of Minnesota in 1931, Professor Pollard was called to the faculty of the University of Washington as head of the Department of Oriental Studies. An able administrator, as well as a critical scholar

and inspiring teacher, he built up a department which has come to be recognized nationally as well as locally as an outstanding center for the study of the Orient. Professor Pollard's book, *China's Foreign Relations, 1917-1931* (1933), won for him the George Louis Beer Prize of the American Historical Association in 1934, and his untimely death interrupted work on a two-volume study of Japanese foreign policy which promised to be of even greater significance. At various times he contributed articles relating to modern Far Eastern history to the *Chinese Social and Political Science Review*, *Amerasia*, and the *Pacific Historical Review*. He was one of the editors of the *Pacific Historical Review* at the time of his death.

On April 21 Sir William Mitchell Ramsay died at Bournemouth in his eighty-ninth year. His career spans an epoch in the exploration and interpretation of ancient remains in Asia Minor, an epoch of which he was himself largely the creator. Beginning with a rigorous training in the classical disciplines, he turned to the study of Greek art, and when he was a fellow at Athens he conceived the idea of pursuing to their origins the influences that had come from the then unexplored and unexploited regions of Anatolia. From 1880 on he made almost annual trips that yielded an enormous harvest of archaeological, religious, historical, and topographical evidence and created a new world of study for his contemporaries. Everything was grist for his mill. Accomplished scholarship, involving the use of many little-read authors, was combined with extraordinary knowledge of geography and a sure topographical sense to produce his *Historical Geography of Asia Minor* and the no less brilliant *Cities and Bishopricks of Phrygia*. Interest in the development of Asia Minor inevitably involved study of the institutions of the Roman Empire there, and these in turn quickly led him to the history of the diffusion of early Christianity. A great series of Pauline and other studies, often popular in character, awakened scholars and laymen alike to the contributions Asia Minor had to make to the interpretation of the New Testament. Of most interest to Roman historians was his discovery in 1914 of fragments of the *Res gestae* of Augustus at Antioch-toward-Pisidia. This led to the Michigan Expedition of 1924-25 and finally to their publication by Premerstein and himself in 1927. His energy and interest kept up amazingly. At seventy-five he was still able to explore Pisidian hillsides, and the next year he published his suggestive Gifford Lectures, *Asiatic Elements in Greek Civilization*. A final study on the "Social Basis of Permanence in the Roman Empire", to be issued in annual parts, began in 1938. Beside his own significant researches, which now at some points have to yield to the more rigorous methods of a newer day, must be placed those of the brilliant and enthusiastic band of scholars that he trained and inspired.

The following appointments are noted: *Brooklyn College*, Hans W. Rosenberg as assistant professor (as of February 1, 1939); *Bryn Mawr Col-*

lege, John Chester Miller as assistant professor; *Columbia University*, Henry Steele Commager of New York University as professor and Walter E. Dorn of Ohio State University as visiting professor; *University of Illinois*, Fred A. Shannon of Kansas State Agricultural College as associate professor; *State University of Iowa*, Chester Wells Clark as associate professor; *University of Missouri*, H. C. Nixon of Tulane University as visiting professor; *North Texas Agricultural College*, Horace B. Carroll as professor; *University of Oregon*, John Gilbert Reid of the State College of Washington as assistant professor, during the continued absence of Dr. Harold J. Noble; *Princeton University*, Virginius Dabney as lecturer; *Smith College*, Foster Rhea Dulles as visiting assistant professor; *Wellesley College*, Erna Patzelt of the University of Vienna as Mary Whiton Calkins visiting professor.

Announcement is made of the following promotions: *University of British Columbia*, Albert Colby Cooke to be associate professor; *Brothers College*, *Drew University*, F. Taylor Jones to be professor and A. Stanley Trickett to be assistant professor; *Brown University*, Robert H. George to be professor; *Central Y. M. C. A. College* (Chicago), Martin Weinbaum to be assistant professor; *Harvard University*, Paul H. Buck to be associate professor; *New York University*, Geoffrey Bruun to be professor, Wallace K. Ferguson to be associate professor, Ralph B. Flanders to be assistant professor; *Princeton University*, Raymond J. Sontag to be Henry Charles Lea Professor and chairman, Robert G. Albion to be professor, E. Harris Harbison and Charles P. Stacey to be assistant professors; *Smith College*, Ray Allen Billington to be associate professor; *Yale University*, George Wilson Pierson to be associate professor.

The following leaves of absence are noted: *Duke University*, Shelby T. McCloy, for the year, to pursue in France his studies of government relief in the eighteenth century; *State University of Iowa*, Harry Grant Plum, for the first semester, to carry on research in London; *Smith College*, Harold U. Faulkner, for the year.

The following Guggenheim fellowships have been awarded for research in historical subjects: O. Fritiof Ander, Augustana College, Sweden since 1815 (renewal); Karl R. Bopp, University of Missouri, a comparative study of the policies of the Bank of England, the Bank of France, the Reichsbank, and the Federal Reserve System; Elmer Ellis, University of Missouri, Finley Peter Dunne and his influence; Wallace K. Ferguson, New York University, histories and historical interpretations of the Renaissance written from the fifteenth century to the present; Leo Gershoy, Sarah Lawrence College, theories and policies of eighteenth century enlightened despots; Michael Ginsburg, University of Nebraska, the New Deal in ancient Rome; Richard Mansfield Haywood, The Johns Hopkins University, the municipal government of the cities in Roman Africa; Charles W. Jones, Cornell University,

European scientific manuscripts of the eighth to the twelfth century; Karl Loewenstein, Amherst College, the relationship of constitutional jurisprudence and government in modern dictatorships; Ernest C. Mossner, Syracuse University, life and works of David Hume; Gaines Post, University of Wisconsin, the papacy and learning in the later Middle Ages; Walter R. Sharp, the administration of international co-operative agencies in non-political fields; Lesley Byrd Simpson, University of California, social and economic structure of Mexico; Arthur McCandless Wilson, jr., Dartmouth College (recipient of the 1938 Herbert Baxter Adams Prize of the American Historical Association), biography of Diderot; Elmer Wood, University of Missouri, the policy of the Bank of England, 1847-1873.

Professor John Tate Lanning of Duke University has been appointed managing editor of the *Hispanic American Historical Review* to succeed the late James Alexander Robertson. Dr. Alan K. Manchester, also of Duke, has been appointed associate managing editor.

Professor Bernadotte E. Schmitt has been appointed Andrew McLeish Distinguished Service Professor of Modern History in the University of Chicago.

Mrs. Roswell Skeel, jr., who is preparing a bibliography of Noah Webster, would be grateful for information regarding any unprinted letters or manuscripts relating to him, rare pamphlets, or addresses or prospectuses, especially if containing autograph notes or endorsements, and above all, odd and not easily found editions of his spelling book. Mrs. Skeel's address is in care of the Bankers Trust Company, 529 Fifth Avenue, New York City. She will be glad to pay for shipment to and fro of loans, either by express or registered or insured post, which the New York Public Library will care for on delivery.

The College of William and Mary, now approaching its two hundred and fiftieth anniversary, has recently announced plans for a comprehensive and, as nearly as possible, definitive history of the college. The fortunes of war and the damages done by several fires have combined to make this an unusually difficult task. Many of the most vital official records are missing. The plan now announced calls first for an exhaustive search, extending over five to ten years and designed to locate and secure for use in writing the projected history all available records pertaining to the college. The aid of alumni and friends of the college and of members of the historical profession is earnestly solicited. Any information, however fragmentary, relating to the college and its place in the development of education in the South will be welcome. Communications should be addressed to Dr. E. G. Swem, librarian, College of William and Mary, Williamsburg, Virginia.

Professor Walther Rehm would be grateful for notices of manuscripts and especially of letters by J. J. Winckelmann which are to be found in this

country. Professor Rehm is preparing, with the support of the Prussian Academy of Science and the Archaeological Institute of Germany, a critical edition of the works and letters of Winckelmann. Communications may be directed to Professor Karl Viëtor, Harvard University.

Professor Clement Eaton, head of the department of history of Lafayette College, is the recipient of a \$1500 prize offered by Duke University Press for the best manuscript dealing with the social, literary, or artistic history of the United States submitted in a competition held in connection with the centennial celebration of the founding of the university. "Freedom of Thought in the Old South" is the title of Dr. Eaton's monograph, which is to be published in the near future.

Professor Benj. H. Pershing of Wittenberg College was awarded the prize of \$1000 offered by the Northwest Territory Sesquicentennial Commission for his essay, "The Ordinance of 1787: Its Operation and Influence in American History".

The Alexander Prize of the Royal Historical Society for the current year has been awarded to Hilda E. P. Grieve for her essay, "The Deprived Married Clergy in Essex, 1553-1561"; an essay by Joan M. Long entitled "Lord Granville and the Egyptian Question, 1881-82" was awarded the recognition of *proxime accessit*. Essays submitted in competition for the Alexander Prize next year must be sent in by February 28, 1940. For further particulars application should be made to the Secretary, Royal Historical Society, 96, Cheyne Walk, London, S. W. 10.

Students of history will find much to interest them in the Magna Carta Hall in the British Pavilion at the New York World's Fair. The chief attraction is the Lincoln Cathedral copy of Magna Carta, one of the four extant copies sealed with the great seal of King John. In addition to this are facsimiles of a charter of the city of Oxford (1190), writs of summons for a marquess and a bishop, a certificate of the returning officer for a member of parliament, the Petition of Right, the Habeas Corpus Act, the Bill of Rights, and the Act of Settlement. There are also copies of prints from the British Museum showing parliament in the reigns of Edward I, Henry VIII, James I, George II, and William IV. Historians who wish to study these facsimiles in detail will find at the administration offices of the British Pavilion an album containing a complete duplicate set. G. T. Hankin, a vice-president of the English Historical Association, is available there to answer inquiries.

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